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11
IN FOLKLORE, MAGIC,
MEDIAEVAL ROMANCE, HEBREW APOCRYPHA
AND SAMARITAN ARCHÆOLOGY
WITH 14 PLATES AND 5 ILLUSTRATIONS

COLLECTED AND REPRINTED
BY
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IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. II

"... and the feast of ingathering, at
the end of the year when thou
gatherest in thy labours out of the
field." Exod. XXIII, 16.

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DEMETRIUS UND SEDER OLAM

EIN PROBLEM

DER HELLENISTISCHEN LITERATUR

Der Titel dieses kleinen Aufsatzes ist nicht genau zu nehmen; er gibt nur Anhaltspunkte, und ist nur ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer grösseren Arbeit, die mich seit vielen Jahren beschäftigt. Es handelt sich darum, in wie weit die sogenannte hellenistische Literatur auf die jüdische einen Einfluss ausgeübt hat, oder besser gesagt, in welchem Verhältnis diese beiden Literaturen zu einander stehen. Das scheint auf den ersten Blick eine abgetane Sache zu sein. Denn darin scheint allgemein Übereinstimmung zu herrschen, dass diese griechische Literatur, welche man als Hellenistische bezeichnet, sich unter dem Einflusse der palästinensischen entwickelt hat; ja man geht sogar weiter und behauptet, dass diese ganze griechisch geschriebene Literatur, die von Juden und Samaritanern herrührt, sich fast ausschliesslich auf dem Boden Aegyptens entwickelt hat. An griechische Schriften, die von Juden in Palästina verfasst sein könnten, wird gar nicht gedacht. Freudenthal, der den bahnbrechenden Arbeiten Frankels auf diesem Gebiete folgt, und dieselben in seinen „Hellenistischen Studien“ ausserordentlich vertieft hat, will griechische Einflüsse geltend machen, die in besonderen Fällen, wo sich unzweifelhaft griechische Mythologie

und griechische Gedankengänge zeigen, auf die Juden Palästinas eingewirkt haben. Aber er beschränkt sich nur auf diese Frage, in wie weit rein griechisches in das jüdische Geistesleben eingedrungen ist und diesem eine bestimmte Richtung gegeben hat, auch da wo es sich um exegetische Interpretation des Bibeltextes handelt. Wo sich dagegen parallele Erscheinungen zwischen jüdisch-griechischem und jüdisch-hebräischem Schrifttum, im Midrasch und Targum, zeigen, glaubt er, dass dieselben unabhängig von einander entstanden seien, so dass von gegenseitiger Abhängigkeit keine Rede sein könne. Nichtsdestoweniger glaubt er doch, dass manche der biblischen Sagen aus Aegypten in griechischem Gewande nach Palästina gewandert, dort aufgenommen und weiter ausgearbeitet worden sind; so z. B. die Mosessagen des Artapanos, so wie manches des Eupolemos. Da mein lieber Freund Simonsen, zu dessen 70sten Geburtstage dieser kleine Aufsatz ein Ausdruck des Glückwunsches sein soll, und ich zu den Füßen Frankels und Freudenthals als Schüler gesessen und manche frohe Zeit mit einander verlebt haben, so knüpft diese kleine Arbeit an die Forschungen der Meister an. Meine Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der samaritanischen Literatur, als deren Resultat jetzt ein grösseres Werk im Drucke ist, an welchem ich 15. Jahre gearbeitet habe, haben mich nun zu eigentümlichen Schlüssen geführt.

Seit dem Erscheinen jener Werke hat das Studium der hellenistischen Literatur einen gewaltigen Aufschwung genommen. Die Ausgrabungen in Aegypten, die zahlreichen Papyrusfunde, haben grosses Material zu Tage gefördert, und die darauf bezügliche Literatur ist fast unabsehbar geworden. Man braucht bloss an Schürer und Deissmann zu denken, von anderen grossen Fachgelehrten ganz zu schweigen. Dadurch ist neues Licht verbreitet worden und u. a. erscheint die Stellung der LXX

heute ganz anders als noch zu der Zeit, wo Frankel seine „Vorstudien“ schrieb. Ihre Sprache ist nicht mehr ein jüdisch-griechischer Jargon, sondern ein grossartiges Monument der sogenannten Koinê; die LXX ist eines der wichtigsten und grossartigsten Monumente jener Zeit, in der die griechische Sprache allmählich eine Volkssprache wurde, die durch die LXX wieder zu einer literarischen erhoben worden ist.

Aber die Bedeutung dieses Werkes liegt nicht so sehr in seinem philologischen Charakter sondern in seinem Charakter als religiöses Buch. Es ist die Antwort, die das Judentum dem griechischen Heidentum und seiner Verworfenheit gegeben hat. Aber das Gift des Hellenismus, welches das Selbstbewusstsein und die religiösen Überzeugungen der Völker des Orients zerstört hat, hat sich auch in das Judentum von Palästina schon in früher Zeit eingeschlichen. Es hat dort Verderben gewirkt, das seinen Gipfelpunkt in der Aufstellung der Zeusstatue im Tempel von Jerusalem erreicht hat. In Palästina fühlte man zuerst das Bedürfnis, der Arroganz der Griechen Schranken zu setzen; die Kenntnis des Griechischen war dort, wie sich jetzt herausstellt, eben so sehr verbreitet wie in Aegypten; das ganze Land war mit griechischen Colonien besät, und der Kampf zwischen Griechen und Juden entspann sich dort aufs Heftigste, lange bevor er in Aegypten zum Ausbruch kam.

Es fragt sich nun, ob man angesichts dieser Tatsachen nicht wohl auch daran denken kann, dass in Palästina selbst, und viel früher noch als in Aegypten, eine griechisch-jüdische Literatur entstehen konnte, und ob man erst darauf warten musste, bis das Gesetz in Alexandrien ins Griechische übertragen wurde, oder ob es nicht zuerst in Palästina übersetzt wurde und sich dann in Aegypten eingebürgert hat, besonders nach den Stürmen der Makabäerzeit. Ich kann hier diese Frage nur aufwerfen, aber

ich behandle dieselbe anderwärts ausführlicher. Wenn ich mir auch der Schwierigkeiten bewusst bin, die einer solchen Hypothese entgegenstehen, so werden andererseits durch diese Annahme viele Probleme gelöst, die bisher den Forschern grosse Schwierigkeiten bereitet haben.

An solcher polemischen und apologetischen Arbeit beteiligen sich auch die heimsässigen Samaritaner. Die Spitze richtet sich dann bei Juden gegen Griechen und Samaritaner, bei Samaritanern gegen Griechen und Juden, und von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus betrachtet, gewinnt die hellenistische Literatur eine eigentümliche Bedeutung: sie zeigt sich in den wenigen Schriften, die sich uns griechisch erhalten haben, und die Freudenthal so gründlich behandelt hat, nicht weniger aber auch in der pseudo-epigraphischen Literatur, die bisher von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus gar nicht behandelt worden ist.

Eine vergleichende Untersuchung, die sich über diese ganze Literatur, Josephus mit eingeschlossen, erstreckt, bestärkt mich in dieser Überzeugung: es ergibt sich eine parallele Entwicklung bei Juden und Samaritanern. unabhängig von der Sprache, in welcher sie schreiben, und beide sind tief beeinflusst von der palästinensischen Exegese und dem Midrasch. Es giebt keine unabhängige Entstehung ähnlicher Sagen in Aegypten und in Palästina, sondern sie alle laufen auf eine gemeinsame Quelle in Palästina zurück; und wo sich etwas in hellenistischer Literatur und gleichlautend in der jüdischen und samaritanischen Literatur findet, rührt es von Palästina her und ist erst von dort nach Aegypten gebracht worden, wo es in eigentümlicher Weise umgeformt worden ist. Die synkretistische Tätigkeit fängt schon in Palästina an, wo ein derartiges Werk auch Griechisch verfasst sein konnte und wahrscheinlich auch verfasst wurde, und nachher wurden aegyptische Züge hinzugefügt,

wenn man es dort als Tendenzschrift weiter verbreitete. Die Hauptaufgabe aber der ganzen Literatur lag darin, den Griechen die Eitelkeit und die Grundlosigkeit ihrer Ansprüche beizubringen; an der Hand des eigenen Schrifttums sollte der Beweis geliefert werden, dass die Juden mit zu den ältesten Völkern der Welt gehörten, dass sie ein von Gott erwähltes Volk seien, dass ihre Geschichte eine erhabene und ihre Gesetze die vollkommsten seien, da sie göttlichen Ursprungs wären.

Ich beschränke mich hier nun auf eine einzige Schrift und zwar auf das Fragment der biblischen Chronologie des Demetrius. Freudenthal hat (S. 35—82) ausführlich darüber gehandelt. Er hat den unwiderleglichen Beweis erbracht, dass wir es hier mit einem äusserst sorgfältigen, umsichtigen und tief-religiösen Verfasser zu tun haben, der alle seine Kenntnisse aus der griechischen Übersetzung schöpft, sich aber auch dem Einflusse des Midrasch nicht ganz entzogen hat. Aus diesen Gründen bezeichnet Freudenthal Aegypten als seine Heimat und versucht die Parallele zwischen Demetrius und dem jüdischen Schrifttum in obiger Weise zu erklären, nämlich, dass sie unabhängig von einander entstanden seien. Die Frage aber ist: was hat Demetrius veranlasst eine solche Chronologie zu verfassen? Unzweifelhaft liegt hier eine polemische und apologetische Schrift vor. Chronologien lagen zur Zeit des Verfassers, der dem dritten Jahrhundert vor der gew. Zeitrechnung angehören soll, in der Luft. Genau wie die Juden ihr hohes Alter den Griechen gegenüber erweisen wollten, so taten es auch die Vertreter der babylonischen Geschichte (Berossus), der phönizischen (Sanchuniaton), so wie später der ägyptischen (Maneto). Darin liegt auch der Grund dafür, dass damals so zahlreiche chronikartige Werke verfasst wurden, welche sich mit der biblischen und jüdischen Geschichte befassen, so zum Teile auch

die Sibyllinische Orakel und zuletzt Josephus. Alle dienen demselben Zweck. Die Notwendigkeit für die Abfassung einer solchen Schrift war mindestens so gross in Palästina wie irgendwo anders, und die Anfänge einer midraschartigen Exegese liegen noch viel weiter zurück als die Übersetzung der LXX, wie Frankel schlagend nachgewiesen hat. Ebenso unzweifelhaft ist ihre palästiniensische Heimat. Wenn wir nun in Demetrius Spuren davon finden, so müssen diese auf dieselben Einflüsse zurückgeführt werden, die sich in der LXX zeigen. Leider sind die Fragmente zu klein, als dass sie uns viele Beispiele bieten könnten. Die zwei vorhandenen müssen daher genügen. Dass erste ist der Versuch, die kuschitische Frau des Moses (Num. 12,1) mit Zipporah zu identifizieren. Eine Mischehe des Moses musste von Demetrius vermieden werden; der Grund dafür lag nah, wenn man daran denkt, mit welcher Strenge Ezra und Nehemiah gegen dieselbe vorgegangen sind, und vielleicht lag darin auch eine Spitze gegen die Ehe des Menasseh, des jüdischen Priesters, mit der samaritanischen Frau, der Tochter des Sanballat. Freudenthal hat zwar schon (S. 44, Anm.) auf die Parallele im Sifré ad loc. hingewiesen. Sie findet sich aber noch viel ausführlicher im Paläst. Targum II zur Stelle. Natürlich hängt es auch davon ab, welches Alter man dem Paläst. Targ. II zuschreibt; auch hier muss ich mich darauf beschränken, auf mein demnächst erscheinendes Buch zu verweisen. Ich habe darin die Frage ausführlich erörtert und den Versuch gemacht, ein sehr hohes Alter dieser Targumim, insbesondere aber ihren innigen Zusammenhang mit den ältesten Fragmenten der hellenistischen Literatur und mit Josephus nachzuweisen. Mir gilt ein grosser Teil des agadischen Elementes in den Targumin für viel älter als unsere sonstigen Midraschim, die Tannaitischen mit eingeschlossen. Hat nun

Demetrius das Targum und den Sifré beeinflusst, haben diese letztern aus der hellenistischen Quelle geschöpft, oder steht umgekehrt Demetrius unter dem direkten Einflusse dieser palästinensischen Exegese? Unabhängig von einander können sie unmöglich auf dieselbe Lösung der Schwierigkeit gekommen sein, die die kuschitische Frau des Moses dem frommen Leser bietet. Sie taucht so urplötzlich auf, und in der Bibel selbst ist auch nicht die leiseste Andeutung über ihren Ursprung zu finden. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass Demetrius es der palästinensischen Exegese direkt entnommen hat. Bezeichnend ist, dass sowohl der Samaritaner als auch Onkelos Kuschit mit „schön, hübsch“, übersetzt, „Jairtah“ (Sam. Targ.) u. „Schapirtah“ (Onkelos), aus demselben Grunde, der den Demetrius beeinflusst hat, Zipporah dafür zu setzen.

Noch viel interessanter ist die andere Parallele. Demetrius sucht auf chronologischer Grundlage zu zeigen, dass zwölf Kinder Jakobs innerhalb von sieben Jahren geboren sind. Ohne dem biblischen Texte Gewalt anzutun, lässt er Joseph und drei Söhne der Mägdle zu gleicher Zeit mit ihren Halbbrüdern geboren werden, und die Geburten einander je nach zehn Monaten folgen. Dies ist eine sehr geistreiche Berechnung, aber er fügt noch etwas mehr hinzu. Er giebt auch genau das Jahr von Jakobs Aufenthalt bei Laban und den Monat an, in welchem die Geburt jedes Einzelnen stattgefunden hat. (Euseb. Präp. Ev. IX, c. 21, f. 423 a-b., Freudenthal p. 219). Es kam Demetrius wohl darauf an, auch diese Schwierigkeit des biblischen Textes aus dem Wege zu räumen, aber derselbe Versuch findet sich auch in der jüdischen Literatur, wo diese Schwierigkeit auch frühzeitig herausgespürt wurde. So schon in der ältesten jüdischen Chronologie, Seder Olam Rabba, die wohl aus ähnlichen zwingenden Gründen verfasst wurde und auch

nur auf den Angaben der Bibel beruht, die in agadischer Weise wo nötig gedeutet wurden. Somit läuft Seder Olam parallel mit Demetrius, und ist wahrscheinlich der letzten Ausläufer einer viel älteren Chronologie, die vielleicht gleichzeitig mit Demetrius existiert haben kann. Hier finden wir nun K. 2 dieselben Angaben, aber der Text ist besonders verkürzt; es wird nur angegeben, dass die Kinder Jakobs in sieben Jahren geboren wurden, aber weitere Details fehlen. Eigentlich ist hier nur ein Schluss gezogen worden aus der Erzählung in der Bibel, die man so deuten konnte, aber zwingend ist er nicht. Merkwürdigerweise taucht eine ähnliche Berechnung in dem Buche der Jubiläen auf. Es ist eines der ältesten Pseudo-epigraphen und ist trotz der Überarbeitung von Seiten des griechischen Übersetzers rein palästinensischen Ursprungs. Dem Verfasser des Buches der Jubiläen lag eine ähnliche Berechnung vor, die diejenige bei Demetrius noch weiter ausführt. Hier finden wir nämlich auch die Tage des Monats angegeben, an welchem die Kinder geboren wurden. Andererseits aber hat der Verfasser den Zeitraum von sieben Jahren aufgegeben und die Geburt der Kinder Jakobs auf zwölf Jahre verteilt. In der rein hebräischen Literatur findet sich dieselbe Tradition wieder, so im Midrasch Tadsche (c. 8, S. XXII, ed. Epstein, Mikadmonijot Hajjehudim, Beiträge zur Jüdischen Altertumskunde. Teil I, Wien 1887). Dieser Text entspricht ziemlich genau dem Buche der Jubiläen, lässt aber seinerseits die Zahl der Jahre fort. Weitere Parallelen giebt Ratner in seiner Ausgabe des Seder Olam ad loc. Die Übereinstimmung zwischen all diesen Texten ist so gross, dass sie nicht auf Zufall beruhen kann, und hier wiederum kann man nicht annehmen, dass die palästinensischen Schriftgelehrten auf einen verschollenen griechischen Verfasser, der ihnen vielleicht nicht einmal dem Namen nach bekannt war,

zurückgegriffen und von ihm ihre Berechnungen geholt haben sollen. Umgekehrt dagegen ist viel leichter anzunehmen, dass Demetrius in Palästina selbst aus derselben Quelle geschöpft hat wie die Andern.

Die Chronologie des Demetrius, die zwar auf der LXX beruht, richtet sich wohl zu gleicher Zeit gegen die abweichende Chronologie der Samaritaner, die für die Geburt Moses und den Auszug aus Aegypten andere Daten hat, die wahrscheinlich auf dogmatischen Grundsätzen beruhen, auf welche ich aber hier nicht eingehen kann.

Es bleibt nur noch das Argument, das für den aegyptischen Ursprung des Demetrius angeführt wird, nämlich, dass er nur den griechischen Text der LXX benützt und nie auf den hebräischen Text eingeht. Wenn nun, wie anzunehmen ist, seine ganze Arbeit den Zweck hat, den Griechen zu beweisen, dass die Juden ein auf chronologischer Grundlage aufgebautes historisches Buch besitzen und dass ihre Angaben absolut zuverlässig sind, so konnte er ihn nur erreichen, indem er auf die griechische Übersetzung zurückgriff und sie zur Grundlage seiner Chronologie machte. Denn gerade dadurch, dass sie griechisch verfasst ist, war sie ja den Griechen zugänglich und für diese war wohl zumeist die Chronologie bestimmt. Ihnen sollte bewiesen werden, dass alle anderen Zeitrechnungen der Babylonier, Phönizier, etc. reine phantastische Spielereien seien gegenüber der schlichten Erzählung der Bibel. Andererseits sollte ihnen gerade durch diese einfache Chronologie beigebracht werden, wie alt die Juden und ihre Zivilisation der der Griechen gegenüber wären.

Ich habe hier in diesen wenigen Zeilen Probleme aufgeworfen, die schon in ihrer Fassung so ziemlich allem widersprechen, was bisher vom Ursprunge der hellenistischen Literatur behauptet worden ist. Man hat

sich zu sehr an einen Gedankengang gewöhnt, der so ziemlich zum Dogma geworden ist. Aber reine Hypothesen sind es nicht. Ich habe seit Jahren in verschiedenen Ausgaben alter Legendenstoffe, apokrypher und pseudo-epigraphischer Texte stets behauptet, dass alle jene Werke ähnlichen Inhalts, die wir jetzt nur in griechischer Sprache besitzen, zumeist auf hebräische oder aramäische Quellen zurückgehen, und dass umgekehrt keine einzige hebräische oder aramäische Schrift aus dem Griechischen übersetzt worden ist. Diese Ansicht findet immer mehr Verbreitung und sie erstreckt sich jetzt auch auf die Grundschriften des Neuen Testaments. Ebenso habe ich versucht nachzuweisen, dass die agadische Interpretation des Pentateuchs, aus welcher die spätere Sagenentwicklung geflossen ist, auf ein viel höheres Alter zurückzuführen ist, als man bisher angenommen hat. Das spätere Datum der literarischen Aufzeichnung, in welcher diese agadischen Elemente jetzt enthalten sind, ist kein Beweis für ihr jüngeres Alter.

Wenn nun diese Zeilen das erreichen werden, dass man diese Probleme von Neuem wieder aufnimmt und sie einer Untersuchung unterwirft, die von diesen Gesichtspunkten geleitet ist, so wird die historisch-pragmatische Entwicklung derselben uns in einem ganz anderen Licht erscheinen. Wir werden dann darin ein organisches Wachstum erkennen und den Einfluss, den sie auf das geistige Leben der Völker ausgeübt hat, in der gegenseitigen Wechselwirkung besser erkennen und würdigen.

Möge es unserem Jubilar vergönnt sein, noch viele Jahre diese Fragen mit Interesse zu verfolgen und sich an den weiteren Resultaten mit geistiger Frische zu erfreuen.

JEWISH COINS AND MESSIANIC TRADITIONS.

THE types presented by the Jewish coins have exercised hitherto the minds of numismatists, and have not yet found, as it seems, a satisfactory explanation. There is not even complete agreement as to what these types represent, and still less has any explanation been offered which should solve the problem of their choice. The types which I have in view are those found on coins ascribed to Simon the Maccabean, which are also believed to have been the first Jewish coins ever struck. It is still doubtful whether there are really coins struck by the Maccabean Prince of the year 138 B.C., or whether they are coins of Bar Kochba, also named Simon, and belonging to the first half of the second century A.D. I have re-examined the whole problem in the light of certain traditions which, as far as I am aware, have hitherto been entirely overlooked, in relation with this set of types and symbols on the coins with which they have not yet been connected by any one.

It may lead to a more satisfactory result, and, moreover, will lead to a series of investigations of no mean purpose. I am dealing with those coins, as already mentioned before, which, according to Madden and finally Reinach, are commonly ascribed to Simon the Maccabean. It is, however, as already remarked, a moot point among the numismatists whether Simon, whose name appeared in the Legend, was the Maccabean, or whether it was Simon Bar Kochba. There is, however, close similarity between the two sets of coins, even considering them from a palaeographic point

of view. There is no perceptible difference between the letters on those coins, though they are separated from one another by close upon 270 years.

Let us turn now to the types on these coins. These consist on the one side of a stem with three buds (flowers), and on the other a beaded (two-handed) vase or chalice. The opinion of most scholars gravitates to the conclusion that these two represent the budding and flowering rod of Aaron, and the pot or flask of manna. The explanation for the choice of these types is that they represent the Aaronite descent of the ruler who, for the first time had obtained the right of issuing coins of their own. On closer examination this explanation is far from satisfactory. If the reason was to emphasise thereby the priestly origin of Simon, one could understand an emphatic declaration. If the point involved was merely that stress should be laid on the fact that Simon had obtained the High Priesthood pure and simple, such a type might have been selected as the outward symbol of his lawful fitness for the post.

But here it was more the question of his independence as a ruler who had freed the people from the last trace of Greek tutelage. It was to be the symbol of complete freedom. How then is this to be reconciled with the Rod of Aaron and the Flask or Pot of Manna? Surely other types would have been selected more easily recognised by the people, not apparently meaningless symbols like these. And if it was a question of mere ornamental substitutions for the effigies of the rulers of heathen states found on these coins, surely other types could have been found, as was in fact the case on later coins.

Assuming still that the Aaronite origin was to be expressed by these types, it must strike one as very incongruous that of all the vessels of the Temple and the vestments of the

priests, just those should have been selected which of all others had entirely disappeared in the destruction of the Solomonic Temple, and had never been recovered. Why was a symbol chosen of things not seen for generations, and which may have lived only as shadowy memories in the minds of the people? It would have been more appropriate if stress was to have been laid on the Aaronite descent, if, for example, such a conspicuous vestment as the breastplate would have been chosen with the mystical precious stones, or the mitre, or any other emblem seen by the multitude and worn by the High Priest in the sight of the assembly, e.g., on the Day of Atonement and other occasions of public and religious rejoicing. It would have brought home to the people also the fact that they now enjoyed absolute freedom in the performances of such duties and ceremonies. A different reason must therefore be found for the selection of those two types in the first place. It is assumed that they represent respectively the flowering rod of Aaron, or the pot or flask of manna. I fully agree with this. No other satisfactory explanation has hitherto been advanced. Even the later developments, of which more anon, strengthen this interpretation. For the vase or cup of manna has been retained on other coins, and in lieu of the flowering rod another flowering emblem has sometimes been substituted, which has been taken to be a palm leaf.

Not much doubt can therefore be entertained that these types represent indeed the pot of manna and the rod of Aaron. But the meaning attached to these emblems has nothing whatever to do with the Aaronite descent. To the people these emblems conveyed a totally different impression.

It is therefore advisable to inquire into the legends and beliefs which have clustered round these two objects. It will be found that they have been treated with exceptional

veneration. An importance had been assigned to them which by far transcends any of the other objects mentioned in the Bible, and even far above the more important vessels of the temple, such as the candlestick, the golden altar on the table for the shewbread. A cycle of legends has been woven round the pot of manna, to a certain extent also round the budding and flowering rod of Aaron as it is described in contradistinction to the rod of Moses. Both are the result of a special act of creation. Among the ten things created on the close of the sixth day are the pot of manna and the rod of Aaron, and joined with them also the Tables of the Law. So in the "Chapters of the Fathers" v. 1, and in other works to be mentioned presently. (The variation in the chapter of Rabbi Eleazer, according to which their creation took place on the second day, is due, no doubt, to a copyist's error, as Lurya has shown in his commentary on that passage.) Not only do the manna and the rod of Aaron date from the beginning of the creation, but according to legend they will persist through the ages. A special place of honour was assigned to them. They were placed beside, or even inside the Ark in which the Tables of the Law were kept in the Holy of Holies, and a peculiar tradition is found in "Hebrews" ix. '4. It is worth while setting down here the whole verse :

"Having a golden censer and the Ark of the Covenant overlaid roundabout with gold wherein was a golden pot holding the manna and Aaron's rod that budded, and the Tables of the Covenant."

It is clear that, according to this statement, the golden pot of manna and the budding rod of Aaron were in the Ark together with the Tables of the Covenant.

They were considered of special importance. It may be noticed that the Jewish tradition (v. below) does not know of a *golden* pot. On the contrary, the opinion is

repeatedly expressed that the pot was of *earthenware*, a substance which kept the manna cool. (This explanation rests, however, on an etymological explanation of the צנצנת, the Hebrew word used in the text for the receptacle in which the manna was to be kept. That word was derived from the new Hebrew root צנן, to cool, and thus the pot became one of earthenware. Another reason assigned for the choice of earthenware was that it was designed to keep the manna fresh for generations. From the transaction of Jeremiah (ch. xxxii. 14) it was known that the best vessel used for the purpose of preserving even the frail documents was a pot of earthenware. Hence the choice of such a substance for the pot of manna. Or in the light of the passage in Hebrews in which the pot is described as being golden, is there perhaps a polemical tendency? In any case the tradition is unanimous that the pot of manna and the rod were kept close either to the Ark according to Exodus xvi. 33 and Numbers xvii. 25, M.T., A.V. xvii. 10, or even inside the Ark (Heb. ix. 7) in the Holy of Holies of the Temple.

It is important to follow up now further the other and numerous traditions which have gathered round the pot of manna and the rod of Aaron as far as they have been preserved in the Jewish literature. There is, in the first place, the very explicit statement in the Jerusalem Talmud Shekalim vi. 1, folio 49c, that King Josiah, when he heard the High Priest read to him the chapter in Deuteronomy in which it is said that "The Lord shall bring thee and thy king which thou shalt set over thee unto a nation which thou hast not known, thou nor thy fathers" (Deut. xxviii. 36). He said now that the Levites had learned to rest, they would not be willing afterwards to carry the Ark on their shoulders, and he therefore took the Ark with its Tables, together with the pot of manna and

the rod of Aaron, and hid them in one of the caves of the Temple. The same legend is repeated many times in the Talmud. We find it in the Babylonian Talmud, Tr. Yoma 52B; so also in Tr. Horayoth 12a; Tosefta, ed. Zuckermann, p. 318, Sota ch. xiii., also Jeru. Sota viii. 3 f. 22c. To these parallels in the Talmud and later on in the Midrashic literature, as will be seen, some other details have been added. No less significant is the appearance of this legend of the hiding of the vessels in the ancient Midrash, Mechilta to Exodus xvi. 32, ed. Friedmann, folio 51b, and Yalkut Shimeoni, *ad loc.*, where other elements have been added to which we shall have to refer later on. And then with many variations the legend again occurs in the Tana debe Eliyahu towards the end of chapter xxv., and even in as late a compilation as Bahya's Commentary to the Pentateuch *ad loc.* It is now a remarkable feature that Jeremiah is not connected in any way directly with the hiding of these vessels throughout the whole of the Jewish literature. On the contrary, he is brought into connexion in a different manner with the pot of manna. That pot has been kept, according to the Biblical words, to be a sign, and the time came when, as it is told, Jeremiah rebuked the people for their neglect of reading the law. And to this the people replied, "If we should give our time to the study of the law, who will feed us?" Then Jeremiah produced the pot of manna from the Temple, and holding it up to the people he said, "Here you have the bread on which your fathers have been fed for forty years in the wilderness, and he who fed them for so long will be sure to feed you too." There is now another set of writings, in which also the hiding of the sacred vessels is told. It occurs first in 11 Maccabees ch. ii. 4-8:—

(4) "It was also contained in the same writing, that the prophet, being warned of God, commanded the tabernacle

and the ark to go with him as he went forth into the mountain, where Moses climbed up, and saw the heritage of God."

(5) "And when Jeremy came thither, he found an hollow cave, wherein he laid the tabernacle, and the ark, and the altar of incense."

We find it afterwards in the Apocalypse of Baruch, ed. Charles, ch. vi. vv. 7. 8, more fully developed. It runs as follows:—

(7) "And I saw him (the angel) descend into the Holy of Holies and take from thence the veil, and the holy ephod, and the mercy seat, and the two tables, and the holy raiment of the priests, and the altar of incense, and the forty-eight precious stones, wherewith the priest was adorned, and all the holy vessels of the tabernacle."

(8) "And he spake to the earth with a loud voice, "Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the mighty God and receive what I commit to thee, and guard them until the last times, so that when thou art ordered thou mayest restore them, so that strangers may not get possession of them."

It will be noticed that the prophet Jeremiah is no longer mentioned. His place is taken by an angel, the vessels are not in a cave in the mountain, but somewhere in a place in the earth not clearly described, as they had to be kept "until the last times."

In the Paraleipomena, or the rest of the words of Baruch, ed. J. R. Harris, chapter iii., we have again the same legend, but here it is Jeremiah who takes not all the holy vessels, but more, in conformity with 2 Maccabees, the tabernacle (the ark?), and the altar of incense, but none of the other vessels are there mentioned. In the other versions to that text to which I have drawn attention as far back as 1881 in my *Studies on the Legend of Honi, the Maker of Circles* (*Monatschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judent.*, 1881-82, p. 130 f., sep. ed., p. 79 f., and esp. p. 83). The objects

hidden by Jeremiah were the ark, the altar of incense, the table and the candlestick. I have discussed in those Studies the connexion of this legend with the Jewish and other parallels, and I have given the Jewish sources for the Paraleipomena. Harris, Charles, as well as Rothstein in Kautzsch's *Pseudepigraphen*, have entirely ignored these researches. Had they taken notice of them they might perhaps have come to different conclusions. This by the way. I have shown there that this legend is found also in the Greek Chronicle of Dorotheos of Monembazia, a late Greek writer (ed. Venice, pp. 102-109), and in my history of the Roumanian popular literature, Bucharest, 1883, pp. 340 f., attention has also been drawn to the old Slavonic versions published by Tikonravov (*Pamyatniki*, etc.), vol. i. pp. 273-298, as well as to the Greek text in Menaea, and the Roumanian *Vitae Sanctorum* of 1682 from old MSS. of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Moreover, I have found the very same story embodied in a Roumanian chronograph, written about 1636, which, as well as the Roumanian *Vitae Sanct.*, rests directly on Greek sources. In all these the number of vessels hidden by Jeremiah is precisely the same as in the Paraleipomena. This seems to be the most correct version of the passage in question. Here, then, we have a second tradition about the hiding of the sacred vessels, which, however, presupposed the existence of the other mentioned in Jewish literature. If the vessels hidden by Jeremiah in the Apocryphal literature are carefully examined it will be found that the pot of manna and the rod of Aaron are not mentioned among those which were hidden by him. The authors of these later writings must have been aware of the older legend that those two things and possibly also the Ark had been hidden long before by King Josiah, that they had practically disappeared long before the destruction of the

temple, that Jeremiah only took those vessels which had remained inside up to the time of the storming of the town by the Babylonian hosts. Moreover, the vessels hidden by Jeremiah were afterwards more or less replaced by other similar vessels made after the return, when the temple was rebuilt. But the manna and the rod of Aaron and possibly the Ark could not be replaced, and, according to Josephus' (*Wars*, v. 5, 5, 219), the place in the Holy of Holies in the Temple of Herod was empty, and no doubt it was also empty before. The Jewish tradition had persisted down to a very late date that the Ark, and with it, no doubt, the pot of manna and the rod of Aaron, were lying somewhere within the precincts of the temple and not in a cave in a mountain as in 2 Maccabees, and not in any place in the earth outside the temple, and possibly outside of Jerusalem (*Apocalypse of Baruch* and *Paraleipomena*), but they were lying inside the temple. This Jewish tradition is found in the *Jer. Tal. Shekalim*, chapter vi. It is said that the place where these vessels were hidden was somewhere under the floor of the cell in which the wood was kept for the altar. Once upon a time, we are told, a priest who, through a blemish, could not take part in the service, was chopping wood in that place, when he noticed that one of the flagstones in the floor seemed different from the rest. So he went and told his friends what he had seen. No sooner had he mentioned the fact than he dropped down dead, and they all understood that that stone was covering the entrance to the hiding place. Another version tells that he was sitting there, and whilst chopping the wood and examining it that it should be free of worms, the axe dropped and struck a stone on the floor. Instantly fire came out and burned him, and thus they understood that he must have struck the entrance to the hiding place of the sacred vessels (*Jeru. Shekalim*, vi. 1. *B. Joma*

54a). Whatever the date of the 2nd Book of Maccabees or the Books of Baruch may be, this legend must be older than that date, as otherwise they could not very well have omitted to mention that Jeremiah hid also the pot of manna and the rod of Aaron. The author of "Hebrews" ix. 4 knew that these had been in the temple, and if not for the legend of Josiah, there is no reason why Jeremiah should not have been credited with hiding these two when he was hiding all the other vessels of the temple carefully enumerated, especially in Paraleipomena. Now, if that be the case, and it cannot be easily gainsaid, the more surprising is then the fact that those who struck the Jewish coins should have taken for types objects which in popular belief had disappeared ever since the time of Josiah, and had never since been restored. Such must have been the belief of the people in the time of the Maccabean period. Why then were just those two objects selected which no doubt were meant to have a symbolical meaning, the significance of which must have been known to the people? Why just pick out the pot of manna and the rod of Aaron? The legends clustering round these two have, however, not yet been exhausted.

It is quite in the spirit of the Midrash and of religious legends to assume that an object created by God and ordered by Him to be placed in the Holy of Holies was not to be destroyed and could not disappear entirely. They were to remain as a token for generations, and therefore a time must come when they will reappear. In fact they became Messianic symbols. We find this then in the above-mentioned passages in the Mechilta completely reproduced in the Yalkut Shimeoni, and found also in the Tanhuma *ad loc.*, that the pot of manna was to be preserved for the time of the Messiah. The pot of manna was one of the three objects which the prophet Elijah is to bring to the

people at the time of the Messiah, and this would form the outward symbol of the advent of the Messiah, nay, the symbol of the Messiah himself, for he who would bring back the manna and the rod of Aaron would thereby show that he was the true Messiah. The other objects were the flask with the oil of anointment, and according to some versions also the flask for the water of purification. Here, then, we have a very definite and clear interpretation of the types used on these coins. We find also in Midrash Koheleth 101.9, where it is stated emphatically that "just as the first Redeemer (Moses) had been, so also will be the second redeemer, the Messiah; the former brought down the manna from Heaven, so the second would bring down the manna," which is to be understood he will produce the pot of manna as a sign of Messiahship. He who struck the coins selected these two objects in sympathy with the general belief in order to show that he was the real Messiah. He held, as it were in his hand, the pot of manna and the rod of Aaron. Struck on coins circulating among the people what could have been a more effective symbol of the Messianic claim than the use of these two types? It might be objected that although these legends occur in some ancient Hebrew writings, there is yet no proof of their general acceptance. Here, then, I am able to adduce another proof which will make the conclusions at which I have arrived even more satisfactory. The Samaritans hold precisely the same belief. Not only have I learnt it from them in my intercourse with them that the sign for the Taheb, the name the Samaritans give to their Messiah, would be the pot of manna and the rod of Aaron, and he who would bring these two things would thereby demonstrate before the whole world that he was the rightful Taheb. We find it also in the treatise on the Taheb in the introduction to that symbolical interpretation of the flood and the ark of Noah,

published by A. Merx, *The Taheb*, Giessen, 1909; cf. my review, *ZDMG.*, 1910. We read there very distinctly that the Taheb will bring the pot of manna and the rod of Aaron in his hands. In my investigations of Samaritan oral law and of their legendary traditions I have come to the conclusion that whatever Samaritans and Jews have in common in practice and belief dates back to pre-Christian times. It is not here the place nor yet the time to show the close harmony between the practices and beliefs of the so-called Sadducees, and even of the ancient Pharisees, and the practices and beliefs of the Samaritans. Their biblical exegesis is based on similar principles, and I have no hesitation in ascribing this legend of the Taheb to the same period. We have, therefore, in these types on the Jewish coins Messianic symbols.

The next question which follows of necessity is, if such be the case, who struck these coins? If, as hitherto assumed, they were struck by Simon the Maccabee ca. 135 B.C., then one would at once have to assume that these Messianic beliefs were current in his times and were so strongly held that a Maccabean prince, who had reached such a high position according to Maccabees xiv. 41. "Also that the Jews and Priests were well pleased that Simon should be their governor and high priest for ever until there should arrive a faithful prophet" wished also to be acknowledged as the Messiah. Moreover, the Messianic principle should have then taken so deep a root and should have assumed such a definite form as to be connected with the manna and the rod of Aaron at the beginning of the second century B.C. In that proclamation, however, we read "that Simon should be their governor and high priest for ever until there should arise a faithful prophet." The reference to the advent of the faithful prophet at once precludes the idea of Simon's being in any way connected

with the Messianic principle. The people recognised Simon and his descendants to be the high priest only, and the reference is clear as to the advent of the prophet, i.e., the precursor of the Messiah, the prophet here meant being in the reference to the "faithful prophet" is Elijah mentioned in the last verse of the last prophet Malachi, who was to announce the advent of the Messiah. But at that time the prophet Elijah had not yet come, and it is questionable whether his coming at the time of the advent of the Messiah had already crystallised in the popular belief. Moreover, one would have to discuss the problem as to whether the people expected the Messiah from the house of David or from the house of Levi. The Samaritans have solved the problem in their own way, inasmuch as having rejected the house of David they have definitely proclaimed their view that the Messiah will be one of the house of Levi, "A prophet like unto me," i.e., like unto Moses who was of the house of Levi. But with the Jews it is difficult to assume that they would have recognised any of the Maccabees to be the real Messiah.

The Rev. Dr. Wicks, D.D., in his article on the "Doctrine of the Messiah in Jewish Apocrypha and Apocalyptic," which appeared in the July number of *The International Journal of Apocrypha*," 1916, p. 34 f., has brought out most lucidly the remarkable fact that the reference to the Messiah is practically missing in this whole literature with the exception of a few books such as the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Enoch literature. Out of close upon fifty writings, more than three-fourths make no reference at all, and curiously enough in the Testaments Levi is connected with the Messiah. Thus far we see that even in the apocryphal literature the idea of the coming of the Messiah, in the second century, was a very shadowy one, and certainly not so vivid and strong as to be used by

any of the Maccabean princes in support of any claim to that exalted position.

There is now another Simon, Simon Bar Kochba, whom Akiba, as is well known, proclaimed to be the Messiah. His connexion with Eleazer of Modin, the birthplace of the Maccabees, is no proof whatever of his Levitic descent as some have assumed. Eleazer was his maternal uncle, and it is not known whether he himself was a Levite, but Bar Kochba raised the standard of revolt as a Jewish Messiah who fought for "the freedom of Jerusalem, the deliverance of the people," and this is the legend on the coin, *Leherut Yerushalaim*. The types of the pot of manna and the rod of Aaron fit admirably. With these symbols he came before the people. They understood the meaning of the types on the coins, and in a way he may have tried to impress also the Samaritans. He brought to them the same symbols as they postulated for the recognition of the true Messiah. The coins, therefore, which bear these types must be a sign to Simon Bar Kochba and not to Simon the Maccabee. Everything points in that direction. The difficulty about the years which are marked on the coins has not yet been solved in either case, but they fit in much better with the period of Bar Kochba than the time of Simon the Maccabee. Moreover, the lettering is absolutely identical between these coins, which are accepted as being coins of Bar Kochba and those coins ascribed to Simon the Maccabee. A lapse of 250 years would have changed somewhat the characters, and yet they are absolutely identical. So from every point of view we are justified in ascribing them to Bar Kochba, and in seeing in these types the Messianic emblems. An important evidence in this direction may also be found in the fact that none of the genuine Maccabean coins have either the pot or the rod. If these types were to have been a specifically characteristic

emblem for the Maccabean rule it is more than surprising that, after Simon, every one of his immediate successors, starting from John Hyrcanus, as it were obliterated this memory by all kinds of other types not even remotely resembling those of their greatest predecessor. No trace is found either of the chalice or of the blossoming rod. On the other hand we can show a definite persistence of the type in many variations and even in many remarkable applications. This will also go a long way to corroborate the right to assume that the cup or chalice represented the pot of manna. But I will go one step further. However numerous the changes may have been on the coins, the pot or chalice seems to have been retained on almost every one of them, but sometimes the rod is placed near the pot. Some people have been inclined to interpret it as a palm, I am inclined to see in it a budding rod. The design does not agree with that of a palm leaf, but it agrees much more with an attempt at describing a budding and blossoming rod.

We find, then, also sometimes a cluster of grapes, the vine, which is occasionally taken as a Messianic emblem. From olden times the vine has been identified with Messianic prophecies (Gen. xlix. 8). The allusions to the vine are numerous in the Bible; so 1 Kings iv. 25; Isaiah xxxvi. 16; Micah iv. 4; Zachariah iii. 10; and thus in this light the passage in John xv. 1 will receive special significance when Christ called himself the true vine. I should like also to refer here to the vision of the vine and the cedar (Apoc. Baruch, 36-40, ed. Charles).

With the waning of the Messianic claim by Bar Kochba other symbols were used on his later coins. But the cup of manna and the Messianic ideas suggested thereby do not disappear with the revolt and the death of Bar Kochba. These types existed before, and he merely took them as a symbol of his own claim, and there remained

after him also Messianic types. The manna had become invested with supernatural character. The ancient legends ascribed many tastes to the manna. To babies it was like milk from the mother's breast; to old people it was like honey (Exod. Rabba 5). Among the Samaritans similar traditions exist. My codex 1169 contains a number of traditions connected with the biblical history; among them we find also the same tradition about the wonderful qualities and miraculous effects of the manna. According to Jewish tradition it was then also the divine food prepared by the angels in Heaven. As it was divine food in the past in the time of Moses, so it will be the divine food in the time of the Messiah (*vide* above). It is the heavenly food of the pious, and only the faithful are worthy to partake of it. (Midrash Tanhuma, *ad loc.*, and Yalk. Shim. 1, folio 37D.)

In the Apocalypse of Baruch we read (xxix. 8) :—

“ And it will come to pass at that selfsame time that the treasury of manna will again descend from on high, and they will eat of it in those years, because these are they who have come to the consummation of time.” Reference is made by Charles in the note to this passage to Psalm lxxviii. 25, where manna is called the food of the mighty ones (angels), and the Sybilline oracles (vii. 149) said that it is to be the food of the Messianic king, and in Revelation ii. 17 we find that it is to be the hidden food of the faithful. (So also in the Jewish Midrash Tehillim to Psalm lxxviii. 25 and in the Yalkut Shimeoni *ad loc.* as well as Bahya to Exodus xxxiv. 28.) Here we have then the manna as the food reserved for the time of the Messiah, when the dead will be quickened into life at the time of the Resurrection and also it is reserved even now for the inmates of Paradise. What more fitting symbol expressing the most elevated hope than the pot of manna? And this seems to me to be the only explanation of the appearance of pictures of the pot of

manna and other types accompanying it in the catacombs both Jewish and Christian. Thus the pot of manna appears there, and also other symbols which have baffled until now the ingenuity of interpreters. There is a blossoming rod side by side with the real palm leaf, the latter being taken from another cycle. There is the Ark of the Covenant, and there are also the pictures of trumpets. Down to Krauss, Lowry and Michel these symbols have not been properly understood. They stand on a different plane from the pictures from scripture which thus far have found a proper explanation. These pictures are examples of divine intercession for saving the pious from the imminent dangers. They have found their way first into prayers of a symbolical and sympathetic character like those contained in the services of the burial of the Eastern and Catholic churches, and at the same time they have found practical pictorial expression, all examples of miraculous salvation. But none of them are symbols of that hope for resurrection and the Messiah together with that happiness contained in Apocalyptic vision and in popular legends of that time. The trumpet however, which is to call the dead to life again, the ark which was hidden and was to appear again, and the pot of manna which is feeding the pious and is to feed the quickened, and the rod which is to lead and to be a symbol of power, all these were part of that Messianic hope to which those who slumbered in the dust testified, and for the realisation of which they had prayed with their dying breaths. This alone will also probably explain those gilded glasses found in the catacombs, for which an explanation has hitherto not yet been found. I venture to see in them the replica of the "golden pot of manna," the vessel given to the dead to be fed from, either during the time whilst they were lying there, or to accompany them into the world beyond, and lastly to

be waiting for them ready for the time of the resurrection.

This connected chain of evidence seems to prove that we have indeed in these types on the coins Messianic symbols, and they could only have been used at the time when they had been closely connected with the advent of the Messiah, and again they could only have been used by a man who had claimed to be the Messiah, and was acclaimed as such, and this was the case with Simon Bar Kochba. This type seems to have persisted and to have assumed many forms in the course of centuries. It is a subject which lends itself to wide speculation. It is sufficient therefore to hint at the possible connexion between the Eucharistic chalice and the pot of manna, the former claimed also to contain the divine food. This must be left, however, to the student of Christian antiquities. I only venture to add that the Eucharistic chalice had originally very little to do with the cup of wine, and that it very fittingly corresponded to the legendary pot of manna. Why, even the painting in Ravenna, which belongs probably to the eighth century if not earlier (W. Lowrie, *Christian Art and Archaeology*, figures 131 and 132, pp. 314, 344, New York and London, 1901) resembles almost in every detail the pot or chalice on the Maccabean coin. In this connexion it is not a far cry from the Eucharistic cup to the legend of the Grail. Many years ago, as far back as 1882, I compared the food given by the grail, with its manifold tastes and virtues, with those ascribed to the manna. And now, after a lapse of so many years by another route, I have come back to the same conclusion, this time intimately connected with the legends of the Messiah and with the types on the Jewish coins. The heart-shaped pot seems to recur again in many ancient illustrations and pictures given by H. Bayley in his *Language of Symbolism*, London, 1912, vol. i. p. 246 ff., where the three flowers and the stem with the three flowers

appear in the shape of those on the Maccabean coins; but in contradistinction to the latter the three flowers are put inside the vessel or chalice and not beside it, because they could not be divided on the two sides of the coin. One might go further in one's speculations and see in the pictorial representation of the three lilies within the heart of St. Mary, the faint echo of the ancient type unconsciously preserved, when the artist who applied it had probably forgotten the original meaning. He may also have been influenced by some emblematic ceremonials of the Isis worship. But whatever value may be attached to this and similar speculations, more or less of a hypothetical character, there can scarcely now be any doubt that the types on the Jewish coins can only be the pot of manna and the blossoming rod of Aaron, and that we have in them types of a Messianic character of the time of Simon Bar Kochba.

Geniza-Fragmente

In den letzten Jahren seines Lebens hat unser, der Wissenschaft und dem Freundeskreise zu früh entrissener, seliger College und Freund, seine Aufmerksamkeit den Fragmenten zugewendet, welche während der verflossenen 10—12 Jahre ihren Weg aus der Genizah in Alt-Cairo nach Europa gefunden hatten. Wer war mehr dazu berufen, als Kaufmann, ausgerüstet mit einer kühnen Combinationsgabe und mit einem fast prophetischen Scharfblick, die sichtende Hand daran zu legen, und das tiefe Wissen in den Dienst der Entzifferung der zahlreichen litterarischen Probleme zu stellen, welche diese Fragmente dem Forscher bieten? Wer würde es besser verstanden haben, die fast unsichtbaren Fäden, die von einem Fragment zum andern sich ziehen, aufzufinden, zu verknüpfen und daraus einen Knäuel zu rollen, der uns sicher aus diesem Labyrinth herausgeführt hätte? Leider war es weder ihm noch uns beschieden! Ich glaube daher ganz im Sinne des Verblichenen zu handeln, wenn ich nun ein Häuflein solcher Fragmente hier veröffentliche. Der Verlust wird uns dadurch noch näher gerückt. Denn obzwar ich mich auf eine kleine Anzahl von den zahlreichen Fragmenten, die sich in meinem Besitz befinden, beschränke, so bieten auch diese wenigen, aus einer grösseren Masse herausgegriffenen, nicht wenige Probleme und nicht geringe Schwierigkeiten. Diese werden nur dann befriedigend gelöst werden können, wenn ein Corpus der Fragmente erschienen sein wird.

Aus den Stücken, die ich besitze, die selten grösser als ein Blatt, öfter aber nur ein Theil davon sind, habe ich nur einige herausgegriffen, die mir von besonderem Interesse erschienen sind. Ich habe sie hier ganz genau nach den Originalen abgedruckt. In den seltensten Fällen habe ich mir erlaubt Conjecturen zu machen, oder kleinere Lücken auszufüllen. Es ist nicht immer ein zu empfehlender Vorgang. Man setzt seine eigene Interpretation als sicher voraus, und verhindert dadurch in vielen Fällen gerade da das freie Spiel der wissenschaftlichen Erkenntniss. Es handelt sich uns in erster Reihe darum, ein genaues Bild von dem Bestande des Erhaltenen zu gewinnen, genau festzustellen, was da ist und in welchem Umfange sowohl, als auch in welcher Form das Vorhandene in diesen Fragmenten erscheint. Eine falsche Conjectur kann leicht auf falsche Fährte leiten, besonders wo wir, wie in diesem Falle mit Texten aus dem zehnten, elften, zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhundert zu thun haben. Es eröffnet sich uns ein Einblick in eine Welt, von der bisher nur wenig an uns gelangt war, und noch Alles zu erfahren ist. Ich erwähne z. B. die Frage nach der Würde und Stellung der „Negidim“ in Cairo und Aegypten im Allgemeinen. Zwar haben einige schon Schlüsse gezogen und die Frage nach eigenem Gutdünken gelöst. Wie wird sich dieses Resultat zu dem Document verhalten, welches ich hier als No. IV veröffentliche, aus welchem hervorgeht, dass dieser Titel auch dem „Patischah“ im Jahre 1209 — letzteres an und für sich ein merkwürdiges Factum — beigelegt wird! Um eine andere Frage zu berühren. In jüngster Zeit wird viel vom Rabbenu Hananel geschrieben und conjicirt, dass er seinen eigentlichen Namen Elhanan in Hananel geändert habe, da ein Brief von einem Huschiel ben Elhanan in der Genizah aufgefunden wurde, welcher an Schemarya ben Elhanan gerichtet worden ist. Nun finden sich aber andere Documente mit dem Namen Hananel unter den Documenten der Genizah, und ausserdem wird die Zahl unbekannter Namen sehr beträchtlich vermehrt.

Die mannigfaltigsten Gebiete der jüdischen Litteratur sind in diesen Fragmenten vertreten. Ich musste eine Auswahl

treffen und habe mich darin von dem Interesse, welches bestimmte Fächer für mich haben, einigermassen leiten lassen. Besonderes Gewicht habe ich auf die Aramäischen Fragmente gelegt. Die Auffindung der Hss. in Jemen mit der eigenthümlichen Vocalisation, die von der herkömmlichen eine etwas verschiedene Tradition zu repräsentiren scheint, hat mich speciell auf solche Fragmente fahnden gemacht. Einerseits wird unsere Kenntniss der, wie es sich herausgestellt, sehr umfangreichen aramäischen liturgischen Litteratur dadurch bereichert, und andererseits, wenn diese Fragmente mit Vocalzeichen versehen sind, so erleichtern sie einen Vergleich mit dem anderen System und setzen uns in den Stand, die ältere Form der traditionellen Aussprache so weit als möglich zu fixiren. Ich habe daher mein Augenmerk besonders auf aramäische sowohl vocalisirte als unvocalisirte Texte gelenkt, und ich biete hier eine ziemlich reiche Auswahl. Sie gehören alle spätestens dem elften oder zwölften Jahrhundert an, und ich glaube sogar, dass der Text No. 1 viel älter ist. Sowohl die Sprache, welche sich eng an die des Targum zu den Propheten anschliesst, als auch die Form der Buchstaben und der ganze Ductus weisen auf ein sehr hohes Alter hin. Da ich datirte Documente in ziemlicher Anzahl habe vergleichen können, so erscheint dieser Text von paläographischem Gesichtspunkte allein auch viel älter als irgend eines der bisher bekannten datirten Documente.

An diese rein armäischen Texte, deren genauere Beschreibung weiter unten folgt, schliessen sich einige Beispiele alter hebräischer Liturgie an. Die mystische Litteratur ist durch ein Fragment aus den „Hechaloth“ vertreten. Drei halachische und aggadische Fragmente sonderbarer Natur und einige historische Documente folgen, und zwar Listen von Verstorbenen, für welche Gebete gesagt werden sollten, „Haschkaboth“ für Männer, die fast ganz unbekannte Grössen sind, darunter ein Märtyrer. Dann Briefe, in einem figurirt „Sahib Alscurta“ wohl „Savasorda“ oder „Abraham bar Chiya“ und ein anderes, ein Schriftstück wahrscheinlich von R. Hananel an eine unbekannte Person adressirt. Den Schluss macht ein

Fragment von **במה מדליקין** mit biblischen Accenten versehen und **חוקת השיר**! Jedes einzelne Stück soll etwas Neues bieten und dadurch unseren Gesichtskreis erweitern helfen.

Eine genauere diplomatische Beschreibung jedes einzelnen Textes folgt nun und ich beginne mit Text No. 1. Zu bemerken ist, dass ich beim Abdruck mich streng am Originale halte. Die Zeilenzahl ist stets durch einen senkrechten Strich angegeben und die Lücken, sowohl wo sie kurz waren, durch Punkte angedeutet; als wo sie fast die Hälfte der Zeile umfassen. Es wäre vielleicht zweckmässiger gewesen einen leeren Raum zu lassen, um Zweideutigkeiten zu vermeiden. Eigenthümlichkeiten der Orthographie etc. sind durch einen Strich unter den Buchstaben angedeutet: der Strich darüber ist dem Originale nachgeschrieben.

No. I. Ein Doppelblatt Papier 12×16 cm, die ersten zwei Seiten je 18, die letzten je 19 Zeilen per Seite. Sehr alte hängende Quadratschrift. Die Form bestimmter Buchstaben wie die **ס נ ל** und andere erinnern an die ältesten Bibel-Codices. Mit diesen hat auch diese Hs. das Factum gemein, dass Abkürzungen durch Verstümmelung des letzten Buchstaben wie bei **ו** und **ס**, wo die Endstriche ausgelassen sind, angedeutet werden. In seltenen Fällen sind Vocalzeichen hinzugefügt, nach dem sogenannten Tiberianischen oder besser infralinearen System. Eine einzige Ausnahme macht das Wort **פִּינֶס**, welches mit superlinearen Vocalen versehen ist. Ein solcher gemischter Gebrauch von beiden Systemen ist durchaus nicht selten. Ich habe eine ganze Anzahl von Documenten, wo beide nebeneinander gebraucht werden, auch dort, wo der Text entweder rein hebräisch oder rein aramäisch ist. — — Was nun den Inhalt betrifft und die Sprache, so ist letztere unzweifelhaft palästinensisch, so ergiebt sich aus dem Vergleiche mit dem Prophetentargum und aus der Thatsache, dass die diesem Dialekte eigenthümlichen Formen hier erscheinen. Wie sich aus den Schlussworten zu ergeben scheint, so haben wir es mit einer poetischen Ausschmückung des ersten Theiles des Kaddisch zu thun, ein Art Targum zum Satze: **וַיִּצְמַח פִּירְקָהּ**

וִיקְרָב מִשְׁחָה, welcher sich im sephardischen Ritus erhalten hat, und sich auch noch in dem Kaddisch am Friedhofe findet. Dieses „Targum“ wurde wahrscheinlich am achten Tage Pesah vorgelesen, wo auch der „Auszug“ und die „שִׁירָה“ vorgelesen werden. Darauf deutet auch, wie ich glaube, das Stück No. II hin, ein aramäisches Gedicht mit alphabetischem Acrostich, bisher unbekannt, welches dasselbe Thema behandelt wie die aramäischen Piyutim in den alten Riten, wo sie als „Reschut“ bekannt sind. Eine Anzahl derselben enthält z. B. das Mahzor Vitry p. 159 ff.

No. III. Papierfragment, oberer und unterer Theil fehlt, schlecht erhalten, Breite 12 cm. Höhe 5—9. Cursive Hand. Ein Fragment aus Targum Onqelos zu Genesis 30, v. 33 ff. Vom hebräischen Texte werden nur die Anfangsworte der Verse gegeben, in manchen Fällen werden die aramäischen Worte punktirt und in einem Falle, am Ende von v. 36, steht ein „Sof Pasuq“. Die Vocalisation stimmt im Ganzen mit der superlinearen überein!

No. IV. Papier 10 × 9 cm. Ursprünglich aber gewiss ein viel längerer Streifen als 10 cm, denn es ist eine arabische Quittung oder das Concept dafür, von der die linke Hälfte abgerissen ist. Das aramäische Fragment ist auf der Rückseite geschrieben, von derselben Hand, die das Document geschrieben hat und ist somit eines der ältesten datirten Fragmente des Targum. Merkwürdig ist die Schreibung des Namen Gottes, der als doppeltes Jod mit einem dritten in der Mitte aber darüber und ausserdem noch ein langer Strich von links unten aufwärts, der durch das dritte Jod quer hindurchgeht und weit nach rechts verlängert ist. „אל“ ist als Ligatur geschrieben. In Bezug auf den arabischen Theil habe ich schon oben darauf hingewiesen, dass wir hier den „Patischa“ als „Nagid“ bezeichnet finden.

No. V. Papier ein Blatt, 17 cm lang und ursprünglich mindestens 12—13 cm breit, die rechte Hälfte ist aber fast ganz weggerissen und nur einige Zeilen haben sich ganz erhalten. Die Schrift ist ebenfalls cursiv. Dieses Blatt ist offen-

bar ein Fragment eines sogenannten Jerusalemitanischen Fragmententargum; und zwar das erste Blatt von Deuteronomium. Die Schrift sieht der von No. III ähnlich. Aus einem Vergleiche mit den bekannten Texten dieses Targum und den von M. Gisburger herausgegebenen (Das Fragmententargum, Berlin 1899) p. 61 ff. ergibt sich, dass unser handschriftlicher Text kürzer, archaischer und in vielen Punkten mehr enthält als sich unter den bisher bekannten Fragmenten erhalten hat. Alle diejenigen Worte und Stellen des Hebräischen Originale, wo unser Targum seine eigene Uebersetzung bietet, sind mit angeführt, so dass kein Zweifel darüber entstehen kann, auf welches Textwort es sich bezieht, und wir sehen daraus, dass die Anzahl der Varianten im „Fragmententargum“ ursprünglich viel grösser war, als wir sie jetzt besitzen. In einigen Fällen sind auch die Vocale angegeben. Leider ist dieser Text sehr fragmentarisch, und einige Zeilen auf der zweiten Seite sind fast ganz unleserlich. Nichts desto weniger ist es ein wichtiger Beitrag zur Frage des „Fragmententargum“.

No. VI. Papier 16 × 12 cm, je 12 Zeilen auf der Seite, sehr sorgfältig geschrieben. Die Zeile höchstens 9 cm und ein breiter leerer Rand rings um den Text. Die Schrift ist sehr alt, halb cursiv. Fragment von Propheten mit Targum. Der hebräische Text vocalisirt und mit Accenten versehen, das Targum ohne Accente, aber mit Vocalen und nach massoretischen Principien mit Angabe von Raphe durch einen Querstrich über den betreffenden Buchstaben und mit genauer Angabe der beiden Daggesch! Wir finden auch hier Hatep-Patah unter aramäischen Worten und auch Schewa Nah. Diese beiden letzten Eigenthümlichkeiten fehlen bekanntlich im superlinearen System. Da der Text, so weit ich es erfahren kann, nie eine „Haphtarah“ gewesen ist, so muss ich dieses Blatt als ursprünglich zu einem Bibelcodex gehörend betrachten. Da der hebräische Text ganz mit unserem massoretischen übereinstimmt, habe ich die Vocal- und Accentzeichen hier weggelassen. Merkwürdig ist die doppelte Schreibung des Gottesnamens sowohl mit drei Yod (י״י) als auch mit Yod-Vav-Yod, (י״ו).

No. VII u. VIII. Papier, zwei Blätter (wahrscheinlich die inneren Blätter einer Lage) 19×13 cm sehr sorgfältig geschrieben, tief-schwarze Tinte, fast wie die für die Thorarolle, an einigen Stellen abgesprungen aber doch leserlich. Es sind zwei „El melekh“, die sich anderwärts nicht finden, trotzdem sie stark an die aramäischen „El melekh“ und „Rahmana“ des jemenischen Gebetbuches erinnern. Sie finden sich aber nicht in den von mir verglichenen Codices, drei davon in meinem Besitze und auch nicht in den von Steinschneider (Berlin Catlg. 1878 p. 118 ff.) beschrieben. Diese beiden „Pizmonim“, denn so dürfen wir sie nennen, sind unzweifelhaft palästinensischen Ursprunges, schon die Bedeutung, die dem Worte „ašvan“ als „Ueberrest“ beigelegt wird, deutet darauf hin. Es sind je vierzeilige gereimte Strophen mit Refrain; No. VIII ist ausserdem noch ein alphabetisches Acrostich. Die Schrift ist nicht ganz cursiv. Hateph fehlt, und das Raphe-Zeichen ist nur in seltenen Fällen angegeben; ebenso Dagesch forte. Ein Wort, welches zu streichen war, ist mit einem Striche darüber versehen. Die Vocalzeichen habe ich ganz genau wie im Originale wiedergegeben.

Darauf beschränkt sich, was ich von aramäischen Fragmenten hier aufgenommen habe. Es sollen aber nur Specimina sein. Eine gründliche Untersuchung des gesammten Materiales unter den Fragmenten wird noch Vieles an's Licht fördern und uns einen lehrreichen Einblick gewähren in die weite Verbreitung und allgemeine Kenntniss des Aramäischen im Orient, welches in Europa fast ganz verschwunden war.

No. IX. Ein kleines Blatt, wahrscheinlich aus einem alten Gebetbuch, entweder Anfang von Lage B oder bloß Blatt „zwei“; denn an der äussersten rechten Ecke steht „𐤀“ mit einem Punkt. 12×8 cm. Alte hängende Cursivschrift. Interessant sowohl des Inhalts wegen, da es eine Variante zum ersten Abschnitt des Abendgebetes zu sein scheint, als auch wegen des Systems der Vocalisation, die zwar infralinear ist, aber eine Aussprache voraussetzt, welche der supralinearen genau entspricht und dieser zu Grunde zu liegen scheint. Besonders hervorzuheben in

diesem Zusammenhang ist die Verwechslung von Patah und Segol, die Nichtbezeichnung des Schewa Nah, des Dagesch und Hateph-Patah. Der Schrift nach zu urtheilen würde ich dieses Fragment nicht später als Anfang des elften Jahrhunderts setzen, wenn nicht schon früher. Ein zweites ebenso altes Fragment macht die Identificirung dieses liturgischen Stückes etwas zweifelhaft, denn es findet sich dort kurz vor einem Pizmon, worauf 'אתה בחרת את אברהם וג' folgt.

No. X. Papier 12×13 cm, nur auf einer Seite beschrieben. Hängendes Cursiv und alt. Mit Ausnahme der zwei von mir auch mit Vocalen versehenen Worte ist der Rest ganz ohne irgend welches Vocal-Zeichen. Eine interessante Variante zu der jetzt üblichen Schlussformel der Amidah.

No. XI. Papier ein Blatt, dessen oberer Theil schräg von links nach rechts abgerissen ist. Der Rest misst 17 resp. 9×15 cm., verhältnissmässig jüngere orientalische Cursivschrift. Der Inhalt entspricht Hechaloth ed. Jellinek, Bet-hamidrasch, III p. 103 ff., und zwar Capitel 26 §§ 4—6 und die letzten 10 Zeilen des Capitels. Der Schluss unseres Textes fehlt aber dort und ist auch von allen anderen Recensionen verschieden. Einigermassen ähnlich ist nur ed. Lemberg 1864 und Pietrokov 1883 (Cap. 26—27.)

No. XII. Papier 21×12 cm. Auf der einen Seite der Anfang des, wie mir scheint, sonst unbekannten Werkes von Isak „bir“ Jehudah Gajath, von dem sich nur diese Zeilen erhalten haben. An der unteren linken Ecke stehen einige Notizen, die ich auch abdrucke, und auf der Rückseite ein, ursprünglich die ganze Länge des Blattes umfassendes Gedicht, das aber jetzt fast unleserlich geworden ist. Die Schrift ist orientalisches Cursiv und sieht den arabisch mit hebräischen Buchstaben geschriebenen älteren Documenten ähnlich. Sie sind nämlich alle etwas eckig.

No. XIII. Papier. Oberer Theil eines Blattes, von dem sowohl die linke Ecke abgerissen ist, als auch die untere Hälfte. Jetzt nur 10×10 (ursprünglich wohl 13 cm breit). Nur auf einer Seite beschrieben. Sowohl Titel als Inhalt, wie ich glaube,

sonst unbekannt. Der Titel wird wohl das arabische „Hakadi wa-kadi“ הכדי וכדי sein, aber der hebräische Text ist genau so, wie ich ihn copirt habe. Es ist wahrscheinlich das erste Blatt einer grösseren Midraschsammlung, wenn die Worte auf der Rückseite, die mit Quadratbuchstaben geschrieben sind, im Gegensatz zu der cursiven Schrift des Textes selbst sich auf den Inhalt beziehen sollten.

No. XIV. Papier. Ein kleines Fragment 11×9 cm, wahrscheinlich das erste Blatt von Leviticus, der ältesten Redaction des „Tanhuma“ wie sich aus dem Vergleich mit ed. Buber ergibt. Wir sehen hier, wie der Text in alter Zeit anfang; und wie im Laufe der Jahrhunderte anderes Material sich langsam angeschlossen hat. Die untere Hälfte fehlt ganz. Interessant ist der Titel „Gaon“, der dem R. Tanhuma hier beigelegt wird. Es wimmelt von Abkürzungen, und der Gottesname wird mit drei Jod geschrieben, zwei in einer Reihe und das dritte darüber in der Mitte. (י״י)

No. XV. Papier, 13×11 cm. Auf der einen Seite hebräisch, auf der anderen in der Quere drei Zeilen mit arabischen Buchstaben geschrieben. Der hebräische Theil enthält eine Liste von Namen von Verstorbenen, um deren „Seelenruhe“ wohl gebetet werden sollte. Denselben Zweck scheinen auch die Listen zu dienen, die hier als No. XVI und XVII folgen. Da diese unzweifelhaft orientalischen und wohl lokalen ägyptischen Ursprungs sind und dem elften oder zwölften Jahrhundert anzugehören scheinen, so wird dadurch jedenfalls der christliche Einfluss auf den Ursprung dieser Gebete („Hazkarath neschamoth“) mehr als zweifelhaft. Dass diese Listen auch von nicht geringer Bedeutung für die jüdische Geschichte sind, steht ausser Zweifel. Ich habe noch nicht den Versuch gemacht, die hier und weiter aufgezählten Namen zu identificiren. Die Titulaturen sind auch nicht uninteressant und erinnern ausserdem stark an die Karäischen. Diese Liste enthält „vornehme“ Geschlechter, die alle als „Marenu we-rabenu“ bezeichnet werden, darunter einen Abkömmling der „Gaonim“! Ebenso ist es der Fall mit:

No. XVI. Papier, unvollständig 11×8 cm, grössere Schrift aber durch Inhalt mit vorhergehender Nummer innig verbunden. Hier finden wir zwar andere Namen, aber sonst dieselben Titulaturen und Abkürzungen und auch noch die Titel „Melamed“ und „Sar“, die Einigen beigelegt werden.

No. XVII. ein langer, schmaler Streifen Papier, auf beiden Seiten beschrieben, 14×6 cm. Der Zweck dieser Liste ist nicht so klar wie in den vorhergehenden. Merkwürdig ist hier die constante Scheidung zwischen „Cohanim“, „Leviim“ und „Israelim“ die separat aufgezählt werden. Wir finden hier unter „Leviim“ „Adonim und Tamim“ neben einander, (vergl. den bekannten Adonim b. Tamim) ferner einen directen Hinweis auf „Cairenser“ und auf „Bene Maarab“.

Salomon „Ha-Babli“ figurirt unter den „Israeliten“ und ein gewisser „Perahyah“ wird als „Märtyrer“ erwähnt. Wie viel doch dieses kleine Wort in sich fasst! Welche Aussicht wird dadurch dem Geschichtsforscher und demjenigen eröffnet, welcher den blutigen Spuren jüdischer Verfolgung nachgeht und die jüdischen Helden zählt, welche ihr Leben für ihren Glauben hingegeben haben. Unter anderen begegnen wir dann hier bevorzugten (שר) Leviten, „Kronen“ (כתר, נֹר) der Cohanim, von denen bisher nichts bekannt war. Da es sich in den meisten Fällen um Verstorbene handelt, so dürfen wir diese Titel nicht als schmeichelhafte Anreden betrachten, wie sie uns in Bittschriften und Briefen aus jener und anderer Zeit begegnen. Ein Zeitpunkt liesse sich vielleicht bestimmen, wenn „Abulfarağ“, der auch aufgezählt wird, der Zeitgenosse Maimonides' wäre, der in den „Responsen“ vorkommt.

No. XVII. Papier, Fragment von einem Brief, wie in alter Zeit häufig auf engen langen Streifen, der von oben nach unten in kurzen Zeilen geschrieben wurde; und zwar so, dass die Rückseite als directe Fortsetzung der Vorderseite gedacht und mit der Schrift so fortgefahren wurde, dass man das Blatt von unten nach oben wendete. So ist auch dieses Fragment geschrieben; man muss das Blatt von unten nach oben wenden, wenn man die zweite Seite lesen will. Es ist fast in reiner

Quadratschrift geschrieben, leider aber nur sehr unvollständig erhalten. Es ist mir noch zweifelhaft, ob ich an der richtigen Seite angefangen habe, da aber ein leerer Raum vor meinem Anfange ist, glaube ich richtig angefangen zu haben. Das Fragment misst 10×8 cm, ist aber unbedingt länger gewesen als bloß 10 cm. Der erste Name, mit welchem es beginnt, ist wohl kein anderer als der, welcher dem „Fürst Abraham bar Chija“ beigelegt wurde; es sei denn, dass es noch einen Andern gegeben, welcher den Namen „Sâhib al-Schurta“ wie er hier genau vokalisirt wird, geführt hat. Schrift und Papier scheinen dem XII. Jahrhundert anzugehören. Worauf sich dieser Brief mit dem Hinweis auf Frau und Schwiegervater bezieht, ist eben ein Problem, das vielleicht ein Anderer lösen wird. Ebenso verhält es sich mit dem folgenden Brief, der auch in einem merkwürdigen Hebräisch abgefasst ist. Ich mache besonders auf die eigenthümlichen syntaktischen Constructionen aufmerksam und auf Ausdrücke wie: $\text{לְדָן הַמֶּלֶךְ כְּאֶחָד}$ etc. welche stark an den sogenannten hebräischen „Ben-Sira“ erinnern!

No. XIX. Papier, 15×12 cm, linke untere Ecke weggerissen, oben und unten unvollständig. Unzweifelhaft ein Brief. Auf der ersten Seite ist eine Aufschrift in grossen Majuskeln genau in derselben Weise geschrieben wie die ältesten Bibeldcodices, wahrscheinlich die Adresse, von der ein Theil fehlt, da das Blatt umgedreht werden muss, und somit was die untere linke Ecke des Briefes selbst war, die obere linke der Aufschrift ist und fehlt. Der Sender ist aber offenbar R. Hananel, wer der „Dajan“ sein kann, dessen Fortziehen er sehr beklagt, ist noch unbekannt. Die Schrift ist der von No. XVIII. einigermaassen ähnlich, mehr uncial als cursiv und schön. Der Text ist durchaus in gereimter Prosa und nicht immer leicht verständlich. Die Zeilen auf der ersten Seite nach „Hananel“ sind cursiv und von ganz anderer Hand als der Rest des Fragmentes, wenn sie auch alt zu sein scheinen.

No. XX. Papier, auf der linken Hälfte sehr beschädigt. Ebenfalls eine Epistel mit einer langen poetischen Einleitung

hebräisch. Der Rest arabisch mit hebräischen Buchstaben, weniger sorgfältig geschrieben. 18 × 11 cm.

No. XXI Den Beschluss bildet ein kleines Fragment von der Mischna mit biblischen Accenten. Alle diese Texte hier sind nur Specimina von dem, was unter den Fragmenten der Genizah sich findet. Zu fast jedem Stück, das ich hier veröffentliche, finden sich unzählige Parallelen.

Um nur beim letzten Stück einen Augenblick zu verweilen, so habe ich selbst eine Anzahl nicht-biblischer Fragmente, die mit biblischen Accenten versehen sind, so z. B. ein grosses Pergamentblatt der aramäischen „Megillath Antiochos“ mit solchen Accenten, wie es Saadjah ja behauptet, ferner Piyutim auch auf Pergament mit solchen Accenten und ein kleines arabisches Fragment von nur einigen Worten, das ich nun noch hinzufüge, denn es ist sehr klein, worin solche Beispiele vorkommen. Ob es wohl ein Fragment von Saadjah's Werk selbst ist? Dem Charakter der Schrift nach zu urtheilen, gehört dieses Fragment mit zu den ältesten und schönsten Hss., die sich aus jener Zeit und Umgebung erhalten haben.

Mögen diese kleinen Fragmente dazu beitragen, eine gründliche Untersuchung des gesammten Materials zu beschleunigen.

THE ORIGIN AND SOURCES OF THE SHULCHAN ARUCH.

THERE are two books in the Jewish literature which have shared almost the same fate: The Talmud and the Shulchan Aruch. The former at the hands of the ignorant and of traducers, the latter at those of unbelievers and scoffers. The most absurd fables were, and unfortunately are, still circulated about the Talmud, called by one Rabbi Talmud, and no less ridiculous conceptions are formed and believed about the Shulchan Aruch, which not very few would also call Rabbi Shulchan Aruch. It would not even be dignified to mention all the fallacies, all the peculiar statements, all the baseless allegations concerning those two books. Nor is it my intention to consider the Shulchan Aruch from the religious aspect. I intend solely to show the origin of this magnificent monument of knowledge, ingenuity, clearness, and precision, to mention the author of it, to enumerate the sources he used, to delineate the history of the codification of the Halacha, the slow growth of the religious practice, and the chief authors and most important works that preceded R. Joseph Caro and his Shulchan Aruch.

This survey will necessarily have to be short, as we must compress, in the compass of *one lecture*, a literature that ranges over 1,500 years, and was carried on in every part in Asia, Africa, and Europe, wherever Jews lived. I will dwell somewhat longer on those works which we possess in our library, especially those that do not exist anywhere else and are of great importance.

A few words then about the author of the Shulchan Aruch. R. Joseph Caro¹ (born 1488, died 1575), left Spain with his parents at the time of the great expulsion, and came after long wanderings to Nicopolis. He was taught

Talmud by his father Ephraim, and at an early age he knew the Mishna by heart. He soon came to Adrianople and established a school. At the age of 30-35 he undertook the gigantic task of writing a commentary to the code of Jacob Ascheri to show the sources and correct the opinions expressed therein. He worked at it for twenty years (1522-42), and the revision of it took him twelve years (1542-52). By his contact with the enthusiastic Salomo Molcho he was induced to emigrate to Palestine. Passing through Salonica he came to Safet, where he settled. There he carried out the ambitious plan of composing a ritual code, that would unite again the whole of Judaism in religious life and practice, that would put an end to differences of opinions and variety of deductions and decisions, at the same time form as complete a code of law as could ever be conceived. This he did in his famous Shulchan Aruch, which he completed in Safet in 1557, and lived to see through the press.

The whole work is divided into four books: I. **תורת חיים** "Path of Life," comprising 697 chapters, each chapter subdivided into many sections. The contents of that book are all the laws concerning ritual. Prayers, blessings, ordinances, and rules of Sabbath and holydays, fast-days, Hanuka and Purim. II. **יורה דעה**, "Teacher of Knowledge," 403 chapters, religious observances, **שחיטה**, forbidden food, wine, laws about agriculture, tithes, charity, and mourning. III. **אבן העזר**, "Stone of Help," 178 chapters, laws of marriage, divorce, etc. IV. **חשן משפט**, "Shield of Judgment," 426 chapters, civil and criminal law, commercial transactions, all together 1,704 chapters with at least 5,000 sections, each section containing a definite law, clearly and precisely put. The grouping is admirable, the whole mechanism very lucid, and the skill alike remarkable. The language is simple, mostly pure Hebrew, or post-biblical Hebrew. No name and no authority is mentioned, the laws are simply stated. In this form they have been acknowledged and accepted throughout the whole of Judaism, and this exposition and this name has been considered as the standard for the Jewish religious life.

Now has this stupendous work sprung only out of the head of R. Joseph Caro? Is he the *author* of the laws he enumerates and fixes? Is it only his mere statement of

those laws that has given them so wide an acceptance, and is it only his own authority that fixes the code? These are the questions asked by those who have never seen the book and know nothing of its history.

The idea of a religious code being *composed* by any man is totally at variance even with the most primitive conceptions of Judaism. A *code* of laws is never *composed*, but laws that exist are brought together, collected and systematised; it is a compilation and not a composition, and this work of compiling codes of laws had been going on for close upon a thousand years before the time of R. Joseph Caro. His was only the last of a long series of similar attempts to codify the law. His own work is based chiefly on that of R. Jacob b. Asher, who first divided the whole matter into four books subdivided into that very same number of chapters as Caro did. And yet there is a great difference between the two compilations which will only be clear if we ascend the stream of tradition to its last source, and trace the whole growth from the Mishna to the Tur (the work of R. Jacob b. Asher).²

Life with its manifold necessities undergoes a continual change. The Law has to keep pace with it, and bring everything in harmony with the principles of that Law. Hence arose the mass of traditional or oral law, a continual adaptation of new cases to the old principles. For this the Synhedrion in Jerusalem was the highest authority, and men of prominent position gave the necessary sanction to the formulation of new rules which were added to the existing biblical code of laws.

With the destruction of the Synhedrion, the central authority disappeared and a certain looseness of interpretation crept in, conflicting views arose, and the tradition became endangered. R. Akiba then began the first collection of laws, which was carried on by his pupil R. Meir, and this, backed as it was by the authority of R. Meir, and the far greater of R. Akiba, was taken as the basis for that of R. Jehuda ha-Nassi, our *Mishna*.

This is subdivided into six divisions סדרים : 1. זרעים, containing all the laws about seeds and agriculture; 2. מועד, about the holydays and fast-days; 3. נשים, laws concerning marriage and divorce; 4. נזיקין, criminal and civil law; 5. קדשים, laws concerning food and sacri

fice; and 6. **טהרות**, laws concerning cleansing and ritual bathing.

With that collection a new basis had been created for the practical necessities of life. This code now formed the basis of continued study and discussion, of explanation and adaptation at the hand of the great Talmudical scholars, whose work is enshrined in the 2,000 pages of the Talmud. But the Talmud is no more a *code* of law than any encyclopædic collection has ever been. Again therefore the necessity arose for a book, a compendium, which should contain in a short and precise form, the norm for practical life. Not everyone was a scholar, and not every one would assume to himself the right of selecting the Halacha out of the entangled discussion in the Talmud. Which opinion should prevail? Whose views were to be adopted as authoritative? and which were most in harmony with the fundamental principles of Judaism?

So arose, soon after the final redaction of the Talmud, a peculiar literature, that is almost unique and that continues until to-day. The literature of **שאלות**, "questions," put to men of authority, whose **תשובות**, "answers," gave the required decision.

One of the oldest collections have preserved still that primitive form of questions, and the work is arranged according to the parashiyot of the Pentateuch. R. Achai b. Shabeha of Babylon, pupil of Mar Samuel, emigrated in the year 751 to Palestine, where he died in 761.³ It is probably there that he composed his popular guide-book of Halacha, if I may so call it; a compendium of legal decisions, taken from the Mishna and Talmud, and connected often with laws mentioned in the Parasha. The whole is divided into 171 chapters. This division seems to correspond with that of an old Midrash, now lost, "Yelamdenu," with which the "Sheeltoth" of R. Achai have this point in common: The chapters begin also always with a ritual or legal question; hence the name of that lost Midrash, "Yelamdenu" *i.e.*, "rabenu": may our master teach us about this or that doubtful question. Traces of it have been preserved in the Tanhuma. The number of chapters in the Sheeltoth is undoubtedly identical with that of the **סדרים** of the Palestinian three-year cycle. The language is mostly Aramæan, that of the Talmud.

Such a compilation could not satisfy, however, the popular want, as there was no systematic grouping of the matter. Laws of a widely differing character are collected in one chapter, and it is almost impossible to find each law.

So there arose shortly afterwards another collection of laws, in which those dealing with one subject were united in one group. R. Jehuda b. Nahman, who was Gaon in Sura, in Babylon (759-763), composed his *הלכות פסוקות* short, decisive halachoth, also known under the name *ה' ראו*. In my opinion, this name, similar to that of the "Yelamdenu," is derived from the probable commencement of each chapter. *ראו*, "see." Only a portion of this collection, and this also not in its original form, has been discovered and published quite recently.⁴ In that collection we find only those subjects treated which were still in religious practice; whilst all the laws that were no more used, as for instance, those concerning sacrifices or Palestine, are entirely omitted. The passages are taken literally from the Talmud and placed one next to the other; here and there some of the decisions of the Gaonim are added. We have thus, in that compilation, laws concerning the holydays, ritual observances and ceremonies, civil laws, marriage laws, mourning, minor holydays, and Shehita.

An abstract of those *הלכות* has been preserved to us in a few *הלכות קצובות*.⁵

Of far-reaching importance was now another collection of a similar nature, compiled by R. Simon of Kiyara (741) in Babylon, known under the name of *הלכות גדולות*, the great Halachoth, to distinguish them from those mentioned above.⁶ Here, again, the order of the Mishna is revived, and the whole, divided into 77 chapters, follows the order of the Mishna and Talmud, grouping, however, all those laws together that treat of the same subject. All those that were antiquated are not included in this compilation. The excerpts from the Talmud are reproduced almost literally, so also all the discussions in the Talmud, but often the final decision for the religious practice is also given. Out of the vast complex of the Talmud the practical part and the legal portion have been extracted and arranged, and thus a book was produced that answered the daily necessities of life. There can be no doubt that the

author of this compilation has laid the previous one under contribution. In time, the last was almost incorporated into the Halachoth Gedoloth. This was the work of pupils and copyists, so much so, that almost every copy differs from one another. New material was added, subsequent decisions of Gaonim were interpolated not with any bad intention, on the contrary, in order to improve the book, and make it as complete and perfect as possible. The mass of Halachic material was however continually increasing ; the questions multiplied, and the difficulty of knowing how the law was, in ever changing and shifting situations, became more and more perplexing. The Jews had been scattered all over Asia, the North of Africa, and south of Europe. Communities arose in various parts of the world, the knowledge of the Talmud was almost non-existent. There was no man of authority to whom to turn for instruction and enlightenment, except the Gaon in Babylon. To him many a community turned with questions, and so in time there arose a great number of answers of the Gaonim. As they were returned only to the special persons who had asked for answers, they would never have reached others, unless they were collected and circulated, among other communities. Many a man of position and learning formed such collections, as they were of the highest importance for religious practice.

Some of these collections have come down to us as such ; most of the Teshuboth of the Gaonim, however, are embedded in compilations of which I shall speak anon. The arrangement of these collections is either according to the authors of the responsa, all those belonging to one Gaon being grouped together, or are arranged according to the subject-matter. All the decisions of the Gaonim bearing on one and the same class of subjects form each a separate collection. In both forms they proved unwieldy, too long, too detailed, and often written in Arabic ; therefore in later times a process of abbreviation commenced which was also applied to the Talmudical glosses and to some of the more important commentaries of the Talmud, and to almost every important collection of Halachoth. In these only the *verdict* was given, and it was left to a kind fate to watch over the preservation of the rest. The kernel, the practical decision, was of paramount, immediate and

universal importance; to the scholar was left the long discussion and elucidation, to study the pros and cons and to follow out the whole process of reasoning and argument, by which the Gaonim arrived at their decision. Those therefore who cared more for the practical issue neglected the historical and argumentative part, and formed collections of short פסקים *Pesakim*.⁷ In a similar manner as already noticed פסקים were collected from the Tossaphoth and even from the decisions of Asher (d. 1327) by his son (פסקי הרה"ש)

We shall meet henceforth in almost every compilation allusions to or quotations from these Teshuboth of the Gaonim, as they supplement to a great extent the legal decisions of the Talmud.

In fact more than one of the later works owes a great deal to those quotations which enhance its value and increase its authority.

I cannot even attempt to enumerate here all the שולחנות that are known to us and have been published.⁸ It suffices to have mentioned them as one of the most important elements in all subsequent codifications of the Law, as they enter largely into the composition of those works. The chief and ultimate source is, and remains the Talmud itself, as is only natural.

After the death of the Gaon Haya (d. 1038),⁹ who himself had written a very important treatise on commercial law and on oaths, the Gaonate ceased to exist to every practical intent and purpose.

Again Judaism was confronted with the difficulty of lacking an authority to whom to turn. But the learning that had flourished in the East now wandered to the West, to Africa, Spain, and France. It is a remarkable and curious coincidence that five men of great authority and profound learning flourished in Spain during the eleventh century, all bearing the same name of *Isaac*, of whom I will mention only the three most important.

Isaac ibn Ghiyat of Lucena near Cordova.¹⁰ As I mentioned in the case of Gaon Haya, certain portions of the civil or criminal law, or of the ritual or regulations for Sabbath and holydays, were treated separately, one selecting one branch, another the other of the wide field of religious practice and observance. So we owe to Ibn

Ghiyat (b. 1030, d. 1089) treatises on Pesah and on all other sacred days.¹¹ The mode of treatment is throughout the same, starting from the Talmud, and extracting from it the decisions applicable in practice, always adducing responses from the Gaonim.

Another Isaac, no less famous, is I. b. Reuben of Barcelona¹² (b. 1043, d. 1103), who took Haya's work as model for a similar work on civil law and on oath.

But the greatest of this trio is the famous Isaac b. Jacob Alfasi, *i.e.*, from Fez (known as R. I. F., born in Kala Hamad, near Fez, 1013, d. at the age of 90, 1103, as Rabbi of Lucena).¹³ He composed what might be termed an abbreviated Talmud. Closely following the text, he reproduced the Mishna, and from the Talmud that portion which was essential for the genesis of the Halacha. When opinions differ, he either selects one following the lines of argumentation laid down in the Talmud, or is guided by a parallel decision. In many cases he adopts that of the Gaonim, and in not a few instances he rejects their opinions. By ignoring the opposing view, without polemics, and adopting only one, he fixes the norm of the Halacha as evidenced by the Talmud. Like the author of the Halachoth Gedoloth, he selects, however, only those laws that are still accepted in our times, leaving out those that are of no practical value.

This great work of Alfasi has been the basis of numberless comments and treatises. It enjoyed great reputation, and often did service in ancient times for the Talmud itself in those places where the latter was inaccessible.

It happened with this abstract of the Talmud exactly as with other voluminous halachic compendia. About the end of the thirteenth century a certain Mordechai b. Hillel, of Austria (d. 1310 in Nürnberg), made an abstract from *Alfasi*, adding some of the decisions arrived at by ulterior authorities (פסקים and Teshuboth).

This work too has not been preserved to us in its original form, but has been altered by interpolations and additions and omissions.¹⁴ Of this Jehoshua Boaz (Baruch) made a still shorter abstract (ed. Cremona, 1557).

Again, the people were confronted with the same difficulty as with prior compendia. The different laws were scattered over so many Tractates, the subjects divided and

the laws not clearly defined. Special portions were treated by men like Isaac b. Abba, Mari of Marseilles¹⁵ (b. 1139) in his ס' העטור mostly on marriage laws. At the age of 17 Isaac wrote a treatise on Shehita at the request of his father.

About that time lived a man in Barzellona, Jehuda b. Barzilai, whose works have proved an inexhaustible mine to all that followed after him.¹⁶ He wrote one book on marriage laws ס' יחוס שער בשר and דיני נשים; another on civil law, תיקון שטרות, both lost, and a third on ritual and liturgy, of which one half, the most important, has been preserved. It is one of the inestimable treasures of our library, having been purchased from Mr. Halberstam. This codex is quite unique. It treats of Sabbath observances, of the reading of the law, etc. That which gives to this work its paramount importance is the enormous number of responses of Gaonim, which R. Jehuda has embodied in his collection.

Based upon this compilation of R. Jehuda b. Barzilai is that of a younger contemporary, Abr. b. Isaac of Narbonne (c. 1150),¹⁷ who attempted to arrange the halachic matter in a more systematic form. In his ס' האשכול which consists of three parts, Part I. deals with blessings and prayers and marriage laws, Parts II. and III. with fasts and holy days, agricultural laws, food and shehita, איסור והיתר. To the Talmudic and Gaonic halachic material also that from his predecessors is added.

In a similar manner were almost all the other compilations made that appeared in the course of time. The most important laws, or those that appeared to the author of such a compilation to be the most important, were all collected in one volume, a kind of religious guide book, which received its authority from the man, and from the amount of knowledge he possessed, from the acumen and skill with which he knew how to settle difficult questions, from the logical power and intellectual reasonings with which he argued out problematical cases and provided them with a solution. Opinions which these authors expressed were often accepted as final by their followers, as the opinions of men best entitled to pronounce judgment, but very often also they differed from them if by recourse to the original sources a flaw in the reasoning could be de-

tected. If the learning proved insufficient, the conclusions arrived at by it were rejected as soon as that deficiency was clearly shown. Thus on the one hand there is continual progress and development, on the other a strict critical watch is kept over that development that it should not leave its natural bed and lose itself in barren speculation or in faulty deductions.

Eliezer b. Nathan (c. 1140—1150)¹⁸ called also the old אבן העזר composed then on the same lines his ס' התרומה, of which פסקי דינים have been preserved to us in the ס' התרומה.

This may have suggested the title of one volume of the Tur (and then of the Shulchan Aruch).

At the beginning of the thirteenth century (c. 1200) we meet Baruch b. Isaac, of Worms, author of the ס' התרומה.¹⁹ In close upon 270 sections he treats about Shehita, טריפות, and טוהר, ויהיר, איסור, ע"ז, marriage laws, יין נסך, ס' תורה, and laws concerning the observance of Sabbath, following in this last the order of the Talmudical Tr. Sabbath. These subjects seemed to have been to him of immediate importance, and so he treated them specially in his compilation.

Before I proceed further with the enumeration of the various attempts to codify the Law, I must devote a brief space of this historical survey to the man who towers above all, who marks a turning point in Jewish history. I speak of the profound philosopher and great scholar, the universal mind of Moses Maimonides (1135—1204).²⁰ He conceived the gigantic plan of superseding all previous literature, of making it superfluous by substituting one comprehensive code of laws for all the different incomplete attempts. So he composed his great work משנה תורה or יד החזקה, "the strong hand" (אשר עשה משה) the most complete code and the most scientific in its systematic arrangement, in its lucidity, beauty of language and logical sequence.

It is divided into fourteen books, each book in various halachoth, chapters and paragraphs. In these fourteen books Maimonides has arranged not only those laws that were still in practical usage, but all the laws of the written and oral tradition. As a man with a scientific turn of mind, he tried first to ascertain and to fix the primary elements of the Jewish law, the ultimate sources from which all the

complex legislation springs and in which it finds its justification and authority. So he composed first a book, ס' המצות dealing exclusively with the biblical precepts, for these are the very basis and authority, the original sources and the primary elements of religious norms.

In this he was not the first nor the last to number and to study the biblical precepts.

This being a subject of great importance and standing in close relation to our study, I shall devote a few minutes to the brief exposition of this class of codes,²¹ and the more so as they also constitute one of R. Josef Caro's sources.

Already in the third century we find in the Talmud the record of the numbers of the biblical precepts. R. Simlai fixes them (Tr. Makkoth, f. 23 *b*) as being 613, viz., 365 of a negative character, לא תעשה (corresponding with the number of the days of the year), and 248 of positive character (number of members of human body).

Among the oldest portions of our liturgical poetry, we find the attempt of grouping them in certain poetical compositions. On the day of Shebuoth and in connection with the Ten Commandments, אזהרות were and are read, which contain in various forms this very number of laws. Some poets range under each of the ten commandments, those that seem to depend on them; others sing of them independently of the ten commandments.²² Two of these Asharoth are older than Saadya (from the eighth century), in fact they are from the time before Saadya and Amram, and are probably of Palestinian origin; others are due to the poetical activity of Saadya (892—942), Gabirol (1020—1070, which we still read on Shebuoth); Elia the Old (c. 1050) and Isac b. Reuben, of Barcelona (1043—1103), whom I mentioned before as a great Talmudic authority.

At the head of the Halachoth Gedoloth of Simon of Kiyara (741) we find a list of those 613 precepts, as if it were the introduction and justification for that which followed.

From quotations in the works of Maimonides and Bahya (*Hoboth halebaboth*) we know that a certain Hefez b. Jazliach of Kairouan (tenth century) had also composed in Arabic such a compendium of the 613 precepts.

Maimonides then composed his ס' המצות collecting them

from the Bible, grouping kindred subjects together and expounding them from every point of view. He then placed them at the head of each chapter of his great work, as the principles from which flowed the oral law described in those chapters. In counting those 613 precepts, Maimonides did not adopt the numbering of Simon of Kiyara. Nachmanides (1204-1274) took up the defence of the latter in his glosses ס' השגות and in his commentary to the Pentateuch.

Starting from the same principle, often literally copying Maimonides, but no less often showing complete independence of judgment, R. Moses of Coucy (France), c. 1250, composed his great work.²³ Originally it was a series of comments and addresses he used to deliver to his friends and pupils, and afterwards at their request collected and arranged in the form of a book. The primitive title of it was הדרשן but it became better known also as ס' מצות.²⁴ A short time after Moses of Coucy, R. Isaac of Corbeil made (1277) a short compendium abbreviating the ס' מצות.²⁵ In order to distinguish between the one and the other the adjectives גדול (great) and קטון (small) have been added to these two compilations (סמ"ק and סמ"ג).

Between 1302-1308 a certain Ahron-ha-lewi of Barcelona, adopting the number of precepts in the form given by Maimonides, wrote a popular book on them, following the order of the portions of the law.²⁶ In his ס' ההיגיון he tries to give the explanation and reason for each of these precepts. A beautiful book, full of thought and piety, not too philosophical and not too minute. This number of precepts is also adopted by the famous Cabbalist Asriel (c. 1225) and repeated by Menahem Recanati (d. c. 1290) who wrote a book on the reason of the 613 precepts²⁷ and a collection of 601 short legal decisions פסקי הלכות²⁸ on various subjects:—liturgy and ritual, holyday and sabbath, איסור והיתר, marriage life, civil and criminal law.

After this digression, we return once more to the great work of Maimonides. As it was his intention to supersede everything and to render the older literature superfluous, he formulated the law, without even mentioning any of the arguments by which the Talmudical teachers had arrived at such and such conclusions. He never mentioned the sources whence he had derived them, nor did he indicate

his own mode of procedure, when he decided in favour of one opinion against an adverse one.

Herein he overshot the mark. However great the respect may be in which men of learning are held in Judaism, however important may be the position assigned to them, there is nothing in it of blind obedience, of accepting their pronouncements in matters of law as final rules. The Jewish spirit always loves to soar in the free atmosphere of thought and research, and will never submit to be put into the strait-jacket of fixed forms and norms, unless at the same time the reasons are given, the whole mechanism of argument and discussion, of logical interpretation and deduction is laid bare. We like to see the things grow, to watch them from their first inception to the final ripening, and we insist on being present during the whole period of evolution and growth. Every precept is at some time a religious duty, and we are not expected to perform them at the simple bidding of an individual, however highly placed in our estimation, unless we hear also the motive, the pros and cons of the controversy, and are placed in a position to adopt one decision or the other.

In not giving his authorities, in not showing the genetical development of each law and the ground of its adoption, Maimonides exposed himself to the sharp and incisive attacks of R. Abraham b. David, from Posquières, his contemporary (d. 1198), author of the famous *השגות*, glosses.²⁹

In spite of these shortcomings, which impaired to a certain extent the authority and validity of the code, and made its universal acceptance impossible, the great work of Maimonides remained the *Magnum opus*, and whenever his decisions are backed by an ancient authority, they have been considered of great weight and importance.

It exercises a paramount influence upon the whole succeeding literature, of which I am now giving a succinct account.

The mass of halachic literature is growing fast. More so than we have seen hitherto grows the number of such compendia, unequal to each other in size and in importance; some more complete, others more limited, some simple collections without any personal view, others collections with a critical examination and upon definite lines. Almost

every country has its representatives in this vast store of codes and partial codes of law.

In the commencement of the thirteenth century (c. 1225) flourished R. Isaac of Vienna,³⁰ pupil of R. Meir of Rothenburg, author of the *אור זרוע*, lost in a ship, found floating on the Frisian coast a long time afterwards, and bought by Mr. Lehren of Amsterdam. The other half is in the British Museum; it contains, 1-2, prayers, blessings, sabbath, holydays, marriage, *טריפת*, 3, Commentaries on three *בבות* (קמא מציעא בתרא).

In Spain, flourished R. Jona Gerondi, whose pupil is the famous R. Salomo b. Adereth, of Barcelona (b. 1235-40, d. 1300).³¹ He wrote his *תורת הבית*, which is the exact counterpart of Maimonides' *Yad*. Instead of formulating the norm law, he starts from the very source, adduces the different interpretations and their reasons, gives his own interpretation in the light of those who are the bearers of tradition, and thus leads to the results which take shape and form under the very eye of the reader. His knowledge is as vast as his spirit is keen; he is a master in dialectics, and a trusted leader in judgments. Without many digressions the subject from which he starts is threshed out thoroughly. However admirable his work was, yet it was subjected to searching criticism by his contemporary, to which he wrote his rejoinder, *בדק הבית*, and treats only of food, sabbath and *נידה*.

I pass over some very important compendia, and stop at a compilation of great importance for the ritual and Synagogue service, that of Zidkiah b. Abraham ha-Rofe, (c. 1250), of Rome. His *שבלי הלקט* contains in vol. 1 the description of all the ritual for the year; the origin of the various *Minhagim*, divided into 372 sections, "12 beds and 372 ears of corn," also the interpretation of various religious customs: laws on *ציצית*, mourning, *Shehita*.³² The second volume (MS. No. 237 in our library), about *איסור והיתר*, *אישות*, *Gittin* and civil law.

Of this book, as of so many others, an abridgment was made by the cousin of Zidkiah, a certain R. Jehiel bar Zidkia b. Benjamin, of Rome, which goes under the name of *רביא*³³; it is divided into 100 chapters dealing exclusively with the ritual and liturgy.

An unique MS. in our library (cod. 115) is the *כ' אסופות*

a compilation of the highest importance, especially valuable for the materials it contains, all being extracts from older writings, some of which are otherwise unknown. This compilation was made by a unknown scribe probably a certain Meir, who lived in the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, somewhere in the Rhein provinces. It consists of upwards of 600 sections (543 being noted), and contains a variety of laws and prescriptions ranging over all the relationships of life: civil and canonical law, marriage and criminal law, ritual and liturgy, medicine and ethical principles; also, as so many of these collections have, a short outline of the prayer-book.

A similar compilation, which has now acquired some importance through its local origin, is the *עץ חיים* of Jacob b. Jehuda Hazan, of London, c. 1287. Its intrinsic value is almost *nil*; it is like so many of those collections I have mentioned hitherto, and is far from having any authoritative character, or representing more than the result of compilatory work. In his introduction the author states his purpose to be to supplement the work of R. Moses, of Couçy, by those laws and decisions which he had not accepted or mentioned in his *ס' הדרשן*; to add those *דינים* from Maimonides which R. Moses, of Couçy, had omitted, further those of *ר"י* and R. Tam, many of those which are in use from Alfasi, Tosefta, Halachoth Gedoloth, and Amram. He copies Maimonides literally, often shortening the text, and he incorporates in his compilation precepts that were still observed as well as those that were no more in use, *וקצות שאין נוהגים*.

The same character has the work of R. Ahron ha-Cohen b. Jacob, of Lunel (1306—1320), who composed a work called *אורחות חיים*, of which only one volume has as yet appeared; the second is preserved in a MS. of our library.³⁴ The same want of a leading principle in the arrangement of the matter is visible in this, as in all those compilations which were of a practical character. Very much akin to this is the *כלבו*, in all probability an abridgment of it. He notes already the various usages and customs which had sprung into existence in the various communities.

Before I turn to the branch of the purely halachic literature, I will mention here first another compilation from the

twelfth or thirteenth century, which is preserved in a MS. in our library, *Zedah-laderech*, totally different from the work of Menahem b. Serah, with a similar title. Our MS.³⁵ in two volumes, is a real encyclopædia of everything that was useful for a man to know, especially if he were not in possession of nor had access to a large library, which in ancient times was possible only to the very rich. Printing did not exist, and MS. copies were dear and rare. One point also has to be noticed in connection with these numerous compendia which will explain the reason why so many were written. Persecutions of a terrible kind had driven the Jews from their homes and hearths. We hear frequent laments over the loss of the library, many a precious MS. was destroyed by the barbarian of the Crusaders or by the monk of the Inquisition. Not once but often have auto-da-fés been lit for Hebrew literature. It became, therefore, almost an imperative necessity to compress all that was most important into a small compass, so that men could easily carry it with them. In that manner the estrangement between one section and the other of Judaism was averted, and unity and harmony maintained in religious practice and in scientific pursuit.

This MS. *Zedah-laderech* contains now among other things also תקנות: not legal decisions, but institutions formulated for the welfare of the community, enactments passed by the unanimous voice of assembled learned men, which thus became laws with binding force. Some have the regulation of marriage anomalies as their object, others deal with communal institutions. These were in time adopted by most Jewish communities, and are now of the same value for every practical purpose as those laws which owe their origin to biblical precepts. Among the oldest are Tekanot of the Nasi David of Babylon. Very well known are those of R. Gershom (tenth—eleventh century, d. 1040), one of which edicts establishes monogamy. Others were passed by R. Tam and the communities of Troyes, in France, and again others are known as the Tekanoth of Germany (תקנות שו"ם, Speyer, Worms, Mainz).³⁶

Thus a new series of local legislation was added to the universal code. At the same time there grew up also other local customs, mostly concerning the ritual, through

the example which was set by men who enjoyed great reputation. The pupils and then the people at large would undoubtedly adopt as correct, nay as the best mode of worship and ritual, that which was observed by their venerated teacher and master. As they did not affect the law or any principle, some latitude was allowed to them, especially as they were mostly based upon the individual interpretation of the law, and often arose out of the desire to err on the right side.

One of the oldest works, in which attention is paid to these different Minhagim, is that of Ahron ha-Cohen, already mentioned. Another no less interesting collection of ritual practices is the *Manhig* of Abraham b. Nathan Jarhi (1304-5) of the South of France.³⁷ But by far the most important is the collection of the ritual ceremonies and practices over the whole year, known under the name of *מנהגי*, Jacob ha-Levi b. Moses, of Maintz, 1427. These have become almost the ritual of the German communities, and many of the liturgical usages observed nowadays can be traced back to the influence of R. Jacob ha-Levi. About 1470 R. Eisik Tyrnau collected all the *מנהגים* of the Polish, Russian, Lithuanian, Bohemian, Moravian, and German communities.³⁸

Thus a new element was added to the ever-increasing masses of Halacha; and it required a special genius to look over them all, to group them and to unite them in one harmonious whole. One link is still missing, before this gigantic task was to be accomplished, before the *Shulchan Aruch* was to be written, which should be the practical outcome of and the last word in that differing, conflicting, bewildering mass of legal decisions, local usages, and individual interpretations.

The scaffolding was still wanting for this monumental edifice, and that was furnished in an admirable manner by the famous work of Jacob b. Asher (fourteenth century) the four *Turim*, or the four rows which compose the Ephod.

He grouped first the whole halachic matter exactly in the same way as we find it now in the *Shulchan Aruch*, divided it into four books, and each book into so many chapters. But the laws are not given in a sharp precise form; very often the texts from which they are taken are literally reproduced, and in most cases different opinions are placed

one next to the other, the final result, the normative decision, not always being given. Whenever he decides, he leans towards the opinion of his own father Asher b. Jehiel (better known as the רמ"א).

So there was at last a good classification, an excellent external arrangement, but there was no finality, no precision, and in time the differences threatened to become wider and wider, splitting up Judaism into many parties and possibly sects, one favouring one interpretation, the other an opposite one. Not that these differences touch any vital point; they always apply to novel circumstances, to new situations which have been created in the course of time, new problems which awaited their solution at the hands of the masters. But no one can say how far divergences may go, even if they start from small beginnings.

A short handbook, which contained and mentioned some of the practical decisions and the various Minhagim was thereupon composed by Jacob Baruch b. Jehuda Landau (c. 1500). The סגור contains in 1,412 sections short decisions taken from the Tur and from other authorities.³⁹

It was left, however, to R. Joseph Caro to master all that had been written before him, and to apply that vast unrivalled learning to the explanation of the Tur. In commenting on each section he laid bare the whole history of each prescription, marshalled all the authorities, expounded and set forth all the views, and finally after sifting that material, after weighing argument against argument, he arrived at settled conclusions. Each work that was written before his time, each compilation that was made by his predecessors, was as a block of marble which he used for the monumental edifice known as the בית יוסף, the exhaustive commentary to the Tur.

After having expounded and explained the origin of each law, after having pursued each precept through all the numberless streams and brooklets through which it wound its way, and after ascending to the source, and showing all the time the way he went, it was only a final step to draw the conclusion, and this he did. The בית יוסף is the book of reference, the critical and scientific apparatus, and the Shulchan Aruch is, as its name implies, the decked table. Every one is to come and to partake of the food that had so skilfully been prepared. As the bee

gathers from innumerable flowers the sweet honey, so did R. Joseph Caro gather the sweet honey of learning from numberless flowers which have grown in the field of Judah over a thousand years, often watered with tears and blood. And this is the famous Shulchan Aruch. This the reason of its unrivalled authority and great reputation. It has saved Judaism from dissensions and schism, it has re-united the separated members into one body, it has re-established the threatened unity of worship, and entity of law. It will remain as a model of the most perfect, world-embracing code of laws, a code such as no other nation can boast of, a monument of piety and learning, of penetrating intellect, of skill and devotion, an everlasting glory.

NOTES.

¹ v. Steinschneider, *Catalog Bodl.*, col. 1479. Graetz, *Geschichte*, ix., p. 318 *sqq.*

² v. Buchholz, *Ueber die manigfachen Codificationen des Halachastoffes*. Monatsschr. f. Gesch. d. Jud., xii. 201 *sqq.*

³ Graetz, l.c., v., 195. 1st ed. of *Sheeltot*. Venice, 1546.

⁴ Ed. Schlossberg. Versailles, 1886.

⁵ v. Halberstam, in Schlossberg ed. of פסוקות הל', f. I *sqq.*

⁶ Steinschneider, l.c., c. 2614. 1st ed. Venice, 1548, last from Cod. Vatic., ed. Hildesheimer, Berlin, 1889, ff

⁷ A great number of such פסקים are to be found also among the MSS. of our library.

⁸ A complete list of these *Teshuboth of the Gaonim*, v. J. Müller, מפתח לשונויות הנאונים. Berlin, 1891, p. 4-62; cf. our MSS. Nos. 170, 179, 345; of ancient and modern תשובות we have MSS. Nos. 9, 10, 31, 42, 56, 59, 79, 107, 108, 109, 130, 136, 356, etc.

⁹ v. Steinschneider, l.c., c. 1026. Graetz, v. p. 390.

¹⁰ Steinschneider, c. 1110. Graetz, vi. 74.

¹¹ Ed. Zomber. Berlin, 1864.

¹² Steinschneider, c. 1148. Graetz, vi. p. 75.

¹³ Steinschneider, c. 1087. Graetz, vi. p. 76.

¹⁴ v. S. Kohn, *Monatsschr. f. Gesch. d. Jud.*, xxvi. p. 26 *sqq.* Of פסקים we have besides MSS. Nos. 232, 332.

¹⁵ Steinschneider, c. 1066. Graetz, vi. 244.

¹⁶ v. Halberstam, in his edition of Judah b. Barzilai's יצירה ס', Berlin, 1885, p. xv. *sqq.*, and our MS. No. 150.

¹⁷ Ed. B. R. Auerbach. Halberstadt, 1867.

¹⁸ Steinschneider, c. 963.

¹⁹ Ed. pr. Venice, 1523.

²⁰ Steinschneider, c. 1861. Graetz, vi. 311.

²¹ v. D. Rosin, *Ein Compendium d. Jüd. Gesetzeskunde*, etc., Breslau, 1871, p. 13 *sqq.*, and A. Jellinek, *קונטרס תרי"ג*, Wien, 1878.

²² Rosin, l.c., p. 15, No. 1.

²³ Steinschneider, c. 1795. Graetz, vii. 61.

²⁴ Cod. No. 485 of our Library. Ed. pr. ante 1480.

²⁵ Codd. Nos. 91 and 149; cf. No. 200. Ed. pr. Constantinople, 1552.

²⁶ Rosin, l.c., p. 78.

²⁷ Ed. pr. Constantinople, 1543-4.

²⁸ Ed. pr. Bologna, 1538.

²⁹ Steinschneider, c. 677. Graetz, vi. 243. Cod. 410 our library.

³⁰ Zunz, *Ges. Schriften*, iii. 128 *sqq.* Vols. I. and II. of *אור זרוע*, Zytomir, 1863. II. Jerusalem, 1887.

³¹ T. Perles, *Salomo b. Adereth*. Breslau, 1868.

³² Ed. S. Buber. Wilna, 1886. Our Codd. Nos. 236, 237.

³³ Ed. S. H. Horowitz. Warsaw, 1879. p. 5.

³⁴ Zunz, *Ritus*, p. 31. Our MS. No. 52.

³⁵ Our MSS. Nos. 48 and 49.

³⁶ Cf. in our library, MS. No. 217.

³⁷ Zunz, *Ritus*, p. 22, and D. Cassel, in Zunz *Fubelschrift*, p. 122-137.

³⁸ Zunz, l.c., p. 37. In our library we have the following MSS. about *מנהגים*: Nos. 140, 144 (176), 232, 266.

³⁹ Zunz, l.c., p. 36.

THE
SEPHER ASSUFOTH

(CODEX MONTEFIORE No. 115).

One of the most precious manuscripts belonging to the Montefiore College Library is Codex No. 115. This manuscript is unique, no other copy of it being known in any public library throughout the world. But it is more the internal value of the MS. which gives it quite unique an importance. For this reason I have undertaken to give here a short description of it, until the time may come when a complete publication could be undertaken.

The character of this work is that of a compilation, abstracts from many authors, mostly known, some, however, unknown; further, a rich store of special Minhagim and popular customs; it throws light on the internal life of the Jews in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Another no less important moment is that this MS. is perhaps the only Hebrew non-liturgical and non-biblical text known which has the vowel points added. I shall have occasion to refer further on to this so very remarkable point.

Our MS. belonged first to R. Isaac Raphael Finzi, in the seventeenth century, after whose death it passed into the hands of Ghirondi.

I infer this from an inscription that is now covered by another title page, which has been stuck over it. The handwriting of that notice is identical with that of autograph MSS. of Ghirondi which are in the College Library. From Ghirondi it came into the possession of S. D. Luz-

zatto, who has often referred to this MS. in various works of his.¹ He wrote the new title-page, which, however, has been proved to be incorrect, as he ascribes this work to Eliahu bar Izhac Carcassoni, whilst, as it will be made evident later on, the author can only have been an inhabitant of the Rhine provinces (including Lorraine). Luzzatto also added at the end of the MS. a very incomplete list of the French and German glosses,

After the death of Luzzatto this MS. passed, with many other valuable MSS., into the possession of Mr. S. J. Halberstam, who also wrote a few notes on the fly-leaf. From him the MS., together with other 410, was purchased for the College, and forms now one of the ornaments of this grand collection.

Before actually describing this MS., it is interesting to note that besides the owners other scholars have also had access to it and have made use of it in their literary researches.

Zunz quotes this MS. as MS. Dinim,² and adduces from it some mediæval Jewish children's play. *Berliner* makes ample use of our MS. for illustrating the internal life of the Jews during the Middle Ages.³ *R. Rabinowicz*, in his important *Dikduke Soferim*, refers often to our MS. for *variæ lectiones* of Talmudic passages.⁴

A small portion of it concerning הלכות מילה has recently been published by Mr. A. J. Glassberg.⁵ All these references and abstracts scarcely touched the fringe of the matter contained in the MS. which is very far from being exhausted. Dr. H. Gross has been the first to examine this MS. more minutely, and he has published a list of all the authorities quoted in our MS.⁶ He has proved that the author of this MS. must have flourished about the beginning of the fourteenth century, on fol. 88^d we find the note that in the year 4968 = 1208, the Nassi R. Azariah of Babylon had visited that kingdom, and on

fol. 142^d we find the copy of a *ḥal* written in Worms in the year 5067 = 1307), and that he used to a great extent the *colle-tanæa* of his grandfather who flourished about the beginning of the thirteenth century. In fact, many of the materials used are of that date, and most of them much older. Dr. Gross has, however, not given an exhaustive list of all the places where those authors are mentioned or quoted, and he has entirely neglected to give a list of the works used by our author with the exception of one or two, and then also not all the passages where these occur. The chief value of our MS. consisting in those very abstracts and quotations, it is evident how necessary such a list is, which, if it is to be useful at all, must be complete.

Hitherto not even the contents of our MS. are known entirely. My intention is, therefore, to supply here the latter immediate want, reserving it for another occasion to give the full list of those quotations. As it is not possible to publish the whole volume, I have decided to publish here some few abstracts. The reason for the selection I have made will be obvious when I mention later on what those abstracts contain.

The MS. consists of 181 leaves vellum, small folio, each page divided into two columns. The writing is of the peculiar Franco-German character which we find in some of the *Mahazorim* of the French ritual. The German form, is, however, more prominent. It is written throughout by one hand. One can distinguish four different forms of letters. The body of the text, especially from fol. 54 on, is written in that peculiar semi-uncial form out of which grew the so-called Rashi-type. Names of authors and books and short notes are mostly written in small cursive characters, and often with a line over them ending in two ringlets. Titles of chapters or paragraphs are written mostly in *square* characters, and in the first fifty folios very large type is used for that purpose, the letters of the title being

three or four times the size of the letters of the text. The length of each folio is 11 inches, the width 7 inches, each page having two columns of forty-four lines each column.

On the top of each leaf a modern hand (Italian cursive writing of the fifteenth or sixteenth century) had added the headings of the subject or subjects treated on that leaf.

The whole matter is subdivided into paragraphs, which, however, are not continued to the end of the MS. They stop at fol. 149^d, § 543

A German hand of the fifteenth century has added two spells on the margins of fols. 88 and 89, but they have been obliterated by a later possessor of the MS., and are almost illegible. On other folios short notes of a different and still more recent hand are added on the margins, mostly short decisions of a halachic character, such on fol. 90^d ff.

After the external description and the history of that MS., as far as I have been able to follow it up, we approach now the internal description.

As already noticed, this MS. belongs to the very numerous class of legal compendia, so much in vogue in the Middle Ages, previous to the final codification in the Shulchan Aruch.

Another example that is of some interest in connection with our *S. Assufoth*, is the compilation of the son of the Hazan of London, עץ חיים. Numerous instances of similar compendia are adduced in my study on "The Origin and Sources of the Shulchan Aruch."

But not two of such works are like to one another. It depends upon the literary resources and vastness of knowledge of each compiler or author ; it also varies according to needs which were more pressing, of a more immediate or a more remote necessity.

The author of the *S. Assufoth* had now at his disposal very rich literary resources, and displays more interest in

every branch of religious life than most authors of such compilations.

He is also endowed with a peculiar gift for noting down all the *Minhagim*, local customs, and even superstitions, which enhance greatly the value of his book. Another and most important point is the truthfulness and accuracy with which he indicates regularly the sources whence he has derived his information. By these quotations he has preserved to us many a precious fragment of old literature, and has saved many a name from being forgotten.

He also allows us a glimpse into the social position of the Jews, and by the numerous German glosses inserted in his text, for the purpose of explaining difficult or obscure terms, he shows us the intimate knowledge the Jews at that time possessed of German.

The contents are now the following ;—

Fol. 1^a. הלכות שחיטה, §§ 1-45.

(a) ה' דברים הלכה למשה מסיני, §§ 1-5.

(b) מה שפרשו רבתינו במשנה, §§ 6-15.

(c) כושר שחיטת הסימנין, §§ 16-26.

(d) הלכות כסוי הדם, §§ 27-45.

f. 4^a. הלכות טרפות : אלו י"ח טרפות, §§ 46-173.

f. 13^a. אלו כשרות בבהמה, §§ 114-118.

f. 13^d. אלו טרפות בעוף, § 179.

f. 14^b. אלו כשרות בעוף, §§ 120-123.

f. 15^e. פרק על ניקור הבשר, §§ 124-132.

f. 16^e. דינה ריאה, §§ 133-143.

f. 17^b. טרפות, §§ 144-177.

f. 20^d. איסור והתר [העתקתי קצת מספר אבי העזרי], §§ 178-289.

f. 30^d. הלכות בכורות [מספר אבי העזרי ממסכת בכורות
דין בכור בהמה (a) : §§ 290-294, משפטי פטר חמור
סדר פדיון הבן (c) ; דין בכור אדם (b) ; טהורה

f. 32^b. דין שהחיינו, §§ 295, 296.

f. 32^d. עוד אאריך בפסקי אסור והתר, §§ 297-323.

f. 34^a. [של רבינו שלמה] סדר הלכות פסח, §§ 324-365.

(a) בדיקת חמץ.

(b) טהרת כלים והגעלתן, f. 35^a, § 340.

(c) דין אפיית מצות, f. 36^d, § 343.

(d) סדר של פסח, f. 37^b, § 345.

This description of the Seder and Hagada of Pesach is of the utmost interest; it is one of the most complete descriptions of the ritual of the Seder, and throws a strong light upon the Seder contained in the עץ חיים of the son of the Hazan of London, of the pre-expulsion period. Through our text alone that of the עץ חיים is made clear, and by the comparison with it it is evident that the compiler of the עץ חיים has preserved that order of the Seder in a very incomplete form. The inference is obvious, that if the same Seder is contained in our Sef. Assufoth which, as has been shown, was compiled in the Rhine-province, this version and ceremonial cannot have constituted a special English Minhag. For this reason I reproduce here in Appendix I. the whole text of this Seder.

(e) תקון חרוסת, f. 39^d, § 347.

(f) טחינה לפסח, f. 40^a, § 348.

(g) תענית בכורים, f. 40^b, § 349.

(h) דינים לצורך הפסח, f. 40^d, § 350.

(i) איסור והתיר מענייני פסח [מספר אבי העזר], f. 41^e, § 355.

(k) הלכות שבילת כלים, f. 42^a, § 356.

(l) עניין הגעלה ולבון, f. 43^e, § 357.

(m) ברכת המזון וקדוש, f. 44^d, § 361.

f. 46^a. הלכות נידה [פיסקי הלכות דר' שלמה], §§ 366-367.

f. 50^d. תיקון מקוה, ודין כלי המשוקע במים, או גיגית או ספינה
ודין צנור הממשיך מים לטבול בו, § 368.

f. 51^d. (a) תורת חלה, § 369.

(b) דין תבואה חדשה, § 370.

f. 53^d. ספירת העומר, § 372.

f. 54^b. (a) חילכות ראש השנה, §§ 373-

(b) סדר תקיעות and תקיעת שופר, § 373.

In this paragraph there are enumerated the various customs which are observed on Rosh-hashana having a symbolical meaning, such as eating the heads of lambs (rams); sweet dishes, honey, etc.; also the custom of killing fowls as on the Eve of Kippur, repeating over them the same verses.

The liturgy of Rosh-hashana is discussed here fully.

f. 57^d. סדר תפלת עשרת ימי תשובה, § 376.

f. 58^a. סדרי סליחות וכפרות.

f. 58^b. הלכות יום כפור.

All the prayers and laws concerning the fast-day. The lighting of special candles mentioned (f. 60^b) in honour of the departed; also מזכירין נשמות בשבת (f. 60^e).

f. 61^e. הלכות הברלה, § 377.

f. 62^a. הלכות סוכה, § 378.

f. 63^b. הלכות לולב וד' מינים, § 379.

f. 63^a. דין אתרוג [מספר אבי העזרי].

f. 65^a. הקפת המזבח.

f. 65^b. סדר הושענה רבה.

f. 66^b. דין זמן אחר קידוש בלילי סוכות, § 380.

f. 66^b. תזכרת משיב הרוח והזכרת ותן טל ומטר [מספר אביה], § 383.

f. 67^d. דיני שבועות, § 382.

The Omer customs, not to marry between פסח and עצרת, etc., and the customs concerning the introduction of the children into the study of the Law, to which I referred above are contained in this paragraph. I reproduce them here for their cultural importance. Appendix II. and III.

f. 67^b. קצת מענייני ראש חדש, § 383.

f. 67^d. דיני שמחת תורה, § 384.

f. 68^b. (a) הלכות מועד, § 385.

(b) הלכות חולו של מועד [מפסקי' מו' הר' אלעזר], f. 69^a.

(c) הלכות יו"ט ממורי הר' אלעזר הקטן f. 69^d.

(d) הוראות של רבי יצחק בר' יהוד' מחול המועד
f. 71^a.

f. 74^a. הלכות עירוב [מיכוד מו' הר' אלעזר].

f. 76^a. פסקים מהלכות ערב שבת ושבת.

All the laws concerning the strict observance of the Sabbath, Sabbath candles, etc.

f. 78^e. ענייני הקזה.

f. 78^d. הלכות מילה [וכן נוהגין בלומברדיא שאו' כן עד היום
§ 79^a.], [הזה].

f. 79^e. מנחה ביום המילה.

f. 80^a. אכתוב גם הלכות מילה [כמו שהעתיקני מספר הלכות
[מילה].

f. 82^d. סדר תפלה ביום מילה ותענית צבור.

f. 85^a. הלכות גרים.

f. 85^d. הלכות נשים המתגירות.

f. 88^e. רפואות, sympathetic medical prescriptions; also some cabbalistic charms for staying the blood, for healing wounds, of which I print here a few, especially those that are quoted in the name of Assaph and the Nassi R. Azaryah of Babylon. Appendix IV.

The text returns again to the Sabbath-laws, from f. 89c. on.

f. 92^b. הלכות קדוש, § 390.

f. 93^b. סדר פרשיות.

f. 94^a. הלכות חנוכה, § 39.

f. 94^e. הלכות פורים and מגילה.

f. 95^e. הלכות ט' באב.

f. 96^b. הלכות י"ז בתמוז and other fast days. On f. 96^e
ה' ט' באב begin again.

f. 97^d. הלכות אבלים on mourning.

(a) צדוק הדין a custom to be observed at the burial.

(b) הלכות כהנים (f. 99^b).

- (c) Mourning on ראש חודש, holy days (f. 99^d).
 (d) Prayers, etc., in the house of mourning (f. 101^a),
 and customs to be observed during the year.
- f. 102^a. הלכות תענית on fasting.
- f. 103^a. הלכות נישואין marriage ceremonies and laws,
 § 392.
- (a) On כתובה and אירוסין.
 (b) הכנסת כלה לחופה (f. 104^e).
 (c) הלכות קדושין (104^d).
 (d) ברכת חתנים (f. 105^a) and other ceremonies
 under the canopy.
- f. 106^b. הלכות ערלה, § 393.
- f. 106^d. Again on marriage laws, § 394.
- (a) לארס או לנשא אלמנה או גרושה מעוברת או מיניקה.
 (b) דיני קדושין (f. 107^b).
 (c) פסולי עדות (f. 107^e).
- f. 108^a. סדר חליצה [משכל טוב], § 395.
- f. 108^a. הלכות ציצית.
- f. 110^a. On Tephillin. הלכות תפילין, § 396.
- (a) שימוש רבה דגאונים.
 (b) שמוש תפילין ועשייתן (f. 110^b).
- f. 112^d. מזוזה כתיקון חכמים.

Here are also given various *sigla* of a cabbalistic character. A peculiar form of Mezuzah is mentioned as the Jerusalemite Mezuzah. I have reproduced it in the Hebrew Appendix V., together with some very important remarks of Maimonides that the Mezuzah should not be used as a (superstitious) amulet, and a remarkable explanation of אבי"ה why the name of God should be written in the form of three *Yods*. Now-a-days, only *two* are used. Not so, however, in ancient MSS., and in those that come from the East.

f. 114^a. גחזור לעניין תפילין.

f. 114^d. A condensed formulary of the ordinary Prayers,

§ 397. This compendium is of great importance for the researches that are now made in the history of Liturgy, and will shed light on the similar portion contained in the עץ חיים. For this very purpose this chapter has been reproduced in the Appendix VI.

(a) סדר תפלה וקרית שמע (f. 114^a).

(b) סדר תפלה לחול (f. 115^a).

(c) נפילת תחנה (f. 118^b).

(d) ניהוגין דסדר קדיש ודקדושות וברכו (f. 118^b).

f. 118^c. ברכת הלבנה § 388 (f. 118^d),
v. Appendix VII.

f. 119^a. Without a special title, again the הלכות תפלה are resumed.

f. 119^b. חזון הכנסת.

f. 119^c. נטילת ידים לאכילה, §§ 400—404.

f. 120^c. הלכות סעודה, §§ 405—424.

f. 122^d. A few liturgical questions, such as—

(a) מה שנחגו לומר ככת' בדברי קדש' מכתובים.

(b) מפני מה נקראו הללו וגו' כי לעולם חסדו הלל הגדול

(c) מפני מה גדול העונה אמן וכ'.

(d) מנהג ... שמתענין שיני וחמשי ושיני.

(e) מה שאנו אומרים בין הפיוטים ובכך לך תעלה
קדושה, etc.

Here are also some peculiar interpretations of the various names by which God is called in the Bible, which are reproduced in Appendix VIII.

f. 123^d. A new addition to הלכות נדה, §§ 426—435.

f. 125^e. ה' מקוה, §§ 435, 436.

f. 125^e. הלכות יין נסך, §§ 437—465.

f. 135^d. Various formularies of summons, marriage, civil contracts, and divorce.

שמוש § 467. מתנת ארוס לארוסתו § 466. הנאי כתובה

שטר מכירה למזונות אשה (§ 468, f. 136^a). בית דין

שטר שובר § 470. שומת פריעת כתובה § 469.

לבעל חוב המחזיר נכסים ליתומים על יד אפיטרופא

§ 47. שטר חלוק קרקע ליורשים § 472.

- f. 137^a. שטר, 474. שטר אפטרופא, 473. שטר חלוק שותפים, 475. זביני דבי דיני, 476. שטר משכונא, 477. *Id.* 478. במטלטלי, 477. שטר מהנת בריא בקרקעי, 138^a. צוואת שכיב מרע, 480. ש' מחילה, 479. שטר פשרה, 481.
- f. 139^a. 484. פסק דין, 483. קיום השטר, 482. ש' הרשאה, 139^a. ש' חוב להתחזק בעל, 485. מכירת קרקע מאיש ואשתו, 486. מסורת מודעה, 486. הממון על בעל חוב ואשתו, 488. ש' ערבות קבלן.
- f. 140^a. 489. ש' שותפות לאחד הטורח בממון של חברו, 140^a. מכירת ש' 491. שובר של חוב, 490. ש' חברותה, 493. ש' חוב לבתו הקטנה, 492. לחבירו.
- f. 141^a. 495. ש' מתנת שכיב מרע, 494. ש' הלואה וחודאה, 141^a. קנין של קטן, 496. ש' מתנה לאשתו ומחילת שבועה, 497. ש' על שכירת בתים, 497. לאחריו על פי האפיטרופא, 498.
- f. 142^a. פירוש, 500. חרם לחקור עדות, 499. חרם של יישוב, 142^a. גט, 501. לגטין וסדורו של גט.
- f. 143^a. גט דחליצה, 503. ש' קניין לשליח הגט, 502. מיוון, 143^a. הרשאה לשליח, 505. סדר חליצה, 504. לאלמנה, 506. לקדש האשה.
- f. 144^a. כתובה לחתן, 508. ס' כתובות, 507. שליח לקדושין, 144^a. כתובת, 510. מה שכותבין בשטרות ובמתנות, 509. כתובה דארכסא, 512. לגרושה ולחלוצה, 511. אלמנה, 513. מרבי' גרשום.
- f. 145^a. 514. כתובה דארכסא כמו שאנו כותבין דין יבום, 145^a. כתובת יבמין ליבמה שהיתה נשואה * כתובת יבמין, 145^b. כתובת שבוייה שחזרה לבעלה, 515. לנערה מאורסה, 516. פשרה לירום מכתובת אמו, 517. מתנת כתובה, 518.
- f. 146^b. פירעון כתובת אלמנה הנותרת לבניה קרקעות אביהם, 146^b. שטר מחילת כתובה, 520. כתובת יבמין דארכסא, 519. מחילת תביעה לאחיה, 521. כשנתפשרה עם היתומין, 522. עבור פרנסתה.
- f. 147^a. 526. פסוקא דגיטא ותנאי, 523-525. פירוש למודעות, 147^a. 528. תיובתא, 527. שטרי דבי דינא דכבבא דמתיבתא, 529. פתיחת, 530. אדרכתא, 531.

- f. 148^a. טירפא אדרכתא. 533. פסקא דלטותא. 532. אקלתא. 534^a. שומא
בכך היא שומא. 535. זו היא אדרכתא. (534) שומא
536.
- f. 149^b. גט פיטורין (שיחרור). 537. שטר מאת קהל ובית דין. 540-538
גט של משומד. 541. גט חליצה לברתולתה. 542-543.
דין גוסס. 543.
- f. 150^a. שטר אפטרופא שמגרשת אשה לקבל גיטא ולגבות
כתיבה לשמה כתובתה מבעלה שברה הימנה ולרדוף
אחריו.
- f. 150^b. כתובת מחזיר גרושתו. (f. 150^b).
- f. 150^d. סדר תשובה, on the various sins and forms of
repentance.
- f. 152^d. אלו הן, אכתוב עבירות חמורות. among others, המינין
(f. 153^a).
- f. 153^d. דין קידוש.
- f. 154^a. שבת, additional laws concerning the
observance of Sabbath (f. 154^b, אגרת).
- f. 157^b. ענייני חנוכה [מספר אבי"ה].
- f. 157^b. לצרף קטן לתפלה [מספר ר' אלע' בן רבנא יהודה].
- f. 157^e. צרף לזמון.
- f. 157^d. ביאור משפטי כתובה [מליקוטי ה"ד אבי"ה].
- f. 160^a. פסקי יום טוב [מס' אבי"ה].
- f. 160^b. פסקי חליצה [מספר אבי"ה].
- f. 160^d. סדר חליצה.
- f. 161^b. עניין פסקי נידוי.
- f. 161^d. ממועד קטן [מספר אבי"ה].
- f. 162^a. פסקי אבל [מס' אבי"ה].
- f. 163^e. הלכות נדרים והתרתן.
- f. 164^b. פסקי נדרים [משכל טוב].
- f. 164^d. מהלכות פסוקות מאבי העזרי בידי פת ושמן.
- f. 165^a. מנשיאות כפים [מספר אבי"ה] (עוד מנשיאות כפים
מס' מחר' אלעזר).
- f. 165^d. קצת מפסקי כתובות וגטין.
- f. 166^a. דין רוכב בתפלה.
- f. 166^b. ארבעה תקופות.

- f. 166^e. (הלכות קריאת תורה) — טעם על שמות החדשים.
 f. 167^a. [מס' אביה] ממסכת ברכות.
 f. 167^d. (הלכות ס' תורה).
 f. 169^d. קצת מליקוטי מסכת סופרים דבר הראוי לצרכי ס' תורה.
 f. 169^e. פיר' ר' עקיבא בן יוסף על תגין וזיונין ואותיות גדולות וקטנות.
 f. 170^a—176^d. שערי ניקוד A Hebrew Grammar, dealing however more with the vowels and accents.
 f. 176^d. A Poem of R. Tam on the Hebrew accents. (Edited by Mr. Halberstam.) Begins אלהים לי מן and finishes לא יתירים לא פחותים.
 f. 177^e—180^d. Paradigms of verbal inflexion.
 f. 181^{ed}. The הטבת חלום and ברכת הלבנה.

This very short and condensed list shows the manifold character of the contents of this MS. Much remains still to be done, but a complete edition of it alone will enable the student to benefit by it in its entirety. What I add here as Appendix is interesting from more than one point of view, and shows also the character of this compilation.

I have reproduced the Hebrew texts exactly as they are in the MS. preserving also the peculiar orthography. Names of authors or books quoted in our text have been spaced. I did not think it necessary to add here any further literary apparatus, such as showing where the passages quoted are to be found in the originals, or to point out parallels in other similar writings, as those would be quite out of place when dealing with merely a few abstracts.

Upon one point I must still touch before finishing, and that is upon the peculiar vocalisation of this MS. If the vowel signs belong to the same period as the text, and this seems to be the case, in spite of the somewhat faded appearance in a few places, it will throw a flood of light on the pronunciation of the German Jews of the fourteenth century. How did they read the vowels? Without

entering here into a lengthy disquisition on this subject, which, as far as I know, has never as yet been investigated, it is evident from our MS. that the German Jews of that time read the Hebrew with the so-called Spanish pronunciation: *Kametz* alternates with *Patah* throughout this text, and the *Sheva* has the value of a short *e*, but sounded as a vowel, almost like *Segol*, which often interchanges with *Zereh*; this latter was thus no diphthong (*ai*).

Altogether, the examination of the vocalisation of numerous MSS. of the Mahazor have convinced me that the so-called German pronunciation is of quite recent origin; down to the fourteenth century all the Jews of Western and Central Europe had one and the same (Spanish-Palestinian) pronunciation.

It is an interesting philological problem to find out the causes which have produced the modification of pronunciation, and the time and place where and when it set in. It suffices for me to have indicated that problem and to have laid a ghost that has been haunting Hebrew philology.

The vocalisation of our MS. is further important for the pronunciation of Talmudic passages. Our reading of the Talmud is based on oral tradition and upon true or false analogies. Our MS. is the only known MS. to exist in which the pronunciation of Talmudic passages is clearly indicated by vowel-points. In comparing this system with ours we will find many and important differences. These will have to be examined carefully, and may form the subject of a separate study.

¹ *Ozar Tob*, 1878, p. 3; *Ozar Nehmad*, ii., p. 10, ff., etc.

² *Zur Gesch.* and *L.* p. 169, No. a.

³ A. Berliner, *Aus dem innern Leben der deutschen Juden im Mittelalter*. Berlin, 1871, p. 50, No. 8.

⁴ Vol. II., end (p. 16).

⁵ *זכרון ברית לראשונים*, Berlin, 1892, p. 109-143.

⁶ *Magazin f. d. Wissenschaft d. Judenthums*, x., Berlin, 1883, p. 64-87

POPULAR JUDAISM AT THE TIME OF THE SECOND TEMPLE IN THE LIGHT OF SAMARITAN TRADITIONS

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE CONGRESS OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS,
OXFORD, *September 17, 1908.*

I WISH to attack a problem which to my knowledge has hitherto not received that full attention which its importance deserves, viz.—which were the popular beliefs and popular practices among the Jews, especially in the provinces and in the Diaspora, during the centuries before and after the destruction of the Second Temple?

There are no contemporary sources which could throw light on the religious beliefs and practices of the Jews during that period. The literary tradition of a purely Jewish character starts later, and is embodied in the Aggadic and Halachic works emanating from certain schools. These represent partly the practical and partly the theoretical developments of tradition, and allow only by inference conclusions of the real life led by the people in Jerusalem. Little, if any, of the popular practices outside Jerusalem can be found in these writings. The same holds good for the Apocryphal literature which has recently been the object of scientific investigation. These writings emanate also mostly from Scribes; their authors are learned men: they live mostly, if not exclusively, in Jerusalem. Their thoughts, conceptions, and ideas centre round the Temple and its worship, and no notion is taken except in a few stray allusions of the practices followed by the people at large, and by those who lived far away from Jerusalem. Each author of these Apocryphal writings seems to have a standpoint of his own, and his range of vision is limited by the fact that almost every one of the writers is engaged in polemical warfare. Each one tries to confound his neighbour and to uphold strenuously

one special point of view. He may be the exponent of a school of thought or of a political religious faction. But these were not the views of the general public, of the mass of the nation, who took very little interest in the party fights going on between the various sects inside Jerusalem. This explains why there seems to be such a profound gap between the beliefs and notions contained in the Apocryphal writings and the Bible, Old Testament as well as the New Testament. Many beliefs and practices in the latter appear, therefore, somewhat strange, and attempts have been made for a long time to find their origin and explanations in extraneous sources and extraneous influences. One source of information has hitherto, however, been somewhat neglected. I am alluding to the Samaritans.

Without expecting too much—for we are standing practically at the beginning of such investigations—I may say that some valuable information could be gleaned from the traditions and religious beliefs and practices of the Samaritans. First, of course, it will have to be determined whether these traditions and ideas which are found in their writings and prayers and in their daily religious practices are of a purely Jewish and pre-Christian origin, or whether the Samaritans have adopted, in addition to the Jewish tenets, also Christian and Mohammedan practices. Most of the scholars who have studied the Samaritan literature have limited their investigations almost exclusively to their Liturgy, and have accepted almost as a dogma the view that the Samaritans owe many of their ideas and beliefs to every possible source: they are said to be indebted not only to Rabbinical late Judaism, to Karaites and the heathen inhabitants of the Hauran, but also to Christianity, and most extensively to Arabic teachings and examples. They are not credited with having retained or possessed anything of their own. But I have failed hitherto to find the slightest proof for these assertions. It is much more natural to assume that they have shown the same tenacity in retaining these ancient practices and beliefs which they held long before the rise of Christianity, instead of believing that they have been constantly changing at every turn in their history. If it can be shown that Islam had no effect upon their religion, and a very slight one, if any, upon their religious rites, we would feel perfectly justified in believing that they have kept themselves also independent of other influences. For the last twelve hundred years they have stood under the exclusive influence and dominion of the Mohammedan rulers, and have lived under comparative tolerance; and yet, although they had adopted the Arabic language and had almost forgotten their own Samaritan and Hebrew

language, still not a trace of Mohammedan influences can be shown in their Liturgy, in its system, order, and recital. I must guard against a common fallacy which considers everything written in the Arabic language or found in Mohammedan writings as if it were of Mohammedan *origin*. The Arabs borrowed at the beginning wholesale from Jew and Christian alike, and much that is treated now as Mohammedan may, and often is, of a different origin altogether. It is time that a 'Caveat' be uttered. The relation between Samaritans and Christians was, on the contrary, of a short duration and marked by terrible persecutions on the part of the Christians, by a far bitterer feud between them than between the Samaritans and the Jews. Under such circumstances, it is not likely that the Samaritans should have adopted anything from the Christians. Their literature is anything but comprehensive. They have the Law, and not even the Prophets, but some Apocrypha. They have a primitive set of prayers—enlarged later on by a few hymns—and ample Lessons from the Law. They have one attempt at codification of the Law, made in the tenth or eleventh century, a few polemical writings and a chronicle copied out by every subsequent writer, and going, therefore, under different names, and finally a mystical cabbalistic magical literature, of which nothing had been known hitherto. I have been fortunate enough to secure, through the munificence of my friend Mr. S. I. Cohen, of Manchester, the chief monument of that literature, the famous Samaritan mystical 'Shem-hamitfaresh', corresponding to the Jewish 'Shem ha-meforash', the Ineffable Name of God, the value and importance of which for the history of Cabbalah cannot be over-rated. I am exhibiting it here, and I may say that, as far I am aware, it is the first time for centuries that it has been shown in public or seen outside of Nablus. Another abbreviated copy bears the date 1342. Markah, of the fourth century, knows already an elaborate system of mystical cabbalistic teaching among the Samaritans, and uses it, and Simon Magus carries us back to the first century.

The Samaritans thus represent at least one phase of the popular beliefs and traditions current among the Jews of that period. They claimed, in fact, to be *the true Jews*, and did not differ from the rest by any of their religious practices.

The only point of contention was that they claimed for Sichem and Mount Garizim to be the chosen spot for the worship of God, pre-ordained since Creation, and explicitly stated in the Pentateuch, and not Jerusalem or Mount Zion. But otherwise they must have shared with the rest of the Jews in what was known at the time as Judaism.

They followed the popular Judaism of the provinces and of the lower classes, of the tillers of the ground from Galilee, and of the fishermen on the Lake of Tiberias down to the gates of Jerusalem. Of course, great caution is required in sifting Samaritan traditions, but whatever recurs as a permanent factor in their religious belief and practices and shows strong similarity to Jewish notions and to primitive Christianity could be safely considered as a true element in helping to elucidate some of the problems of the religious life of that time.

Let me limit myself to two or three points. What was the position of the Cohen outside the Temple? Was he, then, a layman pure and simple, or was he entrusted with some duties of a religious character outside those distinctly laid down in the Pentateuch? It seems that with the destruction of the Temple every privilege attached to the 'Cohen' had disappeared, and the fight between the two sections, the Pharisees and Sadducees, seems to have resulted in the elimination of the Cohen from practical life. Did he, then, exercise any spiritual function? Was he a 'minister' in the way in which the priest has been considered in the Temple. What part did he take in the religious life of the people in the provinces? The origin of the Presbyter (or Diaconus) and the part he took in the services seems to be still somewhat obscure. But if we find that the Cohen has exercised exactly the same 'priestly' functions, and does still exercise them among the Samaritans, it might be inferred that he was the 'priest' to the Jews in the provinces and in the Diaspora. The Presbyter or priest has taken the place of the 'Cohen' and then of the 'Zaken,' Elder, in the new order of things. What is considered Sacrament in the Church, such as birth, initiation, marriage, last blessing of the dying, &c., we find to be still the exclusive function of the Cohen among the Samaritans.

Take another point. What was the old form of worship outside Jerusalem? The Papyri of Elephantine throw some light on the subject. The Jews used to have an 'altar', *not for sacrifices*, but for burning incense and reciting prayers. Did this custom prevail in the provinces and in the Diaspora? We know of the Synagogue that it was the place of assembly, where the Law was read. Jesus and the Apostles were called up to read their portion and to expound it. But what else was done, and what was the conception of the Synagogue in relation to the Temple? We find, then, among the Samaritans again the 'altar' as an essential feature of the worship, the prayer as 'the sacrifice', a certain primitive form of creed, the recital of verses from the first chapter of Genesis, then culled from the rest of the

Law and whole sections of the Bible, the priest as the appointed reader, the people merely joining in the responses, the whole service reminding one very strongly of the ancient description of the 'Maamad' or local service in the Mishna, and leading up to the Liturgy of the Church.

Turning to another set of ideas—the all-absorbing topic of the Messiah, St. John calling people to 'return' and baptismal purification as the preliminary condition for the 'kingdom of heaven', the pre-ordination of the Messiah, his existence before the world, the evolution of events so arranged as to prepare for his advent, the transfiguration on the mount between Elijah and Moses—for all of these topics we find very close parallels in the Samaritan teaching of Fanuta and the Taieb, the Restorer through Repentance, the history of Moses, his pre-ordination, and the evolution of things so arranged as to coincide with his appearance as the Saviour of the world. Everything depended on that final event, on his transfiguration, and now on his expected return.

Some of the points raised, notably those bearing on the elevation of Moses to the position of Saviour and Mediator, have already been noticed and discussed by Samaritan scholars. But they have drawn their information indiscriminately and exclusively from some liturgical pieces belonging to widely different periods—fourth, eleventh, and fifteenth centuries—and then these parallels were looked upon as proofs of Christian influences. My desire is to invite rather the study of the whole range of Samaritan literature, of their legal and ritual practices and religious beliefs as found in their books of laws and rubrics of their prayer-books; a more comprehensive and independent study of the oldest fragments of their literature and a recognition of the fact that therein may be found a new source of information about that popular Judaism which was the religion of the masses in the outlying districts of Palestine, traces of which have hitherto been found only in some of the Apocrypha of the Old and New Testament, in Rabbinical literature and in the New Testament.

Der Midrasch Agur des Menachem di Lonzano.

Soviel ich weiss scheint die Existenz dieses Buches, das Lonzano gedruckt hat, in Zweifel gezogen worden zu sein. Weder Steinschneider noch Ben-Jacob haben etwas darüber. Der letztere verweist nur auf das Buch von Josef Schwarz, der es ziemlich vage zitiert. Ich habe auch sonst vergebens nach genauer Angabe darüber gesucht und nun ist mir durch einen Zufall das Titelblatt, welches zugleich das erste Blatt des Buches zu sein scheint, in die Hände geraten.

In meiner Hs. No. 96, welche den Tachkemoni des Alcharizi enthält und schon im Jahre 1360 der Synagoge des Ezra in Babylon geschenkt worden ist, fand ich auf der innern Seite des Deckels ein Blatt aufgeklebt welches sich bei genauer Einsicht als das erste Blatt des angezweifelte[n] Werkes herausstellte. Die Einleitung war sichtbar. Mit vieler Mühe ist es mir gelungen, das Blatt abzulösen und, glücklicherweise, stellte es sich heraus, dass die angeklebte Seite das Titelblatt war. Auf diese Weise wurden nicht blos die Fragen, die sich auf den Inhalt des Buches beziehen, einigermaßen gelöst, sondern es ist auch ein wertvoller Beitrag zur Geschichte der Druckereien im heiligen Lande.

Diese Sammlung enthielt die Baraitha des Rabbi Eliezer, die wohl einen Teil des Midrasch Agur ausmachte, wie aus der Einleitung, soweit sie erhalten ist, zu ersehen ist. Ferner die Baraitha der Stiftshütte und andere ähnliche kleine Midrashim, die Lonzano herausgegeben hat.

Noch viel interessanter sind Druckort und Drucker. Das Buch ist in סאֶפֶט Safet und nicht ירוּסָלַיִם gedruckt worden, und zwar im Jahre 1587, wohl einer der ersten hebräischen Drucke in Palästina, in der Druckerei des Abraham, Sohn des Ishak Aschkenazi. Der Setzer und Drucker war Eliezer, der Bruder des Druckereibesitzers, und das Titelblatt hat sogar eine Drucker-Marke, ein vorzüglich ausgeführter gekrönter Löwe, der den besten Druckern in Venedig in der Ausführung Ehre machen würde. Auch steht der Druck an Schönheit der Typen und sonstiger technischer Ausführung den Konstantinopeler und Salonik-Drucken nicht nach. Unzweifelhaft haben die Aschkenazis, die vorher Drucker in Konstantinopel waren, die Typen von dort nach Palästina gebracht.

In der Einleitung finden sich auch einige biographische Notizen über Lonzano und seine Beziehungen zu dem Arzte Joseph Abudarham in Konstantinopel. Wir erfahren, dass er sich schon seit lange mit dem Gedanken der Herausgabe dieser Schriften herumgetragen hatte, dass er die Hss. nicht verkaufen wollte sogar seinem Freunde (Verwandten?), dem Arzte, und dass er allmählich über Jerusalem nach Safet gelangt ist und dort Gelegenheit gefunden, seinen langgehegten Wunsch auszuführen. Ich gebe nun die Abschrift des Titelblattes und der Einleitung, so weit sie sich hier erhalten hat.

¹⁾ [S. Abdruck aus „Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchl. Leben. Herausg. v. Chr. E. Luthardt. 9. Jahrg. (1888) Nr. 1.] Fr.

*Deissman's Light from the Ancient East Scriptures of
Rheneia (Prayers of Vengeance).*

A MEDIEVAL legend tells of a man who for some reason or other had got into the good graces of the Supernatural Powers, who signified their approval of his action by offering him some lumps of coal. He took them home, and in the morning, lo ! the coals had been transformed into lumps of pure gold.

Something akin to this miracle has happened to the author of this fascinating volume, no less full of new light than that of his *Bible Studies*. For if there has ever been such a transformation from the things apparently worthless into things of paramount importance, fragments of papyri, potsherds, ostraka, and similar things thrown away thousands of years ago have now been found as the representatives of the life of the Demos, much more true, much more serious than any artificial writing. For the Demos, the people of the lower classes, have now come to their own. The real life of the toiling masses of the East stand clearly revealed in these simple, homely documents with pictures of the inner life, never intended to be seen by strangers' eyes. Moreover, the language in which they are written has nothing in common with the stilted, refined, artificial product of the literature of the higher classes.

It is now Prof. Deissman's great merit to have drawn attention to these interesting but not fully appreciated remnants of the past, in order to obtain a new and quite unlooked-for comment for the better understanding of the Greek Bible. This book, which is the cornerstone of modern civilisation, the most remarkable monument of the Jewish Hellenistic literature, has peculiar linguistic features of its own which had hitherto been the despair of philologists, the easy target of supercilious critics.

It was to the student of classical literature nothing but a monument of Greek jargon ; a Greek which had been artificially moulded

and changed by the Jews, an example of Semitic incompetency to deal adequately with the syntactical subtleties of the Greek language. Prof. Deissman has now fully vindicated the unique character of the Greek Bible. It is a faithful expression of the language of the time, and has retained for us an invaluable treasure of words and forms which prove it to have been the very book written by the people and for the people. Thus it is the finest representative of the intermediary stage, between the classical Greek and the Koinē, then to become the modern Greek. After having brilliantly proved his thesis regarding the Old Testament, Prof. Deissman now uses these materials for a new interpretation of the origins of the New Testament. The style, the language, the figures of speech, the allusions, all stamp these writings as popular literature in the fullest sense of the word, and receive complete illustration from the contemporary popular writings preserved in letters on papyri and ostraka. A series of private letters included in this volume gives a glimpse of unsurpassed naturalness into the life of the people. These letters are mostly in Greek. They range over a period of five or six centuries starting from the 2nd B.C.E. All these emanate from the lower classes. They are written in an unconventional style by those who did not aim at a literary production, and merely expressed their own intimate feelings. We find here a letter from husband to wife on household duties; a lame excuse for continued absence from home; a master to his slave; a landowner, or rather a peasant, to the official taxgatherer; a naughty boy to his father, and a young man to his family. The latter (No. 24, page 168) is a touching expression of filial love and duty from an Egyptian young man who volunteers for service in the Roman army, and tells his family at home of his adventures, and of his final settlement in marriage in Italy. There are other documents equally interesting which bring us into intimate touch with the life of two thousand years ago. All these are reproduced in admirable facsimiles. The Greek texts are, moreover, printed and translated, but what adds to the importance and value of their publication is the commentary of Prof. Deissman, who is endowed with poetical imagination, and, from a single line, is able to reconstruct the whole situation and completes the picture often only faintly indicated in the text.

It is thus a book full of new suggestions. Add to this the number of admirably executed illustrations, and the care the author has taken to translate every Greek quotation, the beautiful translation—due to the excellent work done by Mr. Strachan,

who rendered it into English—the copious indexes, and it is easy to imagine how useful and instructive this new book of Prof. Deissman must be to every student of the language and life and people at the time when the New Testament was written, and at the time preceding it.

PRAYERS FOR VENGEANCE

Pages 423ff. of Prof. Deissman's book claims our special attention. This part is entitled "Jewish Prayers for Vengeance at Rheneia." Two marble tablets of about twenty-two inches long were found in Rheneia, in old Great Delos. They are now in the Museums of Bucharest and Athens. Both contain practically the same inscriptions; the only real difference is that for the name of Heracleia on the one that of Martheina is found on the other. Ever since their discovery they have excited the keenest curiosity. Some put them in the second century B.C.E., others as late as the eighth century C.E. They were in turns considered of pagan, Christian, and Jewish origin. The last to study them is Prof. Deissman, who devotes many pages to a minute examination of every word and phrase. He also comes to the conclusion that they are of Jewish origin, and belong to the second century B.C.E. Hence the interest attached to these tablets, which are called "The Prayer for Vengeance."

Before proceeding any further I reproduce here the translation of the first tablet, as given by Prof. Deissman, p. 435: "I call upon and pray the Most High God, the Lord of the spirits and of all flesh, against those who with guile murdered or poisoned the wretched, untimely lost Heracleia, shedding her innocent blood wickedly: That it may be so with them that murdered or poisoned her, and with their children; O Lord, that seeth all things, and ye angels of God, Thou before whom every soul is afflicted this same day with supplication, that Thou mayest avenge the innocent blood and requite it again right speedily!"

According to Prof. Deissman, these tablets commemorated a curse uttered by the whole Jewish congregation at this solemn day when all the souls are "afflicted with supplication" (i.e. on the Day of Atonement) on the unknown murderer of the innocent Heracleia.

How utterly at variance with facts this interpretation is will be my intention to prove, however briefly. I need not state that such a practice is absolutely unknown among the Jews.

If at any time such a curse had indeed been uttered, it would not be recorded on a marble tablet, nay, repeated twice on the same tablet ; for this prayer is found on the obverse and reverse of the Heracleia Tablet. It occurs then again on the Martheina Tablet, and would point to a peculiar general custom, of which, however, no other example is known. What could be the object of this inscription twice repeated on a stone of so small a size, covered with writing on both sides ? It could not be a grave-stone ; none were in use at that remote period. And the tenon at the bottom shows that it must have been fixed somewhere.

It is the curious misunderstanding of this formula which has led all the scholars astray, from Wilhelm down to Deissman. All are agreed that the formula is more or less a collection of phrases from the Septuagint. This is the reason why the prayer has been included in the present volume. It is surprising that all these scholars should not have searched the Scriptures thoroughly, as they were bound to do. The real difficulty begins with line 10 of the Heracleia Tablet. How do the angels come into this prayer, and what does "the day when every soul is afflicted with supplication" mean ?

The author fixes the second century B.C.E. as the date of these inscriptions. Assuming them to be so old, even then, on his own showing throughout his book, the popular Greek of this period had undergone a considerable change. The words had also obtained a somewhat different meaning. "Pharmakon," by which the innocent Heracleia and Martheina died, was no longer a "poison" or even "a poisoned love-philter," but a "magical philter" of charms or sorcery brought about their undoing ; hence the difficulty, nay, impossibility, of discovering the guilty. The prayer formulæ used by a Jew, Samaritan, or early Christian is therefore an appeal to God to avenge the innocent blood which had thus been shed by invisible foes.

There can be no doubt that we have here a certain formula of symbolical prayers and curses as found in the *Tabulae defixionum*, and on the Tablet of Hadrumet and other similar half-magical, half-religious curses and incantations of the last centuries before the Christian Era and then on to the fifth and sixth centuries.

The second half of this formula forms part of the ancient eschatology, and here the interpretation has gone entirely wrong. A sentence like this, "every soul is *afflicted* this same day with *supplication*," cannot by any stretch of imagination make good sense. The real translation should be : "every soul is visited

on that same day with punishment or guilt." It refers to the *last day of judgment*, when every soul will have to appear before the Eternal Judge, and all crimes will be made manifest and the wicked punished. To God, the Judge of the Last Day, the vengeance for the murder of the innocent is left: for Him to punish the guilty who had escaped human justice. The Prayer rests on Deut. xxxii. 35-43. Verse 35: "In the day of vengeance I will requite." The very same Greek words, *hemera ekdikeseos*, *ib.* verse 41, tell of the hands of God taking hold of judgment, etc. But verse 43 gives us not only a further corroboration of this eschatological interpretation of the Prayer, but will also show the source of "the angels" which have puzzled all the commentators of the prayer. The English translation of this verse, according to the Septuagint, runs as follows: "Rejoice, ye heavens, with him, and let *all the angels* of God worship him [rejoice, ye Gentiles, with his people], and let all the sons of God strengthen themselves in him [for he will avenge the blood of his sons]; and he will render vengeance and recompense justice to his enemies [and will reward them that hate him]; and the Lord will purge the land of his people." Here are the angels who rejoice with the Lord, and they are mentioned in connection with the judgment and recompense, when "He will avenge the blood of his sons." In the Prayer the unfortunate Heracleia and Martheina are substituted for the sons for whom God "requites justice to his enemies." What more appropriate quotation from the Bible for such a prayer?

It is passing strange that the scholars who have hitherto endeavoured to interpret the prayer should have missed this obvious and clear reference to these Biblical passages, and should have made such a "curse" part of the Jewish liturgy, and suggested the introduction of such a peculiar prayer for two persons only into the Service of the Day of Atonement, and to assert that such an isolated incident, if it ever happened, should have been permanently recorded on two small marble tablets. The reference to Eisenmenger (Deissman, p. 431) should have sufficed to explain the real meaning and origin of the Prayer; the quotation there is also from Deut. xxxii. 43. The final expression "quickly" is another proof of its true character, for it is the usual termination of almost every incantation or magical prayer. That close dependence on the LXX is of decisive importance for determining the origin of the Prayer. For if we compare the Greek translation of the verses mentioned above with the Hebrew original it will be found that they do not agree.

The Greek has either a double or even more amplified translation of verse 43, or an agadic interpretation added to the more or less literal translation of the Hebrew original. In order to bring out this difference the portion agreeing with the Hebrew has been enclosed within square brackets. The "angels," e.g., have no counterpart in the Hebrew, and yet they figure in the Prayer. Furthermore, verse 35 agrees in the Greek more with the Samaritan recension: both read "*the Day* of vengeance and requital"; the Hebrew has "*mine* is the vengeance and requital," *Le-yom* instead of *li*. If I lay stress on these points it is in the first place to show that the author of these "Curses" knew *only* the Greek translation of the Bible, and *not* the Hebrew. He borrowed exclusively his terminology and his eschatology from the Septuagint and not from the Hebrew. This fact alone ought to modify the opinion on the origin of the "Prayer."

By these facts the authorship and date must of necessity be affected. A Samaritan as well as an early Christian may just as likely have composed such Prayers as a Jew. All agree in the belief of a last Day of Judgment, and all knew the Greek translation of the Bible. There can no longer be any question of the "Day of Atonement" or anything specifically Jewish being referred to in these Prayers.

The date of the translation is affected by the use of the peculiar translation of verse 43. It must be left to students of the LXX to decide whether this amplified or double translation belongs to the oldest form of the LXX—rather unlikely—or whether it is one of the numerous doublets due to Hexaplaric glosses which have crept into the text from the marginal variants. Some time must have elapsed before such an amplified text could have reached Delos and been taken as the authentic Greek counterpart of the Hebrew verity. Instead of the second century B.C.E., I would be inclined to place it nearer the second century after C.E. This would also fit in with the history of such Tablets of Prayers, Curses, etc., on unknown foes, to which these Prayers unmistakably belong.

But we can go one step further and declare these Prayers to be of Christian origin. The author of the Prayers would practically be quoting the Epistle to the Romans II. 5, 6 ("treasurest up . . . according to his works"), or at any rate be influenced by this statement and use the more amplified original in Deuteronomy from which Paul himself had borrowed the quotation.

F. PRAETORIUS. UEBER DIE HERKUNFT DER HEBRAEISCHEN
ACCENTE. 54 pp. (Berlin, 1901.)

The origin of the Hebrew accents has more than once taxed the ingenuity of scholars, but every attempt to solve the mystery of their invention or to fix the date when they were first introduced into the text of the Bible, or even to determine the value and character of each of the signs, has thus far baffled every investigator. Any attempt that is made to solve this mystery, especially when proceeding from a new point of view altogether, must be welcome, although I am bound to state from the very start that this latest attempt has left the position exactly where it was before. A few scholars, who had access to very ancient texts of Greek Lectionaries, containing portions of the Gospels and forming a part of the Liturgy, had noticed that in some instances these texts were endowed with peculiar signs, partly in black and partly in red ink. Among the more recent, Thibaut had been enabled to throw some light on these signs, which, following the example of Tzetzes, are called ekphonic Neums. Starting from the material collected by these and other scholars in the history of mediaeval Greek music, and making use of a rare Greek Lectionary with such Neums, Professor Praetorius, well known for his massoretic studies, has subjected these signs to a new investigation, the gist of which is the following:— That the black marks stand for the punctuation of the Greek texts, that is, for the syntactical division of the verse, according to its internal meaning; whilst the red signs mark

a certain modulation of the voice in the recitation. The red marks never contradict the division made by the black marks, and therefore they must be looked upon as an indication to the reader how to raise and how to lower his voice, and how to impart to his reading a musical cantilation, but they do not stand for a full musical note with a well-defined sound. They are expected to assist in the true interpretation of the text, by a kind of musical rendering. They stand as a rule in pairs, marking off the beginning and the end of a sentence or a part of a sentence, and when a phrase consists of only one emphatic word, this may have both signs.

I do not wish to enter now into a discussion of the musical value which Professor Praetorius gives to these signs, for he has evidently never heard the lessons read in the Greek Church, but his investigations into these Greek Neums lead up to conclusions which he draws therefrom in order to propound a theory as to the origin of the Hebrew accents. According to Professor Praetorius, the Jews have simply taken over these very signs, and very soon forgetting their origin, and that they were signs copied from the Greek Gospels, they incorporated them into their own sacred texts, though they modified them from time to time. He goes even further, and says (p. 42) that the Jews did not read their sacred texts with their usual cantilation before the beginning of the Middle Ages. He gives no indication of the source of this startling information. He points out further that the Jews alone among the Semitic nations have marked the word accent, but that they have not used specially designed signs serving exclusively that purpose. That they, moreover, have taken indiscriminately all the manifold signs found in the Greek texts, in which there are in fact three different signs, one the accent standing over the word, the other the punctuation or black, and thirdly the red Neums. According to Professor Praetorius, the Jews have mixed all these up and formed their system therefrom. He then proceeds to identify some of the Biblical accents with these mediaeval Greek Neums.

The theory as it stands is, however, untenable. My view is diametrically opposed to the one propounded by Professor Praetorius, who overlooked a fact of decisive importance. These red Neums occur only in *Lessons* from the *Gospels*. Why should the Church have invented a peculiar system of notation for the recitation of Biblical texts, and limit that notation only to such texts? The reason cannot be found in any internal necessity. In inventing this notation, the Church must have followed an example which was considered to be sacred and of old standing. It is a significant fact that these Neums are not found in any manuscript of the Gospel as such, but only and solely in the Lessons in the *Liturgy*, when they are read in the Church in the same manner as the Hebrew portions of the Bible are read in the Synagogue. The example which the Jews set has been followed on more than one occasion by the Church, and Jesus Himself, as well as St. Paul, read portions of the Bible in the Synagogue, as recorded in the Gospels and in the Acts of the Apostles. The example is sure to have been followed from the very first days of Christianity, and if the Lessons were read from the beginning in Greek, either in Hebrew with Greek letters or in Greek translations, it is not at all unlikely, nay, it is almost certain, that they would be read like the originals in the Hebrew form, and that graphical signs would also, in time, be introduced into the text, in order to make their reading as much like that of the Jews as possible. It is their traditional cantilation which has been retained also by the Church. And what is more natural to assume, then, that as soon as the Jews invented signs for marking the peculiar modulations of the voice, the Greek Church, which has preserved to a certain extent the same way of reading the scripture as that followed by the Jews, would borrow and incorporate some of those signs into the Lectionary? These red Neums introduced into the Greek Lessons are, then, nothing else but an imitation of the Hebrew accents, and of the manner in which the Jews read the sacred texts in their Liturgy. The older

Greek signs of prosody have been put under obligation by the Church, and they have been adapted as best they could to this new use. New names had to be invented which are not quite easily understood from the point of view of pure classical Greek, and only through the comparison with Hebrew counterparts the meaning of some is made more clear.

There is, moreover, one profound difference between these two systems, which shows, that the Greek must have been the younger, and that is, that the number of signs is much smaller and the use of the signs more simple and transparent than is the case with the Hebrew. In the Hebrew every word has at least one sign and often two, but the red Neums in the Greek texts stand merely at the beginning and end of the sentence. The Christians were satisfied with following the general outlines of the Hebrew mode of reading, and fewer signs sufficed. Not being an organic growth, it soon fell into desuetude, and even the names of the signs had to be rediscovered in quite recent times. The simplification is, as a rule, a later stage of development out of a more complex system. It is impossible to admit for one moment that the Jews would have borrowed anything from the Church, and still less that they would introduce anything into the Synagogue that was a direct copy and imitation from the Gospels. It is in Palestine that we find the earliest traces of accents, and it is sufficiently well known how bitterly hostile the followers of the two religions were to one another, how strained the relations were, and that in fact no intercourse existed between Jew and Gentile. It is contrary to every experience to assume the possibility of Jews connecting with the sacred text of the Bible any sign or dot or tittle borrowed from the Nazarenes, and from the Gospel to boot.

The accents are much older than has hitherto been believed. No ancient Biblical codex has yet come to light that does not have accents and rudimentary elements of Massoretic glosses round it. I may mention that the peculiar *Kolon* and the point high up the line noticed by Professor Praetorius occurs also in some ancient Hebrew

fragments of the Cairene Genizah, but not in Biblical texts. Far, therefore, from imitating, the Jews set the example, and the Biblical accents, whose origin remains still a mystery to be solved, give the clue to the Greek Neums of the Lectionary. A finer appreciation and a better understanding of the musical value of these Neums can be obtained only by comparing them with the systems prevailing among the Jews. I say deliberately systems, because it is a fact, which is not sufficiently well known, that these accents are not read uniformly by the Jews all over the world. The Sephardim seem to have retained three different systems of reading the accents in the various portions of the Bible. They read them in the Pentateuch with a totally different cantillation from that of the accents in the Prophets; and the Books of the Hagiographa, when used in the Liturgy, are read to a different tune altogether. The Jews, who live in what was once the old Byzantine empire, also read some of the accents, like the Athnach, differing from the Jews in the West.

The importance of the work of Professor Praetorius lies in the fact that it has opened up a new field of investigation, though I have been forced to reverse the process of reasoning followed by him and to assert, by means of the very proofs adduced by him, that the similarity between the Greek and the Hebrew notation is due to the borrowing of the former from the latter. It is incidentally one of the most weighty arguments for the extreme antiquity of the signs for cantillation in the public worship, of the Hebrew text, as well as of the Greek Gospels.

THE HEBREW VERSION OF THE "SECRETUM SECRETORUM,"

A MEDIÆVAL TREATISE ASCRIBED TO ARISTOTLE.

*Published for the first time from the MSS. of the British Museum,
Oxford, and Munich.*

INTRODUCTION.

1. Great was the reputation of Aristotle in the Middle Ages. His sway was undisputed, and whatever bore his name was sure to be treated as the expression of the highest wisdom. But that fame rested mostly on Arabic translations and interpretations of his philosophical writings. Along with the genuine writings, however, also other treatises were circulated which were ascribed to Aristotle, with what justification has not yet been settled, but probably because some of the ideas put into his mouth seem to have been culled from his genuine writings and others reflected, more or less accurately, views and opinions contained in his writings. Among such pseudo-Aristotelian writings, none enjoyed wider circulation than obtained by the treatise which claimed to represent the "Politeia" of Aristotle. It contributed much more to the reputation of Aristotle than any other of his writings, and enjoyed a far greater popularity than any popular book of the Middle Ages. It claimed to be the quintessence of political wisdom and statecraft: the last word on the rule of body and mind, the treasure-house of occult knowledge, the deepest mystery in the conduct of man. It was known that Alexander the hero of the East had been the pupil of

Aristotle. He had been in constant communication with his master, and letters purporting to have passed between master and pupil were circulated from very olden times. The prowess of Alexander, the victories he easily won, and the facile manner in which he governed the most diverse races deeply impressed the mind of the people. All this was attributed to the wise teaching and the prudent counsel vouchsafed to Alexander by his great master Aristotle. The same teaching, it was assumed, if known and followed, would hold good, then, for any successor of Alexander. Thus a book has been compiled which purported to contain that very teaching of Aristotle sent to his pupil as a great mystery. If it were to be of any use, it must needs be comprehensive: he had to be taught, or better, directed how to govern the people, how to select councillors and advisers, how to arrange his battles, how to manage his finances, how to select trusty messengers to conduct safely and satisfactorily all diplomatic negotiations, how to choose administrators fit to look after the affairs of State, how to judge men's aptitudes from their outward appearance. But this was not all: he had to be taught also how to conduct himself, how to retain and strengthen his physical health, how to act in all seasons of the year, how to keep measure in eating, drinking, and other forms of pastime, and some indications had to be given of the secret properties of stones and metals, which would be useful to him for his personal benefit and for ruling the peoples.

2. A book of this kind was sure to be received favourably and to be assiduously circulated, if not so much by the rulers, at least by the ruled. It has at no time been safe, and still less so in olden times, to tell the truth to kings and princes; but under the protection of Aristotle, covered by his great reputation and justified by the brilliant results obtained in the case of Alexander, such a venture could be carried out with impunity. Sound and good

advice could thus be given to those who held unlimited sway over the body and property of their subjects, in the guise of 'secret statecraft.' What the "Apologue" taught under the form of a tale or fable, the "Regimen Principum" taught in the form of a lesson of the past. Rules of conduct were inculcated by the "Apologue," interspersed with maxims and followed by 'moralisations' in books like the "Panchatantra," the "Syntipas," and others. Akin to these, yet differing in form, are books like "Barlaam Josaphat" and in a higher degree such a book as this one, ascribed to Aristotle. In order to enhance its importance it is described as a deep Secret, as the mysterious wisdom of State, revealed only to Alexander and given to the world by a miraculous chance through the intervention of one of the Mohammedan Khalifs. Through the investigations of Knust, Steinschneider, Förster, Suchier, Hertz, and Steele, one can form some estimate of the wide popularity of this book and of the deep influence it has exercised upon the literature of many countries. There is scarcely any European language into which that book has not been translated, and numerous have been the poetical renderings of its contents. It appealed too strongly to the instincts of the peoples not to be taken up and to be held up as the "Mirror of Kings."

3. The bibliography of the innumerable editions and MSS. in the various languages in the libraries of Europe has not yet been completed. There is no library which does not contain a number of copies of the "Secretum." In the "Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen," vol. vi, 1889, p. 1 ff., Förster has made an attempt at cataloguing the Latin MSS. and partly the translations in other languages. He enumerates no less than 207 Latin MSS., and W. Hertz, in his "Gesammelte Schriften," pp. 156-61, and p. 165 No. 4, supplies a bibliography, a brief sketch of the history of the "Secretum," and a goodly list of Arabic

MSS. This treatise has also been versified, and, to limit myself to English versions, we have the poem of Lydgate, and his continuator, Burgh. R. Steele, in editing this poem (E.E.T.S., London, 1894) has given a succinct and yet full and lucid history of this text. One of the books in Gower's "*Confessio Amantis*" is but a rhymed transcript of part of this "*Secretum*." Roger Bacon wrote a commentary on it. There are besides in English a good number of ancient translations more or less amplified, some from the French, and also a few from the Latin.

4. Without attempting here to disentangle the web of these numerous versions, or to establish the literary filiation and connection between them, it suffices for our purposes to establish the fact that there are at least two recensions, a shorter and a longer one, and that both go back to ancient Latin texts not earlier than the twelfth century.

5. These Latin texts in their turn rest on Arabic originals. In the Arabic also at least two recensions are known, a short and a long one. As we shall see later on, a third text must have existed in Arabic differing from these two. It must have been much shorter than either of those hitherto come to light. This book had shared the fate of all popular books. Copyists took liberties with the contents. There are few MSS. or even prints which agree fully with one another. In some, chapters are missing; in others, chapters are added. Moreover, this book covers a wide field; portions have been detached and treated as separate writings. The "*Regimen Sanitatis*," i.e. the direction for preserving one's health, applied to wider circles. Men in affluent circumstances could carry out equally well as kings, the medical prescriptions contained in that section. And this portion has, in fact, been detached, and was translated and circulated separately. Similarly, the chapter on precious stones and their secret virtues appealed to the students

of Lapidaries and to alchemists, and that section was also elaborated and amplified, and it led an independent existence. Again, the treatise on Physiognomy contained in our book has later on been incorporated into the works of Albertus Magnus, Duns Scotus, and others, and is the primary source for the literature of physiognomics in the Middle Ages.

6. In the light of the latter development of the "Secretum," and the separate existence of some of its chapters, the question may be asked whether these chapters had always formed part of the original composition or whether they had been incorporated into it at a later stage, swelling the contents and ensuring for it a larger circulation. Only on that supposition an answer can be found for some of the problems connected with the literary history of that book, and the first step towards arriving at any solution is to compare the various texts and translations extant.

7. Two names are mentioned as authors of the Latin translations—one, Johannes Hispalensis, a converted Jew who flourished 1135–1150, and another, a certain Philip Clericus, of uncertain date, but according to Förster, of the beginning of the thirteenth century: this date may be taken as the best authenticated, corroborated by the fact that only writers of the thirteenth century are acquainted with that translation. A third Latin translation may have also existed, the basis for the old Spanish. Examining those first two translations more closely, it will be found that Johannes Hispalensis translated only one treatise of this book, the "Rule of Health" and "The Four Seasons" (Book xii), accompanied by a short introduction describing the finding of the book in the temple of the Sun, and stating that Aristotle had written it at the request of Alexander. He does not seem to have translated any other section of the book, and yet he calls it by the same Arabic name, "Sir Alasrar" (corrupted in the

Latin), as the complete work. He evidently knew only so much of the book. Philip, on the other hand, translates the full text, which bears the same name. It contains, in addition to the chapters translated by Joh. Hispalensis, the rule of princes, the manner of warfare, the battle array, the choice of councillors, the mysterious properties of stones, some astrological sections, etc. In later times these two versions have been blended, and the work of the one mixed up with that of the other.

8. In comparing, then, the various Latin translations among themselves, great discrepancy will be found in the order and sequence of these very chapters, and in the division of the texts into books and chapters. The "Rule of Health" will be found either after book ii or after book vii, and in other respects the order of the books and chapters differs in these versions and recensions.

9. The Arabic original from which the Latin is the translation, although extant in many libraries in Europe, has hitherto not been published. Steinschneider, however, has examined some of the most interesting, and he has compared the Arabic with the Latin of Philip ("Uebersetzungen," p. 995, cf. p. 245 ff., where a full bibliography is to be found). He has established that in the Arabic texts a similar confusion is found in the division of the text into ten or eight books, and in the order in which they follow upon one another, agreeing in part with, but also disagreeing from, the Latin. The same question arises—Do these Arabic MSS. represent a late stage of development, when out of many independent treatises one single book had been evolved, or has the "Secretum" been preserved in its original form? Some of these, like the treatise translated by Joh. Hispalensis, may already have had the title "Secretum," and others may also have had the same title or one approximating it, and this identity of titles facilitated the blending of all of them into one book.

10. In addition to the Latin translations there is now a Hebrew version which, though it also rests on an Arabic original, represents, however, a recension other than that of the MSS. hitherto known. It differs from each of these recensions, and may help us to reconstruct the history of this book. In point of time it is at least contemporary, if not older than, any other translation of the full text, and it is an open question whether Philip has not made use of the Hebrew in his Latin translation. In one instance he distinctly refers to the Hebrew name of a bird of which he gives also the Arabic names. The reference may be a later interpolation, as this Latin text offers many examples of a double translation, due no doubt to marginal glosses, which later copyists transferred to the body of the text; but it may just as well be due to Philip himself.

11. Judging from ancient quotations in Hebrew literature the "Secretum" was known already at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and is quoted in the language of this very translation. The style also points to that period and to Spain as its home. At that time a number of books of a similar character were translated from Arabic into Hebrew, such as the "Maxims of the Philosophers," the legendary "History of Alexander," the philosophical writings of Aristotle, genuine as well as spurious. Steinschneider in his great work on the translations from Arabic into Hebrew (and indirectly into Latin) deals exhaustively with this literature. One man stands out prominently towards the end of the twelfth century as author, poet, and skilled translator, Judah Al-Hharizi, who flourished in the beginning of the thirteenth century (1190-1218).

12. The translation of the "Secretum" has also been ascribed to him. Some have doubted this authorship, but no proof to the contrary has been brought forward. Hharizi is the author of the translation of the

"Maxims of the Philosophers" ("Mussare ha-Pilosophim"), from the Arabic of Honein ibn Ishak (latest edition, A. Lowenthal, Frankfurt, 1896). He is also the author of the legendary "Life of Alexander," the English translation of which I published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1897. Hharizi seems to have made his own the cycle of the Alexander legends, embracing the correspondence between Alexander and Aristotle. It is not a mere coincidence that in most of the MSS. the "Maxims of Philosophers," the "History of the Death of Alexander," the "Letters of Aristotle to Alexander," and those of "Alexander to his mother Olympias" should be found to follow immediately after the "Secretum Secretorum." No doubt these writings were designed to form a complete cycle on the life of Alexander. Also linguistic parallels can be found between the "Secretum" and the "Maxims," proving them to be the work of one author. "Maxims," book ii, ch. 4, "the letter of Aristotle," is an abstract of the "Secretum," as shown by Lowenthal ("Sinnsprüche der Philosophen," Berlin, 1896, p. 112 ff.); and the Hebrew text, ed. Lowenthal, p. 27 ff., is strikingly similar to the Hebrew text of the "Secretum."

13. Hharizi, the undoubted author of the Hebrew translation of the "Maxims," could not have borrowed verbatim a few passages from the "Secretum" to incorporate them with his own translation of the whole of the "Maxims." It is, on the contrary, much easier to explain this similarity by assuming the author of one translation to be the author of the other, for he would use the same language in both cases. Similarity of language, nay, in some instances, absolute identity, runs through both books. They differ, on the other hand, very considerably from another collection of "Maxims" translated also from the Arabic under the title "Choice of Pearls," and ascribed to Aben Gabirol. There is no valid reason why the translation of the "Secretum" should

not be the work of Hharizi. Another argument may also be adduced to make Hharizi's authorship of the translation probable. For as it was utilised in the thirteenth century it could not have been translated into Hebrew later than towards the end of the twelfth century, and no quotation from that book has been traced in Hebrew literature anterior to the period of Hharizi.

14. This Hebrew version, preserved in a large number of MSS., some of which, of the beginning of the fourteenth century, is the same in all. Only slight variations, due to the negligence of the copyist, and minor differences in the numbering of the books and chapters, mark the difference between one MS. and the other. In comparing this version with the Arabic we find that, though agreeing in the main as far as the order of chapters and contents with the so-called shorter Arabic recension, yet it differs also greatly from it. It has many chapters and paragraphs for which no parallels in the other versions have hitherto been discovered. The differences between the Hebrew and the Latin of Philip are still greater. It is not possible to enter upon a minute examination of these differences so long as the Arabic texts remain unpublished. I must limit myself here to the more important points in which the Hebrew agrees with or disagrees from either of these versions, as the results obtained may have a distinct bearing on the history of the "Secretum."

15. The shorter Arabic recension is divided into eight books of unequal length, and the longer recension into ten, also of unequal length. The Latin is divided into ten books and the Hebrew into eight, like the shorter Arabic. But this difference is more apparent than real. Certain sections included in one or other of these chapters in the shorter Arabic are numbered separately in the longer, and thus the number of the divisions is increased without increasing the contents.

16. What purports to be an exchange of letters between Aristotle and Alexander, explaining the origin of this work, forms a kind of Introduction. Then follows the Prologue on the part of the first discoverer, who pretended having found it in a Temple of the Sun dedicated to Asklepios. He had gone in search of it at the bidding of the King of the Faithful, and having found it, translated it from the Greek into 'Rumi' and thence into Arabic. The author of this translation is the well-known Yahya ibn Batrik, i.e. John the son of Patricius, a Syrian freedman under the Kalif al-Mamun, c. 800. The word 'Rumi' cannot be translated otherwise than as meaning 'Syriac.' Whether Yahya was the double translator, first into Syriac and then into Arabic, is an open question. No one has as yet even touched it. If it be true that Yahya knew neither Greek nor Latin, then he could only translate the work from Syriac into Arabic, and we shall have to assume that prior to his time some one else had translated the book from the Greek into Syriac. It is not unlikely, then, that on the occasion of the second translation Yahya may have added to the originally shorter compilation of the "Secretum" some other treatises which may have existed independently and which went now to swell the bulk of the book.

17. There is some internal evidence for such a growth of the book. I have mentioned above that Johannes Hispalensis had translated only one or two of such treatises which form now chapters in the "Secretum," notably the "Rule of Health" and the "Four Seasons," which had an Introduction similar to that found now at the head of the "Secretum." If we turn to the Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin texts we shall find that the greatest difference between these versions is found in the place assigned to these very treatises and to that on Physiognomy in the order of chapters of the "Secretum."

18. The Introduction finishes with a table of contents. If we examine it more closely we shall be struck by the

peculiar fact that those two large treatises on the "Rule of Health" and on "Physiognomy" are not mentioned at all under separate headings, though they are found included in the book, whilst much smaller chapters figure there as separate Books. It is a clear indication that when the table of contents was drawn up these treatises had not yet been incorporated into the "Secretum," and were added later on at a new revision of the text. The table was left as it originally stood, and each translator or copyist then arranged the interpolated portions as best he chose. Hence those profound differences in the position of the "Rule of Health." In the longer Arabic and in the Latin and in those dependent on the Latin, it is found in Book ii, and the "Physiognomy" is placed either at the very end of the "Secretum" as in the Latin, or follows upon the "Rule of Health" as in the longer Arabic. The same holds good also for the chapter on the "Occult properties of precious stones and plants." In the Latin and in the old English translation based on it (ed. Steele) it is found immediately after the "Rule of Health," whilst in both the Arabic texts it forms the concluding chapter.

19. In the division of the "Secretum" into Books the Hebrew agrees in the main with the Latin or longer Arabic. Some are exceedingly small and consist of only one chapter, such as Books v and vi. But a close examination of the Hebrew will show a differentiation in the marking of the divisions, not without import for the history of the text. The word **מֵאֲמָר**, which I have translated 'Book,' is found in the MSS. of Oxford and Munich heading only certain chapters which in accordance with the table of contents are the beginnings of new divisions, such as i-iii, iv, v (in the present edition marked vii), vi (viii), vii (ix), viii (xiii). The other divisions with one exception (x) are called with a different title, **שַׁעַר**, 'Gate,' even those very elaborate sections on Physiognomy (xi) and on the "Rule of Health" (xii). Section x has no heading at all; it is neither

'chapter' nor 'Book.' Evidently the copyist was in some doubt how to mark it, and he left it without any distinctive title. The same indecision and confusion between 'book' and 'chapter' are found in the longer Arabic. The shorter does not mark the subdivisions.

20. If we deduct those books and chapters not found in the table of contents, which cause all the confusion in the MSS. of the "Secretum," we reduce it to what must have been the more primitive state. It is freed from the encumbrance of the astrological, medical, and physiognomical sections. Guided by the comparison between these recensions, part of the alchemistic portion will also have to be eliminated, and the chapter on the "Occult properties of stones," the ancient Lapidarium, will have to be reduced to a much smaller proportion than found in the later and more elaborate form of the "Secretum." Of Astrology proper looming so largely in the later European recensions the Hebrew has only a faint trace and could not have been more in the Arabic original which the translator follows most faithfully. In many instances he also, like the Latin, gives even the Arabic technical terms and the Arabic names of scarce birds and gems, sometimes accompanied by a Hebrew translation, but as often as not only in Arabic, for he had evidently not found a proper equivalent for them in Hebrew. No doubt in time an Arabic text will be found corresponding exactly with the Hebrew.

21. The elimination of those chapters not only rounds off the text of the "Secretum," but helps also to trace it back to its supposed Greek sources. It also modifies the results to which previous investigators had arrived as to the character of the first compiler. So long as the Physiognomy, the Hygiene, and the astrological sections were treated as essential portions of the original composition, it was natural to suppose that the author must have been a physician, who, according to the knowledge

displayed in those chapters, may have lived in the eighth or ninth century. If, however, those very chapters are later interpolations the real book may have been composed earlier than the ninth century, and the author not in any way connected with medical science. It so happens that for those tracts Förster has shown that the Physiognomy is based on the Greek treatise of Polemon on Physiognomy, and Steele has pointed out the work of another author, Diocles Caristes (B.C. 320), as the source for one section of the "Rule of Health." The immediate Greek author for the whole of the Hygiene or "Rule of Health" has not yet been discovered, but all the libraries have not yet been searched.

22. Having thus cleared the way, we may now proceed with our enquiry a few steps further, and endeavour to trace the remaining portion of the book to Greek sources or to parallels in the Greek literature, and to fix, if possible, the place where the "Secretum" has been compiled for the first time.

23. So much has already been written that apparently little can be added. All the scholars are unanimous that the Greek text of this book is no longer existent. Has it ever existed? The recent discovery of the "Politeia" of Aristotle has, at any rate, shown that there is some substratum of truth in the allegation that this book was a translation, though indirectly, from a Greek original. But like all such books of a popular character, it was more in the nature of a compilation and paraphrase than a literal translation. It was to be a "Mirror of Kings," and served, as already remarked, as a centre for the crystallization of many maxims and teachings on the government of kings and the rule of nations.

24. The background throughout the book is Persia and India. Alexander dreads the Persian nobles. Persian kings are referred to; their advice to princes, their maxims of government, their customs and habits are

often mentioned. Greeks come in for very little mention, Indian teaching and Indian tales are much more often referred to. It would be an interesting subject for scholars of Indian literature to discover the sources of the statements which are here on many occasions put into the mouth of the Indians. But Persia remains the land to which the teachings of Aristotle are sent, for Persia is the centre of the political activity of Alexander. It is to that part of the world that we must trace the older form of this book, and not, as some have suggested, to carry it as far west as Egypt. The allusion to chess is another argument for seeking the origin of the book in Persia or Western Asia. Through Persia this royal game has come to Europe, and has retained to a great extent the Persian nomenclature. And in the "Secretum" the king with his vizier and scribes, with his rich garments and costly array, is an undoubted copy of the court of Persia under the early Khalifs. This reference to Persian and to Indian literature of maxims and apologues points to a definite time when, and to certain definite influence under which, this compilation may originally have been started. It must be after the time of the introduction of "Syntipas" and "Panchatantra" into the old Persian literature, and after the translation had been made into Pehlevi or into old Syriac ("Kälilag Va-Dammag"), since when these books became the literary property of the Western nations. (In one or two instances we may trace Gnostic influences, and especially teachings which approximate some of the views entertained by the Sufis or the pure Brethren.)

25. This book, then, is a compilation consisting of divers smaller treatises, of many times, and of different origins, all grouped round the central portion, the "Rule of Kings," the Mirror held up to the king by the wise teacher Aristotle, the Guide by which he is to rule the nations subdued by him or who owe him allegiance and fealty.

This is also the true purport of those Indian works, which, like "Syntipas" and "Kalilah," spread so far and had so profound an influence on the literature of the Middle Ages. Similar "Guides" are known to have existed in Greek. There are "Mirrors" or instructions to kings, such as that of Agapetos, the teacher of the Emperor Justinian, or that of pseudo-Isokrates. This literature will help us also in the further elucidation of the origin and date of the oldest form of the "Secretum."

26. Among the books which came from India and were destined to play an important rôle in the literature of the West, is the famous Buddhist legend known as the legend of "Barlaam and Josaphat," or Joasaph. Here we have a book which has undergone a strange transformation. Originally a Buddhist "Life," it has become a collection of legends and apologues, with a distinct theological colour and tendency. It has become an apology of Christianity and of asceticism. The immediate source of the Greek version has been traced to Persia or Western Asia. Some place it in the Sabbas cloister in Palestine (Krumbacher, *Byz. Litteraturg.*, 2nd ed., p. 886 ff.). The Greek author has not been satisfied with merely changing Buddasaph into Joasaph, but he has woven into his romance the whole "Apology" of Aristides, as discovered by Armytage Robinson, and has no doubt laid under contribution also many other writings not yet identified. One of these, then, seems to have been a "Mirror of the King," placed into the mouth of Joasaph (pp. 308 ff. and 331 ff., ed. Boissonade). This "Mirror of the King" agrees in the main with the above-mentioned metrical "Mirror of Kings" of Agapetos, who lived at the beginning of the sixth century. The date for the composition of "Barlaam" is assumed now to be about the first half of the seventh century. It has also been demonstrated by K. Praechter (*Byz. Zeitschrift*, ii, pp. 444-460) that the version in "Barlaam" is not directly borrowed from Agapetos, and that both are

pointing to an older source common to them. In some of the general views expressed one may recognise in both these "Mirrors" the influence of the Fathers of the Church, Basilios and Gregory of Nazianz, who follow more or less the 'example' of pseudo-Isokrates and Agapetos. But the contents of the "Mirror" in Barlaam is not exhausted by the reference to these sources.

27. If we now compare the last-named "Mirror" with some of the portions contained in the "Secretum," we shall find a similarity perhaps no less striking than the similarity between the other Greek Mirrors and the writings of the Fathers of the Church. It must not be forgotten that the "Secretum" is known to us only through the Arabic translation, which rests on a previous translation made from the Greek into Syriac. The Arabic translator, however faithful he may have been, could scarcely be expected to make his version, in fact a third version, tally with that in "Barlaam," with which it might have been originally identical, for this had since become part of another though a different compilation which has also undergone, to a certain extent, the manipulation of the authors who have embodied it into their romance. A "Mirror" passing through Syriac and Arabic into Hebrew and Latin could with difficulty be compared with the same "Mirror" passing through some Greek intermediaries into Agapetos and "Barlaam." And yet in spite of these different translators and editors, sufficient points of resemblance can be found between "Barlaam" (Agapetos) and the "Secretum."

28. This relation between "Barlaam," Agapetos, and "Secretum" should cause no surprise, for the "Secretum" has undoubtedly been compiled under similar conditions which prevailed at the compilation of "Barlaam." Of these two the "Secretum" must be the older, since Agapetos in the sixth century had utilised already a similar text for his "Mirror of the Kings."

29. We find further in the Byzantine literature also other "Mirrors," in which perhaps portions of the "Secretum" are embedded. They are akin to the Western development which followed upon the publication and propagation of the Latin "Secretum." Steele has given a list of more or less elaborate works which start directly or indirectly from the "Secretum" and have the same object. They are political "Vade-mecums" for kings and princes. In Greek we have among others, and also enjoying great popularity, the rather elaborate exhortation of the Emperor Basil (867-86), the founder of the Macedonian dynasty on the throne of Byzantium. In a series of chapters the Emperor advises his son, Leo VI, on his behaviour and conduct, on alms-giving, on education, on courage, on judgment, on humility, and chastity. This writing reflects the teachings of pseudo-Isokrates and Agapetos, probably also that of "Barlaam." Krumbacher (l.c., p. 458) refers also to other sources for this compilation of the Emperor Basil, such as the anonymous "De Politica Sapientia," published by A. Mai (Script. vet. Nova Coll., ii), further Nikephoros Blemmyde's treatise on the "Model of the King" and on the duties of the Princes, and another anonymous letter "About the King," published by Vitelli. To these sources I add, also possibly a Greek version of the "Secretum."

30. Leaving out other writings, I refer finally to one of the latest developments, the so-called Teaching of Neagoe, Prince of Wallachia (sixteenth century), to his son. It is a very voluminous compilation, following the same lines as the other "Mirrors of the Kings" hitherto mentioned, but interesting for the fact that the portion of the "Mirror of the King" retained in "Barlaam," together with the apologues, have been introduced into this larger book ascribed to Neagoe. It has been preserved in a Greek MS. in one of the cloisters on Mount Athos and in ancient Roumanian and Slavonic versions. The

relation in which they stand to one another and the sources from which that teaching has been evolved have as yet not been examined. Perhaps portions could be traced to the "Secretum."

31. The "Secretum" belonged, without doubt, to a larger cycle of similar compilations, and may represent one of the oldest versions of "Mirrors" after pseudo-Isokrates. It is not here the occasion for entering upon a detailed comparison between these different recensions of Eastern and especially Greek "Mirrors of the King." It must suffice to have drawn attention to a series of writings of which the connection had hitherto not been suspected, and to have contributed to the possible discovery of the lost original in one of the Greek texts mentioned.

32. The "War tactics" (Book ix) lead us on the one hand to the numerous writings on the art of war, composed after the time of Alexander in the period of the Diadochs, not all of which have been preserved, and on the other to the no less rich mystical literature, and the calculation of the numerical value of the letters and symbolical virtue of the names (*vide* Koechly & Ruestow, Griech. Kriegsschriftsteller, Leipzig, 1853-5, vol. ii, pp. 2, 5 ff.), or Sextus Julius Africanus, the Church historian, who devotes a chapter to the art of war in his encyclopædic work (*vide* W. Christ. Gesch. d. griech. Litt., 2nd ed., Munich, 1890, p. 724 f.).

33. The medical treatise stands by itself, and may have been the work of the translator from Greek into Syriac, who adapted the old writing to the knowledge of the time. And last, but not least, some old Greek texts on the philosopher's stone or that pure substance by means of which base metals are changed into gold and silver, have been published by Berthelot in his "Collections des anciens alchimistes grecs," Aristotle figuring very often (v. Index) as author of alchemistical writings. Further investigations

will no doubt throw more light on the composite character of and the elements that make up the "Secretum." It is a kind of encyclopædia drawn from the most diverse sources, bearing the stamp of the seventh or eighth century, resting on a somewhat late and already over-worked ancient tradition, containing fragments from contemporary literature of a more popular character. Started under favourable auspices, sent out into the world as the last word of practical wisdom of Aristotle, it has retained its popularity for centuries, and has exercised a lasting influence on European civilisation.

34. The Hebrew text, published here for the first time, rests upon the collation of four MSS., the oldest of which (A) dates from the year 1382 (British Museum Or., No. 2396); the others (O¹ and O²) are MSS. Oxford Nos. 1436 and 2386, and finally Codex Munich (M) 342. With the exception of Oxford No. 2386 the other MSS. belong to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. I have retained the divisions into books as found in the MSS., but I have subdivided the text into smaller paragraphs for easier comparison with other texts. The various readings have been added in footnotes only when they proved to be of importance. Scribes' errors have not been noticed; omissions in text A have been supplied in square brackets from one or more of the MSS., noting whence they had been taken. I have limited myself to these four MSS. because they seem to be the oldest and most accurate. Other MSS. may perhaps contribute to elucidate here and there some of the proper names which I have not been able to identify, or some other minute details of a technical character, but as they all substantially agree even in the most obscure and difficult passages they undoubtedly represent the original version of Hharizi. Following closely the Arabic original, he has left a few passages somewhat obscure. I have tried to explain them as best I could in the literal translation which I have

added, by comparison with the Latin and with other translations, notably the old English versions published by Steele.

This publication claims to be no more than a small contribution from a new quarter to one of the most interesting and fascinating chapters in the literary history and civilisation of the Middle Ages.

TRANSLATION.

O YE men of knowledge and who understand riddles, who search by means thereof for precious objects; lift up your eyes on high and read the book that is called the "Privy of Privies," wherein there is contained the direction in the governance of the kingdom which Aristotle wrote for the great king Alexander.

2. Says the Ishmaelite, the translator: May the Lord keep the King of the Faithful to joy; may He strengthen him to defend the Law and to protect the people and all the interests of the Faithful. Behold, his servant has fulfilled his command, and he has diligently searched for the book of the rule of government, which is called the "Secret of Secrets," which the great and pious philosopher Aristotelos, the son of Nikomachis, wrote for his disciple the great king Alexander, the son of Kilis Flori,¹ who is called the man of the two-horns, and, in

¹ A corruption from Philippos.

Arabic Dzul Karnain. When he had grown old and too weak to go with him, and King Alexander had made him governor and lord and councillor, because he was a man of true counsel with the spirit of wisdom and of good understanding, combining with it gracious manners and the expert providence and spiritual wisdom, and holding fast to the virtues of discretion, of meekness and lowliness, the love of righteousness and the virtue of justice : wherefore many of the sages hold him as of the number of the prophets, although he has not been sent (with a Message) to the nation and had not been a Lawgiver. And in the Chronicles (of the Greeks) it is found written that the Lord, blessed be He, endowed him with the power of prophecy, and said unto him, "Thou shouldst be called Angel rather than man." And he knew Arts without number, and there are many opinions about his death ; one section said that he died in a natural way and that his grave is known, and another section said that he ascended to Heaven in a column of the Divine Glory. And he helped Alexander by his good counsel, and Alexander followed his biddings, as is known. And his greatness, his glory, his sovereignty and rule spread over all the kingdoms, and he went to the extreme ends of the earth and he passed over all the length and breadth of the roads, and all the nations accepted his rule, the Arabs and Barbarians, so that he became king over the whole world. And this came about because of the guidance of Aristotelos and of his deep counsel and the interest he took, and in that Alexander never turned away from his words and never forsook his advice and his commands.

3. And it has been found that he sent him letters concerning the government, by which he drew the hearts to love him, and by the fulfilment of those letters he obtained the most perfect love. Among these letters there is a letter which Alexander sent to him after he had conquered the land of Persia and ruled over their

nobles. Alexander wrote to Aristotle and said unto him: "May the pious teacher and the true and faithful governor know that I have found in the land of Persia men with abundant reason and subtle understanding, and they have lordship over the kingdom, and they rebel against the king; and I fear them on account of my kingdom. And I therefore intend to slay them all, and I ask thy advice in this matter."

And Aristotle replied and said unto him: "Alexander, if thou hast decided to kill them all, and thou hast the power in thine hand this to do for the sake of thy government, thou, however, wilt not be able to kill their country or to change their air and their water. But thou wilt be able to rule over them much better by doing good unto them and by showing them honour; and thou wilt rule over them through their love for thee. For if thou wilt show kindness unto them thou wilt be much more surely established than if thou oppressest them. Know, moreover, that thou canst not reign over persons and govern the hearts but by means of justice and righteousness. Know also that just as the people can talk against thee they can also act. Endeavour, therefore, not to force them to talk, and thou wilt have peace from their deeds. Peace unto thee."

And this reply reached Alexander, and he acted accordingly; and the Persians became more obedient to his command than all the other nations.

4. Saith the Ishmaelite, the translator, Yahia ben Albatrik: I left no temple among the temples where the philosophers deposited their hidden wisdom unsought, nor have I neglected any of the great Nazarites (or, recluses) who had tried to fathom that wisdom, and of whom I thought that the object of my search could be found with him, that I did not with all industry enquire after him, until I came to the Temple of the worshippers of the sun which the great Hermes had built for himself.

And I found there a priest, a man of great wisdom and deep knowledge, and I made myself known unto him, and I made friends with him, and I used many ruses, until he granted me permission to study the books that were deposited there in the Temple. Among them I found the object of my search, which I had been commanded to search for by the King of the Faithful, and it was written in gold. And I sat me down before his noble presence, and I accomplished my desire, and with great diligence and through the good fortune of the king, I undertook to translate this book from Greek into Rumi (Syriac) and from Rumi into Arabic. And in the very beginning I found therein: The reply of the philosopher Aristotelos to the king Alexander. And thus he wrote:—

5. “I beheld the letter of the honoured, beloved, and subtle son, the righteous king, the master of great righteousness. May the Lord in His mercy lead thee on the road of righteousness and preserve thee from turning after the desire of thy heart, and make thee a companion of the good of the world to come and of this world!

“To begin with, thou mentionest in thy letter thy great regret for thy separation from me, and that I am not with thee where thou dwellest. Thou askest me to prepare for thee a treatise on the measure and balance of thy rule, which shall be unto thee as my substitute, and support thee in all thy deeds, as if I were present, for thou knowest that my absence from thee is not because I hate thee, but in consequence of my great age and the weakness of my body.

“Know that that which thou askest of me, the thoughts of the living could not contain, and still less the skins of the dead. It is, however, my duty to fulfil thy desire, for I am beholden unto thee. But thou shouldst not ask from me to make known this secret more than what I make known in this book, for I have laboured over it, and I am

hoping of the Lord that there will be no obstacle between thee and that book. For the Lord has graciously granted thee understanding, and He has given thee of the glory of wisdom, therefore study carefully the allusions (in this book) as I have taught and advised thee already aforetime. Then wilt thou obtain thy wish and accomplish thy desire. These various and scattered secrets have I merely indicated by tokens, and the sealed things have I clothed in likenesses, lest this our book fall into the hands of those proud men who destroy and of the wicked who covet power. They will then see that permission has been withheld from them to understand it, nor was it our intent that they know of it. And I would be breaking the covenant by revealing the secret which God has revealed to me. And I conjure thee, just as I have been conjured upon this subject (not to reveal it), and whoever knows this secret and reveals its hidden meaning is sure of a swift, bad punishment, from which the Lord keep thee and us and grant us mercy.

6. "And after this I mention to thee, in the first place, that which I have recommended thee as the principal objects of thy desire, viz., that it behoves a king to have at least two supports, but only then when he himself is steadfast in his rule, by which he holds sway and those who are under his reign are in one obeisance, and by such subjection the allegiance is strengthened in favour unto the liege. I will explain the reason of their obeisance to their lord, and that is of two causes, one without and the other is within. I have already explained to thee the one without, and that is thou shouldst treat the people well and help them, and this is connected with spending of money and with dispensing favours, which I will mention later on in its proper place. And the subjects are the second support for to draw their hearts by his work, and that is of the first in importance, and it has also two causes, one without and the other within. The without one, which would cause the people to show

obedience to him, is, that they see him dealing righteously with them and that he takes pity on them. And the cause within is, the counsel of the wise and pious in whom the Lord, may He be exalted, delights and whom He has endowed with His wisdom. And I will trust in thy keeping this hidden secret, and other things besides, which thou wilt find in the divers sections of this book, full of wisdom and morals, and in them their very intent and purpose. And when thou wilt study their contents and understand their allusions thou wilt obtain thy wishes and the purpose of thy desire. May the Lord grant thee a clear understanding of wisdom and the respect of the possessors thereof."

7. This book contains eight treatises. The first, on the various manners of kings. The second, on the affairs of the king and his rule, and how he must conduct himself in all his affairs and in the governance of the kingdom. The third, of the attribute of righteousness in which the king must be perfect, and by which he must lead the multitude and individuals. The fourth, of his governors, of his scribes, of the clerks of the affairs of the people, of the officers and their manner of deportment. The fifth, on his couriers who journey on his commands, of his messengers, of their preparation, of their conduct in the discharge of their messages and appointments. The sixth, on the conduct of his servants, of the commanders of the troops, and all who are under them, according to the degrees of their stations. The seventh, on the conduct of war, the battle-array, of watchfulness, of the arrangement of the soldiers, of the propitious times for battles, the time of going forward, and all the diverse movements in all directions. The eighth chapter, on special arts, natural secrets and talismans, on the good of the bodies, on the properties of precious stones, of plants, and living beings, and wonderful things of the mysteries of leechcraft, of what expels poisons without requiring the aid of a physician, and many similar useful things, as we shall hereafter mention.

8. *Book I: On the diverse manners of kings.* There are four kinds of kings: the king who is liberal to his people and liberal to himself; the king who is mean to himself and mean to his people; the king who is mean to himself and liberal to his people; and a king who is liberal to himself and mean to his people. And the Romans already have said, it is no shame to a king to be mean to himself and liberal to his people. And the Indians have said: it is profitable to be mean to himself and to his people. And the Persians have said and replied to the Indians: that only the king who is liberal to himself and liberal to his people is the king that is prosperous in his undertakings. And all agreed to it. For liberality to oneself and meanness to the people is shame and loss to the kingdom.

9. And now that we have decided to examine this thing it is meet to explain what we mean by liberality and what is meanness, and wherein consists prodigality, and what evil is caused by avarice. And it is known that things are considered blameworthy when they are in either of two extremes, but to keep the conduct straight between the two extremes is not considered a blame. The principle of liberality is difficult to determine, whilst that of meanness is easy. The limitation of liberality depends upon how much is required in time of need, and furthermore on the condition that he who gives should give only as much as is necessary, and to persons who deserve, and according to his means. For whatever goes beyond this liberality is increase and over-stepping the limit of liberality, and it becomes wastefulness. Therefore anyone who gives more than is required is not praised, and whoever spends not at the proper time is like a man who pours bitter water on to the littoral of the sea. And anyone who, instead of giving to the one who requires it, gives it to the one who does not require it, is exactly as if he helped an enemy against himself. And any king who gives what is necessary at

the time of need, and who gives to the deserving, he is liberal to himself, and liberal to his people, and prosperous in his dealings, and he studies carefully his affairs. And this is the man whom the ancients called liberal and noble; not the one who squanders and makes gifts to people who are unworthy, for the man who thus spends largely wastes the treasures of the kingdom. Meanness in general is a title unworthy of kings and unbecoming to the royal majesty. Therefore, if either be the nature of the king, then he must entrust the dispensing of the gifts into the hands of a faithful and discreet man, in whom he has confidence, and to whom he gives full power.

10. "Alexander, I tell thee, that it is a vice for any king to give more than he possesses. And anyone who imposes upon his kingdom more than it can bear, loses himself and causes loss to others, as I shall show further on. And this I have told thee constantly, that liberality and the firm establishment of the kingdom rest on refraining from (taking) the property of other people and forbearing (to take) their goods. And I have seen in some of the maxims of the great Hermes that the most perfect virtue, excellence of intelligence, peace of the realm, and the firm establishment of law, are all in a king who forbear from touching the money of people.

11. "Alexander, know that there was no other cause for the destruction of the kings of Nigig but the too great prodigality of their gifts, far beyond their income, for in the last they laid hands on the money of the people, who rose against them and destroyed their dominion. And this is a natural consequence, in that money is the means for the maintenance of life. It forms a part of it, and life cannot permanently be maintained if this portion is destroyed. Liberality means also to give up a desired object, not to pry on secrets, and to keep silence, not to mention gifts given; just as perfect piety consists in forgiving rebukes, in paying respect to the worthy, in

receiving everybody with a friendly countenance, and in returning peaceful greetings, and in not paying attention to the aberrations of the fool.

12. "Alexander, I have so often explained to thee that it ought now to be deeply fixed in thy mind, and that if thou doest it I am certain thou wilt succeed. But now I am repeating to thee again the whole wisdom in brief. And if I should not have taught thee anything aught but this, it should suffice to teach thee in all thy works touching this world and the world to come. Know that the intellect is the head of governance, the happiness of the soul, the revealer of secrets. It causes thee to flee from the ungainly and to love the lovable. It is the root of all things praiseworthy and the essence of the desirable. The first teaching of understanding is coveting of a good name. Whoever covets it truly, he shall have glory, but whoever covets it faintly is confounded by hatred and shame. Good fame ought to be coveted for itself. Kingdom ought not to be coveted for its own sake, but only for the purpose of obtaining fame, and therefore the aim of will and intellect is to obtain a good name. And the love of fame is obtained through good government.

13. "If lordship is coveted for other causes it produces envy, and envy produces lying, and lying is the very root and essence of vileness, and the offspring of lying is slander. And slander produces hatred, and hatred produces wrongdoing, and wrongdoing produces violence, and violence produces ire, and ire produces controversy, and controversy produces enmity, and enmity produces war, and war destroys order and devastates the lands and turns everything to chaos, and chaos produces the end of the world. But if intellect conquers the coveting of lordship, then it produces faithfulness, and faithfulness produces meekness, and faithfulness is the very root of all things lovable. It is the contrary to lying, and it engenders fear and justice, and justice engenders trust, and trust engenders honour, and

honour produces fellowship, and fellowship produces friendship, and friendship produces the willingness of sacrifice for others, and by this means law and order are established and this is in accordance with nature. And therefore it is thus made clear that the desire to govern for good name is praiseworthy and lasting.

14. "Alexander, eschew fleshly delights, for they cause destruction. Fleshly appetite induces the animal soul to covet the accomplishments of its will, without discretion, and though the body that wastes away rejoices the intellect that ought to be preserved is destroyed."

15. *Book II: Of the ordinance of the king, of his purveyance, continence, and discretion.* It is needful to a king to obtain renown through some famed science. He will become known by it to others, and he must speak of it, and thereby he shall rule and reign over others. In such wise his wisdom (science) will be known, and that he desire that they should turn their attention towards it, and then they will come to him.

16. "Alexander, any king that puts his kingdom under the Faith, he reigns and holds lord's estate. But any king that puts his Faith (the Law) in servitude to his kingdom, abases his Faith, and whoever abases his Faith, his Faith shall kill him. And I tell thee, as the renowned philosophers have said, whose followers we are, that the very first thing befitting a king is to respect all the statutes of the Law, not trespassing any of its details, or neglecting any of its prohibitions, and he must show to the people his obedience to the Law. He must in truth be a faithful believer. For when he will dissemble his faith and feign obedience, he will not obtain praise for his subtle dealings. For his secret will not remain hidden from the eyes of the people, and he will not in any wise be pleasing unto them, though he spend ever so much money on them. But only (by true faith) will he be

pleasing to God, blessed be He, and make himself beloved of His servants.

17. "And it is needful to a king to reverence the leaders of the nation, the wise men of the Law, and the judges. He should honour them, and not show pride. He should be broad-minded and skilled in thorough examination. He must foresee the future, and be merciful and kind. When he is angry he must not allow the anger to master him until he lose his reason, nor must he allow vice to seize hold of him, for if he submits to it vice will overpower his intellect and will conquer his virtue. And when he reaches the right path he must follow it without hindrance. He must not be arrogant nor put people to shame. He must dress in rich and precious clothing, and put on fair apparel, and the people will be impressed thereby and he will easily be singled out from among the rest. It is becoming that he should speak sweetly and use fair language, and his voice must be clear. A strong (clear) voice is best for times of rebuke; he must therefore not speak with a strong voice except when it is absolutely necessary, and then from afar. He also must not make his voice too often heard, for only in such wise shall his subjects respect him.

18. "He must not seek too much the company of men; his familiarity with them, and still more that with the common people, will bring him into contempt. And how excellent is the custom of the Indians in the ordinance of their king, who say that if the king shows himself to the people his royal majesty gets lowered in their eyes, and they despise him! And it is therefore beseeming that he should not show himself to them but at a distance, and then in royal apparel, and in parade and military display, and on one of the great festival days, and only once a year. And then he is to show himself to the whole nation, and one of his officers must stand beside him who is eloquent, and who will speak to them and thank God, and praise

Him in that they are obedient to the king's command, and that they know of the king's gracious will towards them, and that he thinks of their welfare, and he (the speaker) will ask them to walk in the ways of the Lord, and he will warn them not to turn away from his words, and that the king will pardon trespassers, and he will grant their requests and petitions; and he is to let them know that the king will fulfil the request of the greater number and pardon the guilty. But this must happen only once a year, and he must lessen the heavy burden they are wont to bear, and that will please them and will increase their joy, and his love will enter their hearts, and they will speak accordingly to their household and with their children. And the youths will grow up with the habit of listening to his voice and of loving him, and the women will rejoice in the joy of their husbands, and his name will be good in the eyes of all, in secret and in public. And he thereby will be safe from being treated with disrespect and from losing his sovereignty, and it will not enter into the mind of any man to change any of his laws.

19. "It is also needful that he lighten all the taxes and dispense with their tributes. And in a higher degree must he do it for the merchants who bring merchandise to his realm. For if he forbear to take away the money of his people, they, being pleased with him, will stop longer in his country, and the commerce will grow, and the rent of his realm will increase by the diverse kinds of merchandise and beautiful things (they bring) and by the greater number of people. For this will be one of the causes for his country to be peopled, and also for his income to grow, and for his affairs to improve, and his praise and the glory of his kingdom will be great. If thou givest up the small, thou wilt obtain the great.

20. "Do not covet riches that are corruptible, which thou must soon forsake, but get thee stable riches—a kingdom that does not pass away, and a life that is

everlasting. Seek to obtain a good name and pleasant company. Yield not to the animal instincts, and to the manner of the wolves to spoil whatever thou findest, and to search for what thou hast not lost. Be not cruel to those thou hast conquered, and keep aloof from everything that furthers the intent of going after the desire of eating, drinking, sleeping, and lechery. Do not give too much way to it, for this is the nature of the swine, which may be a praise in animals, but not in thee. It destroys the soul and harms the body, and shortens the days, and reduces the sight, and makes women rule over thee.

21. "Do not withhold thyself from thy best friends and the best among thy courtiers. Do not refuse to eat with them or to delight with them in play or mirth, but do it sparingly, only twice a year. And in addition to it, honour those who have deserved to be honoured [O. adds: and place everyone in his state, befriend them and praise them openly, and honour them], and return greetings to everyone of them. Give changes of raiment to as many as possible. And if it is one of the king's own garments which he takes off and which the other expects, then such gift will be far more acceptable and his love for thee much more excellent. And the king is not to stop distributing until everyone has obtained something.

22. "It is furthermore fitting for the king to demean himself sedately, and not to laugh overmuch; for too much laughing removes fear and hastens disrespect, whilst all those who sit before him will be more impressed by his sedateness, and will appear before him with dread. And if he sees one of them behaving disrespectfully, he must punish him. If he is one of those who are nearest to him (a relative), then his punishment is to be removal from the Court for some time, until he ceases to behave in such like manner. And if it is proved that he acts deliberately, so as to show disrespect and contempt,

then he must be punished more severely, and exiled to a distant place. But if he is one of the knights or courtiers, then he must be punished with death. And in the book of the Indians it is written: The difference between a king who rules by himself and the king whom the people have appointed to rule over them, is strength or weakness. And Asklabios has a chapter concerning the king. He says: The best among the kings is the one who, like an eagle, is surrounded by carrion, and not the one who is like a carcase surrounded by eagles.

23 "Alexander, the obeisance to a king comes through four things: religiosity, love, want, and reverence. Therefore, put away the wrong from the people and remove violence from them, and do not give them matter to speak, for what the people say they may do, therefore guard against giving them reason to speak (against thee) and thou wilt eschew their doing. And know [O. and M.: that the people are the honour of the king. And in the book of the Indians it is written] that fear induces respect for royalty, and it is more necessary that thy fear should be put upon the people than to place thy army in the valleys. For the king is compared to the rain by which the Lord waters the earth. It is the blessing of Heaven and the life of the lands; but it also causes destruction. For it sometimes injures the travellers and shakes the buildings, and the fiery flames come down and the floods overflow, and men and animals perish, and the sea rises in storm, and many evil consequences result therefrom for man. And yet people, unceasingly looking up to the work of the Lord, recognise His mercies, whereby He gives life to the vegetation, and prepares food for them, and the great loving-kindness with which He graciously favours them, and they extol the work of the Lord and praise Him, and pay no heed to any of the evils which befall them at the same time.

24. "Alexander, enquire after the needy of thy place

and feed them from the Treasury in the time of want, for in the feeding of the people in time of need there is observance of the faith, gladness of the subjects, and also the fulfilment of the will of God.

25. "Alexander, increase the store of corn against the years of famine, and when the time of famine comes bring that corn out which thou hast stored up, and give food to thy country and sell it unto thy people. For by so doing destruction is averted, and king and nation are preserved.

26. "Alexander, be careful in thy dealings and perfect in thy actions, and the best plan for thy conduct is to reassure the meek against the fear of oppression. For then also evildoers and wicked men will entrust themselves to thy forbearance, and they will believe in their hearts that thou keepest thine eyes upon their deeds.

27. "Alexander, above everything I beseech thee, and I repeat it again unto thee, listen to the voice of morals, for then thy government will be perfect and thy sovereignty firmly established, to wit: eschew to shed blood, for this is a punishment reserved unto the Lord the Creator, who alone knows the secrets, but thou judgest only according to the sight of thine eyes, and thou dost not know the hidden things. Therefore take heed and beware with all thy might. And Hermes the great has already said, that when a creature slays another creature like himself, the angels above are moved and cry aloud before their Creator, and say unto Him, 'Thy servant So-and-so calls unto Thee.' And if he has been slain because he had shed the blood of another, then the One, blessed be He, replies unto them, 'He has transgressed and slain, suffer that he be slain.' But if the murder is caused through the coveting of things of this world, or for any other wrong purpose, then He replies unto them: 'I swear by My throne and by the glory of My kingdom that I will not forsake the blood of My servant.' And the angels

never cease crying before Him at every time of prayer and supplication, until the blood is avenged. And if he (the murderer) dies suddenly, know that it is because the Lord is wroth with him. Understand, therefore, that vengeance is being taken of him.

28. "Alexander, suffice it for thee (to know) that the worst punishment is long imprisonment, severe chastisements, and tortures. Before deciding and punishing look into the books of thy divine ancestors, and there thou wilt find the proper teaching how to act.

29. "Alexander, treat the smallest of thy enemies as if he were of the highest potentiality, Do not consider a low man to be small in thine eyes, for it often happens that a poor and despised man becomes great, and if thou refusest his cure the illness (venom) increases.

30. "Alexander, beware lest thou makest void thine oath or breakest thy covenant, for this is an important part of thy Faith of which I have spoken to thee before, and which I have warned thee not to treat lightly.

31. "Alexander, thou knowest already that on thy right hand and on thy left hand spiritual beings are put to watch over thee, and everything that thou performest and doest, be it small or great, is made known by them to thy Creator. Therefore, conduct thyself worthily, so that he who beholds it may rejoice and make it known to thy Creator.

32. "Alexander, if anyone should compel thee to take an oath, beware from swearing; do it only then for great need. Even if a good cause should constrain thee thou shalt not make void thine oath, for, as the Lord liveth, the kingdoms of '*Atag*' and '*Skir*' and '*Ihas*' (Ism) and '*Imim*' have not been destroyed for any other reason but because they feigned in their time that they had taken an oath by mistake.

33. "Alexander, fear not the things which are passed, for that is the way of women who are weak in intellect.

Show loyalty and cheerfulness, and thy affairs will prosper, and thy enemies will be confounded.

34. "Alexander, do not say yea when thou hast said nay, and do not say nay when thou didst say yea, unless compelled by an extraordinary cause. Keep faith firmly and take counsel from the person in whom thou hast confidence, and thou wilt become perfect thereby, and no blemish will be found either in thy deeds or in thy words or in thy actions.

35. "Alexander, do not entrust to women the care of thy body, but, if need be, only to the one whom thou hast tried and found devoted to thee and to thy happiness. For thou art like a trust in their hands. Beware of deadly poison, for kings have been killed by them aforetime. And do not confide unto one man the healing of thy body, for one man can easily be seduced; and when it is possible for thee to have ten physicians do so; do not follow any prescription, unless they have all come together and are of one accord. And let no medicines be prepared for thee except in the presence of them all, and joined with them one of thy trusted faithful servants, who knows the properties of drugs, their combination and proportions. Remember what happened when the King of India sent thee rich gifts, and among them that beautiful maiden whom they had fed on poison until she was of the nature of a snake, and had I not perceived it, because of my fear, for I feared the clever men of those countries and their craft, and had I not found by proof that she would be killing thee by her embrace and by her perspiration, she surely would have killed thee.

36. "Alexander, take care of thy noble and angelic superior soul, which is given to thee in trust, so that thou be not of the believing (fools). If it may be, neither rise nor sit, drink nor eat, nor do anything nor perform any work without first consulting the stars. For God has not created anything in vain; and through this study Plato,

the pious one, learned to know the parties joined together of diverse colours (or qualities) when he pictured them (formed the Idea) in accordance with their complex properties, until he discovered the art of the coloured silk garments, called in Arabic *dilag*, and all the Ideas. Do not listen to the words of the fools who believe that the knowledge of the stars is a secret knowledge which no one can obtain. They furthermore say that this science deceives those who trust in it. I tell thee that a foreknowledge of the future gained by this science is very profitable. For although a man cannot save himself from what has been ordained, still he can take greater care of himself, and eschew some of the evils that may befall him, according to his capabilities; just as a man can escape the cold by gathering wood to protect himself, or by preparing wool, cotton, and other things so as not to be harmed by the cold. In like manner (he can protect himself) from the heat of the Summer, by all kinds of things that produce cold; and likewise in time of famine, by storing up corn; and in time of war, by guarding against it. And then there is another consideration still, that if a man know what is going to happen before it comes to pass he may be able to remove the decree of the Lord, through praying to the Lord before it comes to pass, and through turning back in repentance and causing others to do so, and to pray unto Him to remove from them the evils which they dread.

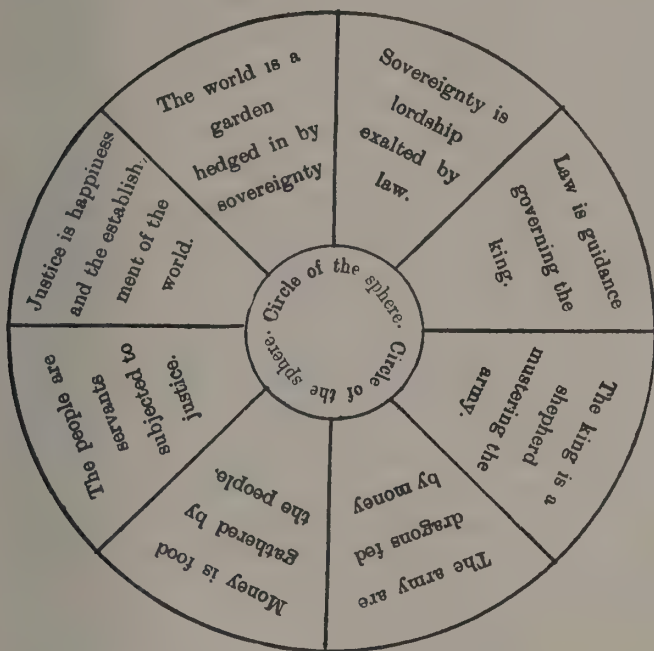
37. "Alexander, honour thy vezier (councillor) more than thyself, and seek his advice in small or in great matters, and keep him near to thy palace, for he is thy honour before all the people, and his society is thy comfort. And pardon his sin and mistake. Consider that war-play which is called Shatrang in Arabic, where the king is called Shah, and the queen Prs (פרס) (how he fares), when they are joined, and how, when they are separated. And this ought to be a clear example that no king can

be firmly established without a councillor, and this is true beyond doubt."

38. *Book III : Of righteousness.* "Alexander, know that righteousness is one of the glorious attributes of God, blessed be He, and sovereignty is granted to that one of His servants to whom He has given it, and made him rule over their affairs and their riches and their blood, and all their possessions, and he is unto them like a god, and, therefore, it behoves him to resemble him, and follow his example in all his works. And the Lord is wise and merciful, and His attributes of love and His names are far beyond the power of man to recount them.

39. "Alexander, the reverse of right is wrong and the reverse of wrong is right, and through righteousness heaven and earth have been established, and in righteousness the Lord sent His pure prophets, and righteousness is the shape of the intellect which God has given to His beloved, and through righteousness the world has been established, kingdoms have arisen, and subjects have been made obeisant, and it is the comfort to those who doubt and wonder, and draws the distant near, and saves the soul from harm, and kings have been able to overcome destruction until the Lord has removed it (i.e. righteousness) from them. Therefore do the people of India say : The righteousness of the king is more beneficial to the people than the goodness of the climate. And they said furthermore : A righteous king is more precious even than a fruitful rain after drought. And on some stones it was found engraved in Greek that the king and righteousness are brothers, and the one is impossible without the other. And individuals and the multitude are differing parties, and righteousness changes with them accordingly ; but the real purpose of righteousness is, rectitude, amending of wrong, adjustment of weight, and the correction of measure ; and it is a name collective for all praiseworthy deeds and

for the virtue of liberality. Righteousness can be divided into many sections of many kinds. (One kind of) righteousness impels judges to justice, and another righteousness applies to man who considers his relation to his Creator, and impels to make him right stable in things that are between himself and his fellow-men, to wit, in the nature of action and in the setting of tokens. And I will give thee here



the wisdom of Divine philosophy in the shape of a picture divided into eight sections, and that will tell thee all the objects of the world and all that refers to the governance of the world, and all their degrees and qualities, and how each degree obtains its share of right. And I have divided this circle in such a manner that each section represents one degree, and with whichever section thou

beginnest thou wilt find all that is most precious within the circle of the wheel. And because the thoughts stand in this world opposite to one another, one above and the other below, have I arranged it to begin in accordance with the order of the world. And this likeness is the most important portion of this book and the very purport of thy request. And if in reply to thy demand I had not sent thee but this picture, it would have sufficed thee. Therefore, study it very carefully and take heed of it, and thou wilt find therein all that thou desirest, thou wilt obtain all thy wishes. And all that I have taught thee at length is contained here, like in a brief summary."

40. *Book IV: Of counsellors, scribes, officers, the knights, the people, and the manner of their governance.* "Alexander, heed carefully this teaching and appreciate its worth, for I swear by my life, and by the love which I bear unto thee, that I have gathered up therein all the principles of the science of philosophy and of the nature of the intellect, and I have joined together and revealed therein Divine secrets, needful to write them down for thee in order that thou knowest the truth about the intellect and how the Lord has placed it on His servants, and how they have reached to the knowledge thereof, and thou requirest to know very much of it. May the Lord prosper thee in His great mercy.

41. "Alexander, know that the very first thing which the Lord, blessed be He, has caused to exist, is a simple spiritual substance, which he has made with extreme perfection and excellence and grace, and shaped all the things according to it, and He called it intellect. And from this substance emanated another substance, inferior to it in its station, and this is called the Universal Soul. And then afterwards in His wisdom and His plan He bound it up with the visible and sensitive body. Thus He made the body to be like a country and the intellect its

king, and the soul the lieutenant, serving that country and studying its parts. And He caused the intellect to dwell in the most honoured and in the highest place, to wit, the head, and He caused the soul to dwell in all the parts of the body, and from without and from within it guards the intellect. If anything should happen to the soul, then body and intellect are destroyed; but if anything happens to the intellect and the soul remains perfect, then the body remains hale, unless from the Lord comes the destruction of the whole at the end of the fixed number of days. Therefore, Alexander, consider this matter carefully, and think of it, and liken thy work in every way to the work of the Lord, blessed be He. Have only one counsellor and take counsel with him in all thy intentions, and listen to his advice even if it be contrary to thy desires, for then that advice would be a true one. And therefore did Hermes say when they asked him why is the advice of him who counsels better than that of him who asks, 'Because the advice of the counsellor is free from any personal desire.' And this is a sooth word. And when his advice shall appear true to thee, do not hasten to fulfil it, but tarry on for a day and a night. But if it is a thing which thou art afraid that thou couldst otherwise not carry through, then do it speedily. And if after proof and examination it will have become clear unto thee concerning thy counsellor, and also of the love which he bears thee, and his desire to advance the welfare of thy kingdom, then take his advice. Pay no regard to age as to whether the advice that comes from a young man could be profitable. And I tell thee that the advice follows the body, for when a body is feeble the advice is feeble. All these things depend also upon the nativity, for some people are born under certain nativities, and these men follow then the nature of the stars which control their birth. And if parents would force the child to do any one kind of work, he will still strive after the other in accordance with the influence from above.

42. "Thus it came to pass with some astrologers who came into a town and took up their abode in the house of a weaver; in that night a son was born unto him, so they looked up his nativity and calculated the conjunction of his stars, and that (horoscope) told them that this child would grow up to be wise and clever, of good counsel, and he would govern the affairs of the kingdom, and that he would become a counsellor of the king. And they wondered at it, but did not tell the father anything about it. And this child grew up and the father tried to teach him his craft, but his nature refused to adapt itself to it, and the father did smite him and beat him, until, at last, he gave him up in despair, and left him to follow his own will. So he went to men of discipline and learned all the sciences, and he understood all the manners and governments of kingdoms, until he became a counsellor. And the contrary of this marvellous working of the stars and their way of moulding the nature of man, is that which happened at the birth of a son to the King of India. At the time of his birth the stars pointed to his becoming a smith, and the astrologers hid it from the king. When the child grew up to be a young man the king tried to teach him all the arts and the manners of conduct of kings. But he did not incline to it, and his nature did not draw him, but to the craft of a smith. And the king grieved over it, and he gathered all the astrologers together, who lived at the time, and asked them about this thing, and they all found that his nature led thus the child.

43. "Alexander, do not hasten over a thing and do not tarry before thou hast asked the advice of thy counsellor. And the ancients never cease repeating that counsel is the first of discipline. And it is written in the books of conduct of the Persians that one of their kings took counsel with one of his counsellors on a great secret upon which the kingdom depended. And one of them

said: 'It is not meet for the king to take counsel with only one of us in his affairs, but that he should in preference take counsel with each one of us singly.' But he (the king) ought not to heed them. (The one) would keep the secret, and the king could rely on his advice and be better inclined to peace, and pay less attention to their advice, on account of the mutual jealousy of colleagues. For there is greater safety in revealing the secret only to one, and the king is more sure of his peace.

44. "And *Bhts* (Bhtm, Krts) the Greek, said: 'The strength of the king who is supported by the advice of his counsellors grows as the light of the day, and he will obtain by wit and counsel more than by the might of war.' And one of the kings of Persia who had put his son on his throne in his lifetime said unto him: 'It is necessary that thou shouldst always take counsel, for thou art only one among many, and take counsel only with him who knows the secrets and understands the hidden, and who will not allow a cause of discord to remain between thee and thine enemies, and who will smooth over differences between thee and thine enemies.'

45. "And let not the strength of thine own opinion and thy exalted station prevent thee from joining thy opinion with the advice of others about thee. If thy opinion will agree with theirs, then thine will get stronger by it. If it be different from the advice given by others, then take heed and consider it carefully and ponder over it; if it is more profitable, accept it, and if it be less, then leave it utterly. And it is in this way that thou canst test thy counsellor, if thou showest him that there is a necessity for spending money. If he advises thee to spend all that is in thy treasury, then thou must treat him with scant consideration, he is of no value to thee; put no faith in him, except in time of great need, when there are no other means of help, for he in truth,

in this respect, is undoubtedly thine enemy. And if he advises thee to take the money of the people, then know that he is a man of bad governance; he will cause them to hate thee, and thereby destroy thy kingdom. If he proffers that which he has profited of thee, and what he has got from thee, and gives up his own to fulfil thy wishes, then he is worthy to be praised and to be extolled. And from this thou learnest that he is willing to sacrifice himself for thy service. The most praiseworthy among thy counsellors is that one to whom thy life is dear, and who willingly serves thee and renounces the pleasures of the world only to fulfil thy wishes, and puts his person and his goods to the satisfaction of thy desires. He must have these virtues that I name now.

46. "(1) He must be perfect in all his limbs, trained for the work for which and to which he is chosen. (2) He must be a man of wide knowledge, deep wisdom, and quick imagination, understanding everything that is told him, endowed with a good memory, alert, hears and does not reply, convinced by proof only, and perceives the intention at which others are aiming. (3) He must be of fine countenance and commanding aspect, but he must not be arrogant. (4) He must be reasonable, of fair speech, ready to state his intention and wishes in a few words. (5) He must be well dressed, and versed in all the sciences, especially in that of mathematics, which is the only true science, resting upon evidence, which sharpens the reason and improves the nature. (6) He must be true to his word, loving the truth and driving away the lie, being faithful in his transactions, receiving people with courtesy, a man of good repute. (7) He must not be given much to eating, drinking, and lechery, keeping away from frivolity and sensual delights. (8) He must be courageous, subtle in plans, loving honour, and yet of a meek disposition. (9) That silver and gold, and all the accidents of the world, be despised by him, and that he

put his mind only on those things which would bring honour to the king and make him beloved in the eyes of the people. (10) He must love justice and those who practise it, and hate violence and wrong, and yield the truth to whom it belongs, having pity on those who have suffered violence, removing injuries, and making no difference for the love of any man in the world. (11) He must be a ready writer, a man of fair speech and of discipline, who knows the things of the past, the ways and habits of men, and the affairs of the king, who knows the history of the nations that have been before, and of the generations that have passed away; a man belonging to a good family, whose parents were counsellors, and who had served kings, because then he would be like inheriting a position in which he was brought up, and with which he was familiar. (12) He must know all the issues of the expenses; nothing should be hidden from him of what is necessary and befitting for thee, so that the people should not rise against their subjection and he not know the cause of their complaints, but that he should know how to pacify them, so that the subjects shall know that he understands the needs of the people, and they will no longer murmur against the king. (13) He must be a man of noble descent and of great ancestors, and he should have suffered of the troubles of the world, and the evils of the time should have surrounded him, and when thou then raisest him and exaltest him to a high position, then he will be loyal to thee all his life, and recognise thy kindness, and not suffer any evil to befall thee. For the nobility of his descent and the conduct of his ancestors will prevent him from doing otherwise. (14) He must not be talkative, or jocular in his ways and insulting to people. (15) He must not drink wine nor love too much repose and luxury. He must be ready to receive people day and night, and treat them well. That his court be open to all comers who want him; he must listen

to their pleadings and improve their affairs, and mend their works, and satisfy them in their desires, and share in their troubles. He must also be religious, godfearing, and trusting in the word of the Lord. But do not trust any of those religious men who are not of thine own Law, and who believe not according to thy faith.

47. "Know that man is the most exalted being of all those that God has created. There is none of the qualities which God has given to other living creatures which He has also not given to man, and made him, to wit: courageous as the lion and faint as the hare, liberal as the cock and miserly as the hound, lecherous as the raven and solitary as the leopard, homely as the dove, sly as the fox, simple as the lamb, fleet as the hart, slow as the bear, proud as the elephant, and lowly as the ass, rapacious as the bird called in Arabic *akak* (wren?), proud as the peacock, straight (foolish?) as the bird called *katah* (*ktah*) (ostrich?), straying as the owl, wide awake as the bee, unstable as the goat, anxious as the spider, meek as the ant, revengeful as the camel, grumbling as the mule, mute as the fish, twittering as the swallow, enduring as the swine, sorrowing as the bird called *kos*, prancing as the horse, quick as the ox, furtive as the mouse. And above all, I command thee and warn thee that thou shalt not make thyself hated by any man created by God in this world. For the first aim of reason, after belief in God, is the love of mankind, be they good or bad.

48. "I furthermore command thee and warn thee that thy counsellor be not red-haired, and if he has blue eyes, in Arabic called *azrk*, and if he be one of thy relations, do not trust them, do not confide in them any of thy affairs, and beware of them in the same manner as thou bewarest of the Indian snakes which kill with their look, from a distance. And the nearer they are to thee the more harmful they are. For they all envy thee for thy riches,

and thy relations envy thee thy possessions, and they will not rest satisfied until they have killed thee.

49. "And know, Alexander, that this is established in nature and grounded in the formation of man and proved to true men by experience from olden times. Thus it was at the beginning of the creation of the world, when Cain envied his brother Abel and slew him."

50. *Book V: Of the royal scribes and seal-bearer.*
"Thou must select such men to write thy letters and to seal them who will show thy wide intellect, the greatness of thy understanding, and thy true intention to those who read them, so that no blemish be found in any of thy thoughts, meanings, and intentions which are thy virtues, and by reason of which in the eyes of the people thou art worthy to rule. For the intention is the spirit thereof, and the indicting is the body, and the writing is the (clothing and) ornament. Just as a speaker needs be a man of fine appearance and of fair beholding, so must be the selected secretary a man of perfect understanding, of fair words, and a beautiful writing. The scribe must be an ornament to thee. The kings of old became famous through their scribes, and they reached their high station only through their scribes. And right as he interprets thy will and takes heed of thy secrets and spreads thy glory through the whole world, so must thou honour him in his station, after the service which he does to thee and after the manner in which he bears the burden of the affairs of thy kingdom. He must be unto thee as a part of thyself, his prosperity be thy prosperity, and his loss thy loss. And if it is possible to make thy counsellor to be thy secretary, then it is preferable for his benefit and for thine, for he will keep thy privy counsel more secret, and likewise thy intentions."

51. *Book VI: Of the administrators and of the tax-gatherers.* "Thou knowest already that the people are thy treasury which thou must carefully preserve and replenish, for thereby thy kingdom is established. The people, therefore, must be in thine eyes like an orchard in which there are diverse trees, and they must not be in thine eyes like seed which grows once a year and must be sown anew. Trees are deeply rooted, they do not require to be sown over and over again. And thus for the love of thy people, which establishes thy kingdom and thy might, thou must needs honour them and endeavour to remove from them all their wrongs. Be it never irksome to thee to watch over their interests, or to gather their fruits. And the gatherer must know their needs, be experienced and well informed in all things, rich, faithful, and he must gather only the fruit and not destroy the tree. He must be a man of moral qualities, silent and meek, for if he will be contrary he will drive the people away and will destroy good dispositions.

52. "And thou shalt not appoint many officers nor many stewards to thy expenses, for the greater the number the greater thy loss. Each one will endeavour to outdo the other, and this will be the loss of thy possessions. He will also endeavour to show himself profitable to thee by putting the loss on thy subjects, and everyone is partial to himself and looks after his own interests, and some of them might favour those whose favour they enjoy, and help them."

53. *Book VII: Of couriers and messengers and their appointment, and the manner of their deportment in the discharge of their messages.* "Know that the messenger shows the wit of him that sends him, in that he is thine eye where thou seest not, thine ear where thou hearest not, and thy tongue where thou art absent. It is therefore necessary that thou chooseth the most worthy of those

who are in thy presence, the wisest, tall, comely, faithful, and who eschews the ungainly. And if thou findest such a man, send him, and place in his hands all thy interests, after thou hast made known to him thy will. And do not command him about the future, for it is possible that in the time of need the proper thing will be that which thou didst not wish. And if thou findest not such a man, then let him be at least faithful, that he neither add nor subtract in things that thou sendest him, and that he keep well thy command and understand what he hears and brings back the answer.

54. "And if it is impossible to find such a one, then he must at least be a faithful bearer of thy letter to him that thou sendest him, and brings the answer back. And if thou perceivest that thy messenger is busy to get money in the place that thou sendest him, then do not send him, for the money will not be given to him for thy profit.

55. "Also thou shalt not send a man who drinks wine. For the Persians, when a messenger came to them, offered him wine, and if he drank they knew that the secret of the king who sent him would be revealed unto them. Or they brought great riches, and if they saw him willing to take it they were sure that his king would fall into their hands.

56. "Alexander, beware lest thou send thy counsellor for a messenger. Suffer him not to go far from thee, for that is destruction of thy kingdom. I have now explained to thee the qualities of thy messenger, and that the man upon whom thou shouldst rely should be faithful and without treachery, for otherwise he will betray thee, and such is the man who takes money and gifts and deceives thee in the object of his mission; he will cause destruction to thy affairs and interests, and will frustrate thy plans."

57. *Book VIII: Of the management of soldiers, leaders, and knights.* "Alexander, the knights are the ornament of the king and the pride of the court, and it is meet to lean on the pleasing ornament and the excellent order in the degrees of knights, so that nothing that is nigh or far concerning them should be unknown to thee. Thou shalt not undervalue the importance of the order and degrees of those thou sendest away, and of those upon whom thou reliest, for thou wilt be able to call thee without any difficulty the number which thou requirest; and the smallest number of ordinance is four. And I say four, because there are four sides to everything in the world; before and behind, right and left. And similarly, there are four corners of the world: north and south, east and west. And appoint each (of these four) commanders to rule over a fourth part of thy kingdom.

58. "And if thou wishest to have more, then let them be ten, for ten and four are perfect numbers. In ten, four is contained in the following manner: one, two, three, four; summing them up together they make ten. And this is the perfection of the ten, that it comprises the four in the number. Under each leader (or commander) let there be ten governors, and under each governor ten officers, and under each officer ten subordinates, under each of these ten soldiers, and thus you have 10,000 men. And if thou requirest a thousand men, command one governor, and he will have with him ten officers, each officer ten subordinates, and each of these ten men, thus 1,000. And if thou requirest only 100, thou commandest the officer and he will have his ten subordinates, and so on. And thus it will be easy for thee to govern them, and thou wilt be able to carry out everything that thou desirest. And the burden of the knights will be lightened, and it wilt not be tiresome to thee, since each of them commands ten inferiors. And also their own work will be made easy for them, and they will carry out anything

thou wishest with one accord, for each of these knights will be under the command of one who is superior to him, one order above the other.

59. "And it is indispensable that the army should have a wise scribe, faithful, one who understands the affairs thoroughly, and who knows the characters of the men and is proved in chivalry, and who will not suffer that they be corrupted by gifts, thereby destroying their allegiance. And if thou perceivest any such thing in him, remove him, and call them together and tell them that as soon as thou hast seen or learned of their corruption thou dost no longer support him, and that it is thy desire to remove him from them. It needs that the king be friendly, and receive them with courtesy and constantly improve their affairs, and prevent any of them from coming to grief.

60. "And it needs that they fear thee, so that they reverence and honour thee. They must not be allowed to approach thee too closely when they come to pay homage to thee. Do not speak with them overmuch either in public or in private, for that may be a cause for them to despise thee, and may also cause destruction, for they may plot against thee as it happened to *Tmstis* (*Atmstis*, *Tmastius*, *Tamstius*) the king and other kings of olden times.

61. "Accustom them to bring their complaints before thee in writing. They should be forwarded to thee by men who are close to thee and who are worthy of that high station. And read every letter sent to thee in presence of thy counsellor and the commander of the army; and to those that deserve consideration and reply, send it and write it on the back of the same letter which was sent to thee; for thereby thou showest honour to the petitioner, and he will glory in it, he and his children; and he will become more strongly attached to thy service, and strengthened in his allegiance to thee. But if there is a letter not worthy of consideration, then leave it and answer him with fair words. And give them a banquet

on certain occasions and on festivals, for it pleases them and they consider it an honour, and their love for thee will increase."

62. *Book IX: Of war and of the manner how to dispose the army and the posts, and how to arrange the lines of battle.* "Do not put thy life in danger in war, and keep close to the great of thy court, and do not follow the example of the '*Hiablh*,' who risked their lives in war.

"And I swear unto thee that king has never tried to meet another in war, that the one had not the intention of conquering the other, and this is due to the nature in which the world has been created. And remember the deed of Cain against Abel his brother; and it is known that envy and the love of this world are the causes of it; it is inherited and proved to be part of the nature of this world of which we must beware. Know that war is like body and soul, in which two extremes meet, the one trying to overthrow the other. The soul consists in the belief which each of the two parties has, that he will win, and that he will conquer the other. The body consists of the armies of the two parties arrayed one against the other, for if no one hopes in victory war ceases by itself; the war lasts only so long as one faces the other, and the end of it is the victory of one over the other. Thou must therefore put all thy aim to strengthen the heart of thine army and to assure them of thy victory, and that thou hast proofs in thine hands; and show them practical arguments for to strengthen their courage, such as thy war implements which are called '*Hisaros*,' and the slings (?) which are called '*Akud*,' which I will hereafter mention again in this book. Speak to them fair, and promise them gifts and change of raiment and encourage them thereby. Warn them at the same time against trespassing thy command, for thou wilt punish them with public chastisements and tortures before all.

63. "Do not set thy camp in an open field or in a narrow and enclosed place. And if thou settest thy camp and that of thy followers in an open field, then try and protect thyself with all kinds of arms; place keepers and spies and watches at all times, night and day, so that the enemy shall have no chance of victory or of inflicting loss upon thee. And do not set up thy camp but in a high place, such as leaning against a mountain or the like of it. It must be close to water. Provide a large quantity of food and wood, even if thou hast no need of them; also of terrifying instruments which make horrible noises, for thereby thou wilt encourage thy army and strengthen their soul, and thou wilt frighten those with whom thou wagest war, and dread will enter their souls. And thy knights shall be differently clad, one different from the other, some in breastplates, others in coats of mail, and others with halibards (slings?).

64. "And when thou sendest a section of the army to engage in battle send with them walls (castles) and towers of wood in which there are archers and also those who throw fiery missiles, for if fear should seize upon the army their hearts will get strengthened by relying on them. The archers and the fire-shooters shall stand in front of them, facing the enemy. And thou shalt dispose thy army as I have mentioned, and thou must place at the right hand those that strike, and on the left those who know how to throw their spears, and the archers and those who shoot with firebrands and that make loud noises like those water instruments which cause dread and trembling, which I have made for thee when thou didst engage in battle against 'Blhh' the Indian. When they heard those frightful noises their hearts quaked, the horses ran away, and thy victory was due to the large number of these instruments which I have mentioned. It is needful that thou controlllest the army, so that thou knowest their outgoings and their incomings, and what is good for them and what

is bad, for when they perceive it they will be careful and fear thee.

65. "Study carefully the plans of the enemies, and where thou seest them weak, strike. And when thou engagest in battle act with deliberation, for that is of great help. I have never yet seen a man at the head of the army winning the battle unless the (enemy) be overcome by faintness of heart and great fear. Put many ambushes (and arm them) with fire, and with terrible noises, for they are a great safeguard and a great power which help to victory, and also an important element in the issue of the war, for they kill the courage of those with whom thou fightest.

66. "Make thee those terrible instruments called '*Mhavi*' and '*Zoba*' (*Zoha*, *Zoka*) in some countries where thou wagest war, and protect thy cavalry from them. Have a large number of the animals of Khorasan (*Brasan*) which carry war stores, (are swift), and frighten the horses, and they are a safety in time of defeat, and they are as a castle. They, moreover, carry victuals for the journey, and water.

67. "And if thou assailest castles, make thee such weapons as I have invented for thee, that throw stones from afar, and destroy the buildings, and throw down the walls; and make as many of them as thou standest in need of. And also the battering-rams and instruments that shoot poisoned arrows, and place upon them the revolving bow (?), for it terrifies stout hearts and shakes castles. If thou seizest their water, cast into it deadly poison, and guard against it thyself, for it is necessary to be exceeding careful.

68. "Do not associate with him that is beaten nor befriend him. And if it is possible to fulfil thy purpose by cunning, use it, for the very essence of governance is cunning, and let war be the last deed. And because the Indians are very cunning no evil befalls them. Whilst the people that are called Turk are cruel and very foolish,

therefore fight with each of them in the manner that is convenable. And do not allow a small thing to grow, but consider it carefully before it come to pass."

69. *Book X : The calculation of names of the warriors (generals).* "Know, O Alexander, this is the secret of which I have spoken to thee and upon which I have acted when thou didst go forth against thy enemies to battle, and when thou didst send thy servants. And this is one of the Divine secrets with which the Lord has favoured me; I have tried its truth and I proved its use, and I have profited by it. Thou hast asked after it, and I hid it from thee and gave thee only the benefit of it. Now thou mayest not reveal it to any other man, but act upon it only, thou alone, and thou wilt never fail, in that thou goest not to fight thine enemy until thou hast found by this calculation (of the numerical value of the letters of thy name) that thou art sure to conquer. And if it be not advantageous to thee, then calculate the names of thy servants (commanders) and appoint over the army only the one who according to these calculations is sure to win. And in such manner shalt thou reckon: get the sum of the names of the generals and of thy name, keep the sum of each of them, then from the sum-total of each of these names, subtract as many nines as it contains, and put aside the fraction under nine that may remain, and thus proceed with the second name; whatever remains less than nine of the second put also aside. Then look at the table which I have written for thee, and compare it with the remnant of the sums of the two names; what thou findest therein believe, for it is true, and by the help of the Lord thou shalt never be led astray."

70. (Here follows the Hebrew alphabet, each letter of which has a numerical value; and after Tau, whose numerical value is 400, follow five letters with two strokes

on them, their numerical value being, instead of 5, 500; 6, 600; 7, 700; 8, 800. Then follow: Tau 'raphē' (without a dot), Pe 'raphē,' Tet 'raphē,' 900, the word for 'thousand,' and finally Gimel 'raphē' and Sin.)¹

"Then calculate (the letters of) several two names according to the numerical value which I have just described, throw away every nine, and for that figure which remains in thy hand less than nine, look in the following table of calculation:—

71. "Figure 1:—1 and 9, the 1 beats 9; 1 and 8, 8 beats 1; 1 and 7, 1 beats 7; 1 and 6, 6 beats 1; 1 and 5, 1 beats 5; 1 and 4, 4 beats 1; 1 and 3, 1 beats 3; 1 and 2, 2 beats 1; the one who challenges beats the one who is challenged.

72. "Figure 2:—2 and 9, 9 beats 2; 2 and 8, 2 beats 8; 2 and 7, 7 beats 2; 2 and 6, 2 beats 6; 2 and 5, 5 beats 2; 2 and 4, 2 beats 4; 2 and 3, 3 beats 2; 2 and 2, the challenger beats the challenged.

73. "Figure 3:—3 and 9, 3 beats 9; 3 and 8, 8 beats 3; 3 and 7, 3 beats 7; 3 and 6, 6 beats 3; 3 and 5, 3 beats 5; 3 and 4, 4 beats 3; 3 and 3, the challenger beats the challenged.

74. "Figure 4:—4 and 9, 9 beats 4; 4 and 8, 4 beats 8; 4 and 7, 7 beats 4; 4 and 6, 4 beats 6; 4 and 5, 5 beats 4; 4 and 4, the challenger beats the challenged.

75. "Figure 5:—5 and 9, 5 beats 9; 5 and 8, 8 beats 5; 5 and 7, 5 beats 7; 5 and 6, 6 beats 5; 5 and 5, the challenger beats the challenged.

76. "Figure 6:—6 and 9, 9 beats 6; 6 and 8, 6 beats 8; 6 and 7, 7 beats 6; 6 and 6, the challenger beats the challenged.

77. "Figure 7:—7 and 9, 7 beats 9; 7 and 8, 8 beats 7; 7 and 7, the challenger beats the challenged.

¹ This passage is undoubtedly corrupt.

78. "Figure 8:—8 and 9, 9 beats 8; 8 and 8, the challenger beats the challenged.

79. "Figure 9:—9 and 9, the challenger beats the challenged."

(Cod. L. adds: End of the war play, may the Lord put to shame my enemies. Amen, Amen, Selah, for evermore.)

80. *Book XI: Of physiognomy.* "O Alexander, know that the science of physiognomy is one of the subtle and speculative sciences which it is necessary for thee to know and to understand, because of the great need in which thou standest when appointing men to stand before thee. I will therefore put down for thee in this chapter all the tokens of physiognomy which are proved true and known in the days gone by, and which we have tested in sooth from olden times.

81. "Alexander, thou knowest that the womb is for the child what the pot is for the broth. The temperaments differ according to the creature, and the natures differ according to their composition. Know that a clear white complexion with a tinge of blue (purple?) and much sallowness betokens shamelessness, cunning, lust, and unfaithfulness. Behold the people of 'Ashkenaz,' who have all these qualities and are foolish, unfaithful, and impudent. Therefore, beware of any man whose complexion is blue (purple) and sallow, and if besides having a large forehead, he is beardless, and has much hair (on his head), beware of him as thou bewarest of the poisonous snakes.

82. "And in the eyes there are also unfailing tokens which betoken mercy, wrath, love, and envy. The worst of complexions is the blue (purple), which is of the colour of the stone called 'Ahlamah,' and in Arabic 'Firusg.'

83. "He that has large and protruding eyes is envious, impudent, slothful, faithless, and lying; and if they are blue, then he is even worse; he has then undoubted envious eyes.

84. "He that has little and sunk eyes, dark and black, is alert, understanding, faithful, and loyal. He that is squint-eyed, looking along the length of the nose, is deceitful. He that has eyes like the eyes of an animal, that stare and move little, is of hard understanding.

85. "He that has shifting eyes, and has sharp sight and turns quickly, is treacherous, sly, and faithless; and if the eye is red it betokens courage and fearlessness. If the eyes are speckled on all sides, then such a man is worse than all others, and most vicious in disposition and in deed.

86. "Alexander, if thou seest a man who looks often at thee, and if thou lookest at him he blushes, and he looks ashamed, and looks as if he were jesting, do not befriend him. If there are tears in his eye, he fears thee and loves thee, he will be true and faithful, especially if his eyes have all the good tokens which I have already mentioned. And if thou look at a man and he looks at thee shamelessly and fearlessly, it betokens that he is envious of thee, and that he holds thee in contempt and is unfaithful unto thee.

"Alexander, beware of any man that is deformed (imperfect) as much as thou eschewest an enemy.

87. "Of the hair:—Thick hair betokens courage and health of brain; soft hair betokens a soft heart, coldness of brain, and little intelligence; abundance of hair on the shoulders and on the neck is a sign of foolishness and also a sign of fastness; abundance of hair on the chest and belly denotes animal nature, little intelligence, and love of falsehood.

88. "Of the colour of the hair:—Fair hair (light) denotes foolishness and great ire, and flippancy and also tyranny; black hair betokens intelligence and softness (patience) and love of play; and the mean between the two betokens fairness (righteousness).

89. "Of brows:—Much hair on the eyebrows betokens weakness, and boldness of speech; when the eyebrows

extend sideways (to the temple) they betoken vainglory (pride), and he who has the eyebrows wide apart, equal in length and shortness, and black, is alert and wise.

90. "Of nostrils :—He who has tender nostrils will be a man of soft temperament, long nostrils close to the mouth betoken courage ; and he who has extended nostrils is a man who will brave danger ; he whose nostrils are wide open (strong in blast) is a violent man ; he whose nose rises up in the middle and declines again towards the extremity is a vainglorious man and a liar. The best nose is a long nose, but not too long, just even, moderately thick, and declining in its extremity to thinness ; it betokens intelligence and understanding.

91. "Of the forehead :—A broad forehead in which the veins cannot be seen signifies quarrel and interference ; but a broad and prominent forehead where the veins are visible signifies wisdom, friendship, trust, understanding, secrecy, plan, and acuteness.

92. "Of the mouth :—A large mouth betokens courage (strength of heart), thick lips betoken simplicity, and one who has red lips and of mean thickness is a just man.

93. "Of the teeth :—He whose teeth stand out prominently (*var.* are serried) is a man of hard speech and treacherous, unfaithful ; he who has straight teeth well set with space between them, is intelligent, faithful, and a man of foresight.

94. "Of the face :—He who has a full fleshy face and swollen cheeks is a man of low disposition ; he who has a lean sallow face is wicked, treacherous, and deceitful ; he who has a long face is impudent ; he who has swollen temples and full of veins, is of a violent temper.

95. "Of the ear :—He who has big ears is a simpleton, save in that which he understands ; he who has little ears, is a fool and a thief.

96. "Of the voice :—A strong voice betokens courage ; but a man who has a mean voice, neither over great nor

over small, neither over quick nor over slow, is intelligent (*var.* and faithful); he who is hasty in words, and especially if he has a small voice, is impudent, ignorant, and a liar; and if his voice be right great, he is of quick temper and of evil manners; he who has an ugly voice is envious and treacherous; he whose voice is full great (?) is stupid, of little understanding, and pride.

97. "He who makes many movements is vainglorious and deceitful, and whoever is quiet in his demeanour and whose speech is perfect, and moves his hands at certain set portions, is perfect of understanding and thoughtful in mind.

98. "Of the neck:—He who has a very short neck is deceitful and a liar. He who has a long thin neck is lewd, stupid, and faint-hearted. Whosoever has a long neck and a small head is a fool beyond measure; he who has a long thick neck is a fool and a glutton; and whosoever has a neck well-proportioned in length and thickness is ingenious, discreet, and a faithful friend.

99. "Of the belly and chest:—He who has a thick belly is simple and a fool, and faint-hearted. A small belly and a narrow chest betokens good understanding and good counsel.

100. "Of the shoulders and back:—Broad shoulders and back betoken prowess and foolhardiness. A bent back betokens discordant nature, an even back is an excellent sign. Upraised shoulders betoken bad thoughts and evil will.

101. "Of the arms:—When the arms reach so far that the hand touch the knee, it betokens courage, liberality, honour, and goodness of soul; but if they are short, then the person loves discord and is faint-hearted.

102. "Of the hand:—The long (palms of) hand with long fingers betoken cleverness in crafts, excellence in work and in governance of the kingdom.

103. "Of the thigh and the leg:—Feet full of flesh

betoken weakness and slackness ; thick thighs and houghs, hardiness, arrogance, and strength.

104. "Of the foot :—A big foot betokens folly and love of falsehood ; a small foot betokens courage.

105. "Of the steps :—Whosoever makes wide, deliberate steps, welfare shall follow him in all his work and he shall foresee the future ; he who makes quick, short steps, he is hasty in his work, he does not foresee the future, and is of evil disposition.

106. "The tokens of perfect body and best nature are that the flesh be soft and tender, neither over thin nor over thick, neither over short nor over long, of white complexion, middling between red and sallow ; soft-looking, long hair, just between the crisp and the plain, middling fair ; big eyes, being somewhat deep-set, and between dark and black ; the head of even size, the neck straight (and lean), the shoulders a little bent, without much flesh on the back and thighs, the voice clear, tempered between strong and weak ; the palm smooth, the fingers long and tending to tapering ; sparing in words, little given to frivolity or laughter except when it is absolutely necessary, and in his temperament inclined to melancholy and also to being sanguine, and in whose looks pleasure and joy are mixed without malignity, just as thou art (?), and who does not wish to rule over thee nor over things over which he has no power. This is the most perfect creature which the Lord has created, and this is the man whom I would choose for thee ; search, therefore, for a man who answers this description, and thou shalt thereby prosper. Thou knowest already that a ruler is more dependent on the subjects than they are on him.

107. *Book XII: On the preservation of the body.*
 "Alexander, since this body fails and in time perishes, therefore take heed of these tokens which I mention unto thee and pay attention to them with thy perfect

knowledge and with thy unblemished understanding, for it will be profitable to thee, with the help of the Lord, through the change of compositions which occur in the body. I have therefore decided to collect here in this chapter some of the most important secrets of leechcraft, which, if thou wilt observe and adhere to them [O.M. adds: For it is not necessary for a king to show all his maladies to the leech, and if thou wilt follow this precious order of life which I give thee] thou shalt have no necessity for a leech save in those rare occurrences which no man may eschew.

108. "It behoves thee, Alexander, when thou risest from sleep, to walk about a little and stretch thy limbs evenly and comb thy head with a comb, for the stretching strengthens the body and the combing of the head lets out the vapours which rise up to it during the night-time of sleeping from the stomach. And then wash in the Summer in cold water, for this strengthens the body and regulates the vital heat, and this causes appetite. Then put on clean clothes and dress in beautiful garments, for the sense of sight is gladdened thereby, and the power of the sight is strengthened by beholding it.

109. "Then cleanse thy teeth with the bark of bitter trees, gall-nuts sharp and hot, for they are of great help, since the cleansing of teeth and mouth softens the white phlegm, loosens the tongue, clarifies the speech, and stirs the desire of eating. Then make a '*Sa'aut*' (shampoo?) according to season, for the '*Sa'aut*' is of very great benefit; it opens the closings (pores) of the brain, it stiffens the neck, the throat, and the arm, and it fattens the face, it sharpens the wits, and prevents old age (hair turning soon grey). Anoint thyself according to the season in which thou art; there is no better food for the spiritual soul than the smell of sweet savour, and this is its food, and if thou feedest thy soul and strengthenest it the body gets strong, the heart rejoices, and the blood runs in the veins with the expansion of the soul.

110. "And then take an electuary, four drachms of aloe and rhubarb, for the effect is to draw down the white phlegm from the mouth to the stomach and to remove it together with the food, to kindle the natural heat ; it also reduces flatulency and cleanses the mouth.

111. "After which speak with the nobles of thy kingdom and discourse with them pleasantly, and judge everyone according to his due. And when thou desirest to eat at the time at which thou art accustomed to eat, then take some exercise to tire thy limbs, in wrestling, walking, or galloping on horseback and the like, for the exercise helps to drive out winds, to quicken the body and to strengthen it, and to make it supple, to kindle the heat of the stomach [O.M. adds: to strengthen the joints, to make the superfluous humours to melt and the food to sink, so that it should be consumed by the heat of the stomach], and to stir the soul.

112. "And then set before thee many meats, and eat after thy desire what pleases thee, and eat bread evenly raised, perfectly baked. And eat first that which ought to be eaten first, and take for a second course of that which is to be eaten second: take, for example, that on a table there are two dishes, of which thou partakest, now one of these dishes through its softness loosens the stomach, and the other by its astringency binds the stomach. Thou ought then to eat first the soft and then the binding meal; for this will contribute to cause the first food to be passed on freely, immediately after it is digested. But if thou eatest first the binding and then the loosening, they will not be digested, and both shall be wasted. If there is on a table a dish that goes easier down to the bottom of the stomach, and one more difficult to digest, then ought thou to eat first that one that is more easily digested, and then the other that is more difficult to digest, so that the lower part of the stomach should be more quiet and more slow to digest, for the lower part of the stomach is more hot, for

it is more fleshy and close to the liver, which digests things by its heat. It is necessary to restrain thy hand (i.e. leave off) eating when thou hast still appetite, for over-feeding shortens the breath and causes the food to remain undigested in the bottom of the stomach.

113. "It is needful to restrain thyself from drinking water whilst thou art eating, until thou lovest this habit; for the water cools the stomach and increases the heat of appetite and spoils the food; and too much water spoils the stomach, and causes great hurt to the body. But if thou standest in great need of water for the heat of the season or for the heat of nature or of the food, take but little, and let the water be very cold.

114. "After dinner walk a little gently to a soft place, and lie thee down and sleep for an hour on the right side, and then turn on to the left and finish thy sleep on it. Sleep before meals makes the body lean and dries up the moisture, but sleep after meals nourishes, satisfies, and strengthens the body.

115. "Eat no meal before thou knowest that the previous meal has been digested completely, and thou shalt know it by thine appetite and by the increase of spittle in the mouth. For he that eats when the body does not require it, will find that the food will hurt him by increasing (extinguishing) the natural heat, whereas if a man eats when he is hungry he will find the natural heat not as burning fire. And when thou feelest appetite, then eat at once, for otherwise the stomach will feed on the superfluities of the body, will produce evil humours, and will trouble the brain with evil vapours, so that if thou eatest afterwards the food is spoilt and it is of no benefit to the body.

116. "Take heed of the four seasons of the year to protect thyself accordingly. The vernal equinox (i.e. the Spring) is warm and moist and temperate, it is like the air, it stirs the blood, and all light food is of benefit, such as young

chickens and the fowl called ' *Drag* ' (Ddag, Diag), new-laid eggs boiled in warm water, lettuce and endive and goat's milk ; and this is the best time for blood-letting and cupping, which is called in Arabic ' *Mihtam* ' (Mhatm), and conjugal life, and for much exercise and purging, and baths in the water, and hot air baths for perspiration, and drinking of the Theriac for purging. And any trouble arising out of blood-letting or of purging will soon be remedied and restored through the action of the season.

117. "The next season is that of the Summer. This season is hot and dry, and it stirs up the red gall and makes men sanguine. It is necessary to abstain from anything that is hot either in food or in drink or in medicines and spices. Abstain also from over-eating, for it will extinguish the natural heat. Eat only cold food, such as veal in vinegar, and cucumbers, and young chickens, fattened on barley meal, and of fruit, sour apples, and nuts, and sour pomegranates, and do not indulge in fleshly liking, keep aloof from blood-letting and cupping, except when it is absolutely necessary. Do not take much exercise, and also use the bath little.

118. "Then follow the cold Autumn days. This season is cold and dry, and it stirs up the black gall. Abstain from eating or drinking anything cold and dry ; eat and drink only what is warm and moist and soft, such as chickens, lambs, and sweet raisins, and light old wine ; and keep away from anything that may produce melancholy ; have more exercise and fleshly liking than in the Summer, and go more often to the bath, and take purgings if need be.

119. "Then follows the rainy season (Winter), which is cold and moist, it stirs up the whole phlegm, and it is necessary to turn again to warm food and spices, such as pigeons and young lambs, and roast meat and hot spices, and figs and nuts, and clear red wine, but if any of these cannot be obtained, then use hot electuaries, and abstain

from purging and from blood-letting, except when it need be. And change the air and warm it, and also anoint thy body with warm ointments and use temperate baths; and strong exercise, and to know one's wife, or much eating, will not hurt at this season, for the digestion is very strong at this time of the year.

120. "Alexander, take care of this glorious temple and of the natural heat with all thy might. For so long as the heat is temperate and the moisture is proportionate, that heat feeds the man and his health lasts and long (life) is assured. For two causes a man waxes feeble and his body decays. First is the natural weakening from too much exercise, when the dryness overpowers the body and the existence comes to an end; and the second is accidental weakness, plagues, disease, and the loss of mind. That which makes the body fat and moist is peace and rest, eating of the dish called '*Aspidbag*,' sweet savouries, and the drinking of warm milk and sweet wine, and sleeping after eating on a soft and comfortable bed in a cool place, and bathing in sweet warm water.

121. "Do not stay too long in the bath, for the bath dries up the sap [O.M.: whilst the body should, on the contrary, be made soft through the bath], and smell at all times sweet aromatics, such as jasmine in the Winter (rainy season) and roses and carnations (camphor?) in the Summer [O.M.: one must vomit at least once a month, especially during the hot season], for vomiting washes the stomach and cleanses it from evil humours and rotten phlegms, and when those evil humours are reduced the natural warmth is strengthened to digest the food and to benefit the body and to nourish it.

122. "Still more profitable with this disposition is to have pleasure, songs, and honour and victory over the enemy, and occupation with pleasant objects, and the sight of beautiful faces, and the reading of books that are a delight to the soul, listening to sweet singers, and playing

with friends, clothes rich in divers colours, and to be anointed with good ointments, according to season.

123. "In the contrary of all this, leanness and wasting of body come from eating and drinking little, from overwork and exercise (standing) in the sun, keeping long time awake, sleeping before meals on a hard bed, and bathing in sulphurated (evil-smelling) waters, in eating salted and pickled foods, which are moreover cold and sharp, and burnt food, and drinking old wine without water, and too much purging, and blood-letting, and too much sexual life, anxiety and dread, and dreary thoughts of things to come; all these produce leanness of body, and dry it up."

124. *Book XIII: Of special arts and of natural secrets and of the properties of precious stones and pearls.* "Thou knowest already, from that which I have mentioned hitherto unto thee and of what I have repeated unto thee over and over again, that the essence of all that is in this whole world, above and below, the near and the far, undergo no change in their essence; the change is merely an accident which is divided into form and appearance. And since the substance does not change, the cause of the change lies outside it, and the whole material world which thou seest consists of four substances, and these are the four elements, and out of these are then born the mineral, vegetable, and the animal world, and the moving agent is the sphere (world) that surrounds them all. Each of them is subdivided into smaller sections and are (called) species and kins. If I should attempt to explain or to mention them all, it would take me too long, nor is this the object of my book. For my real object therein is to fulfil my promise and to tell thee some of the riddles of this great secret. Now that I have explained it to thee in what precedes, thou art sure to know and to find that it is true. I will now mention

unto thee the virtues of precious stones, for it is necessary that thou knowest them, for they may prove to be of great benefit unto thee, with the help of God.

125. "The highest science is the knowledge how to make silver and gold, yet the true knowledge is withheld from (men), for it is impossible that any man be likened to God in his fundamental actions. But it is evident that these accidents (changes) can be obtained if no one hinders, for they are subject to the universal law (i.e. of the unity of substance). It suffices, therefore, to deal with the accidents, for anyone who follows them up follows the right path, though their inner nature may remain hidden. Take then of Zarnik (arsenic) one portion, and put it in vinegar until it turns white, and then take an alloy of quicksilver and silver and mix them with the oil of eggs and put them in the furnace, as I have taught thee before. If it turns white as the bird called in Hebrew '*Paras*,' in Arabic '*Akab*,' then it is good; if not, put it back into the furnace until it turns as thou wishest. Then put one portion of it to seven of Mars and one drachm of the Moon, and it will be perfect. Then take of '*Hadun Ktag*' (Hadus Katag, Harus Katag), and feed with it the '*Paras*,' which is called in Arabic '*Akab*,' until it turns green, and mix with it '*Shsbuzag*' and wax, and oil of eggs, and take one drachm of it and put on two drachms of the Moon and the Sun, in two portions, and that will be perfect.¹

126. "And if thou make a ring of silver and gold with a red jacinth set in it, and engrave on it the image of a naked girl, tall and strong, riding on a lion, and six men worshipping her, and it is made in the morning of Sunday at the hour (?) of the sun, at the conjunction of Leo and Sol, and the sun is in it, and the moon is in the 10th degree at the height which is called '*Shrf*' in Arabic, and

¹ All these are alchymistical names for metals and other substances.

the net (?) far away from it. Then, whosoever wears such a ring will be revered by the people. They will listen to his voice and fulfil all his wishes in this world; and no man will be able to withstay him.

127. “ ‘*Bish*’ :—This is one of the greatest poisons, but not recognisable through taste or colour, for when people taste it, it has no bitterness, none of the bitterness of the asp or of the leopard. And the gold-lime (orpiment?), which is called ‘*Klas*,’ is also one of those poisons which are indispensable to thee. It is one of the secret instruments of war, by means of which misfortune in war can be averted, as I have already told thee. Rely, however, only on the special lucky star under which thou wast born. Neither subtlety nor endeavour can profit thee. Do not undertake anything in this world as if thou wert going to live for ever, but think of the world to come, and consider thyself as one who may die on the morrow. It is needful that thou busiest thyself in thy governance only with principles all necessary, and eschewest the details. Heed it with discretion, for it is a great token.

128. “ Know that ‘*Kemia*’ (i.e. Alchemy) is not a true science. Not so ploughing and sowing, which should be the most beloved in thy sight: through them shalt thou prosper, and thy governance shall be exalted, and thy kingdom shall prosper by the help of the Lord.

129. “ Since precious stones have special virtues, as I shall mention later on, I shall determine those marvellous virtues, which will prove to thee of great benefit, and which are proved by trials and tested by me.

130. “ The stone *Bazhar* (Bezoar). This is a Persian name, and means ‘averts misfortune,’ others say it means ‘tightens the wind’ (subdues the demon). It is of a twofold colour, one yellow like a piece of wax, and the other, olive-green with green streaks, looking like a sallow piece of leather (?); this is the best, and it is dug up in the land of Tsin. It is said that it is found also in the poison

of the snakes. It is rolled into small white balls, soft to the touch; its property is that it protects against all manner of poisons, of beasts, plants, and minerals, and of the bite and sting of insects. He who drinks of it twelve grains weight will be saved from death and the poison will pass out in the sweat. He who puts it in a ring on his hand will be revered by the people and by all who behold him. If it be ground to powder and strewn on the bite of a reptile it will draw the poison out, and even should the place have started to putrefy it will still be healed; and if they take of the powder two barley grains weight, and melt it and throw it into the mouth of vipers and reptiles, it will suffocate and kill them. And if they hang some of it round the neck of a child it becomes proof against epilepsy and any other evil occurrence; it saves it from bad accidents.

131. "The pearl, which is called '*Iakut*' in Arabic:—There are three kinds: red, yellow, and black. He who sets in his ring or hangs round his neck any of these kinds of pearls, and comes into a town where the illness called '*Tamun*' is raging, no illness that happened to the inhabitants shall touch him. Whosoever puts on his hands a ring with a red pearl in it will be courageous and much honoured in the eyes of the people. Whosoever engraves on it the likeness of a lion and the constellation Leo with the sun inside and the rays darting out afar, will be greatly revered, he will obtain his object, and quickly fulfil his desire, and he will not see in his sleep terrifying dreams.

132. "*Zmrd* (emerald):—The property of this stone is that honour is paid to the man who wears it in his ring, on his hand. If hung round the neck it appeases stomach-ache, especially when kept close to the stomach. Dissolved and drunk, it is also good for leprosy. Whosoever wears it in his ring or round his neck, and it is hung before illness appears, will be freed from pains in his belly.

133. "The stone '*Aḥlamah*,' which is '*Firzag*' in Arabic:—This is a stone which great kings highly prize and treasure it in their treasury. Its great property is that no man can slay him who wears it. It has never been found with a slain man. If it is ground and dissolved in water and drunk, it saves from the sting of scorpions and from the deadly poison of reptiles and snakes.

134. "The stone *Alkahat*:—This stone is a soft stone, black (Ethiopian), and is luminous (brilliant). The touch of it is cold, fire has no power over it and cannot burn it. Its property is that it saves from all hot fevers, inasmuch as anyone taking it in his hand feels very cold, and needs keep it and cannot remove his eyes from it. Whosoever wears one of these stones appears great in the eyes of men, who will reverence him. He who goes to war and wears one, no man can fight against him, but (his enemy) is confounded, and stares at him. Therefore get thee a large number of them, and use them and act according to the secret which I have taught thee.

135. "Alexander, suffice this answer to the request which thou didst make of me. Study it, consider it, take heed of it, and thou shalt obtain thereby good understanding. May the Lord, in His mercy, cause thee to prosper."

End of the book called "The Privy of Privies":
praise unto Him who knows all the hidden things.

An old Hebrew Romance of Alexander. (Translated from
Hebrew MSS. of the twelfth century.)

I. INTRODUCTION.

MORE marvellous and more remarkable than the real conquests of Alexander are the stories circulated about him, and the legends which have clustered round his name and his exploits. The history of Alexander has, from a very early period, been embellished with legends and tales. They spread from nation to nation during the whole of the ancient times, and all through the Middle Ages. Many scholars have followed up the course of this dissemination of the fabulous history of Alexander. It would, therefore, be idle repetition of work admirably done by men like Zacher, Wesselofsky, Budge, and others, should I attempt it here. All interested in the legend of Alexander are familiar with those works, where also the fullest bibliographical information is to be found. I am concerned here with what may have appeared to some of these students as the bye-paths of the legend, and which, to my mind, has not received that attention which is due to it, from more than one point of view. Hitherto the histories of Alexander were divided into two categories; the first were those writings which pretended to give a true historical description of his life and adventures, to the exclusion of fabulous matter; the other included all those fabulous histories in which the true elements were smothered under a great mass of legendary matter, the chief representative of this class being the work ascribed to a certain Callisthenes. The study of the legend centred in the study

of the vicissitudes to which this work of (Pseudo-) Callisthenes had been exposed, in the course of its dissemination from the East, probably from its native country, Egypt, to the countries of the West. The history of this literary migration has, as already remarked, been told with admirable skill by those scholars. A few have also attempted to find the sources of those legends which were incorporated in this transformation of the true history. Meissner and Budge, among others, have shown that Egyptian and Babylonian legends had been taken from local gods and heroes, and had been attributed to the figure which was looming so largely in the imagination of the nations. The transformation from genuine history to legend is, however, a slow process, and it is an extremely interesting psychological evolution not easily to be followed. The legends which we find in Pseudo-Callisthenes, not to speak of the numerous translations and changes connected with it, are not all of the same period, nor are they due to one and the same factor. They grow like the snowball, and, in rolling, gather elements from every quarter through which they pass. Even one and the same text is thus radically changed: a great gulf separates, e.g., the earlier Greek text known as *A* from the later known as *C*. And if we study the mediaeval romances of Alexander, be they the French, or the old English, or the German, we find many incidents and legends in them which are not found in Pseudo-Callisthenes. Some of these have been borrowed from later compositions, based, as has hitherto been assumed, solely on Pseudo-Callisthenes, such as the so-called "*Historia de Preliis*" of Leo, or the "*Iter ad Paradisum*." But for others the origin is anything but clear. I do not believe in the fecundity of human imagination. There are only very few elements due to spontaneous imagination, all the rest are mere repetition in kaleidoscopic change of old legends and fictions. The poets of the Middle Ages were as little able to invent all those legends concerning Alexander with which they are credited, as we are now; it is a literary problem of no mean importance, and I attempt now to

contribute towards the elucidation of the sources from which they drew their information. I maintain that there must have existed, side by side with the literary tradition represented by Pseudo-Callisthenes, other traditions of Alexander and tales of his adventures which fed upon local religious and political traditions.

Alexander had become also a religious hero. The history of his mild treatment of the inhabitants of Jerusalem gave rise to the belief that he worshipped the God of Israel. This at once won him the admiration of Jews, and then of Christians. The Egyptians, probably as a protest against the Roman conquest, invented the legend of Alexander's father having been Nectanebus, the last native ruler, basing this fiction upon Alexander's visit of the temple of Ammon and worshipping him. These two sources blended their waters in Alexandria, the place built by Alexander, and hence the legendary history of Alexander spread so early among Jews and Christians, borrowing largely from their own traditions. Portions of these were then slowly incorporated either into the text of Pseudo-Callisthenes or found their way into separate smaller legendary stories, influencing the writers of Legends of the Saints on the one hand and the romancers of the Middle Ages on the other.

Professor Wesselofsky, in studying the version of the Alexander legend,¹ which has deeply influenced the Slavonic nations and the Rumanians, and which he calls the Serbian version, was one of the first to draw attention to the fact that many an incident in the journey of Alexander to the land of the Blessed or his intercourse with the Brahmans and their king Dindimus or Dandamus, as well as his journey to the source of life and the gates of Paradise, are found already in Christian legends of the second and third century, in the lives of Zosimos and later in Ugo d'Alvernia's travels, and as I had also shown in my edition of it, in the apocryphal life of Macarius of Rome and his three

¹ "Izŭ istorii romana i povêsti," vol. i, pp. 129-511. (St. Petersburg, 1886.)

companions ("Izū ist. rom., i, pp. 321-3, 448). I go now one step further back and say that the portions dealing with the Brahmans-Rehabites is to be found already in the apocryphal work called "The Rest of the Words of Baruch," dating, as I believe, as far back as the first century. J. R. Harris, in his edition (London, 1889), assigns it the date of 136 A.D. In a collection of rabbinical "Exempla," published by me (Report of the Montefiore College, 1896), which dates not later than the fifth century, we find not a few of the most remarkable adventures of Alexander directly connected with him, and mentioned as exploits of Alexander. He bears here the name of "*Magron*" instead of "*Maqdon*," i.e. the "horned"¹ instead of the "Macedonian." Josephus already mentions some legends connected with Alexander, and so if we search through the whole old Oriental literature we are sure to meet with one incident or another which has afterwards crept into the Western versions of the legend, prose or rhymed.

The discovery of totally different versions of the legend, which were termed Romances, in Syriac and Ethiopic, strengthen further this view, and go a long way to prove the existence of a series of purely fabulous stories of Alexander, in which every genuine historical element had been discarded in favour of a tissue of purely legendary and religious fiction. Their peculiar character is the absolute adaptation of the hero to the local or religious needs of the writer of the Romance. In both Alexander becomes a devout Christian, and in one

¹ The slight change of the Hebrew letter ד (D) into ר (R), which is very difficult to distinguish from it, gives to the word which means originally "Macedon" the meaning of "horned." This may be the origin of the famous name which Alexander bears in the Qoran, and thence in the whole Arabic literature, "The double-horned"—"Dhulqarnain." It is not unlikely that Muhammad or his secretary, who knew the Hebrew alphabet, and in which probably also Arabic legends were written, made that simple mistake in spelling, and hence the name. The application to Alexander was facilitated by his Ammon's or ram's horn which he has on some coins. But it certainly did not originate from that fact. Those coins were very scarce and not used after Alexander's death. The parallelism which some have drawn between that epithet of Alexander and the peculiar legend which ascribes horns to Moses requires further investigation.

(the Ethiopic) he holds converse with the prophet Elijah and even with God. Persian writers, such as Firdusi or Nizami, have changed him into a devout Muhammadan; Alberic of Bezançon, or Lambert li Tors, or the German Lamprecht, or Thomas of Kent, have made of Alexander a mediaeval knight and good Christian. There are, however, some links missing even in the history of these Romances, and I am now furnishing one which I hope will prove of some value in the history of the Alexander legend, both in connection with the older legends of Zosimos and Macarius, with the Christian legend or Romance in Syriac and Ethiopic (in which Gerasimus, i.e. Zosimos) is directly quoted), and with the sources for some of the most remarkable incidents in the mediaeval Romances of the West of Europe; and thus to establish a connection not even hitherto suspected between those Romances of the East with the Alexander legends of the West. It will also furnish the source of some incidents in the latest version of the Greek texts of Pseudo-Callisthenes, viz. *C*. It is an old Hebrew Romance, and I am publishing here the translation of this text.

In this history, subdivided by me into fifty-seven chapters, according to the number of the most important incidents, every trace of history has disappeared. Alexander is merely the hero of extraordinary adventures, and the whole is a collection of curious and remarkable tales, few of which are found in Pseudo-Callisthenes or even any other history of Alexander. The author has woven into one picture numerous scattered elements. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the author had not copied a single text directly, even there where we find close parallels to them in other works. Only rarely does Alexander appeal to God, as we find him doing it often in the Ethiopic or Pseudo-Callisthenes (*C*). On one or two occasions, and only when forced by circumstances, Alexander becomes a Jew, as when he meets the priests in Jerusalem, when he approaches the gates of Paradise, and when he wishes to enter the land of the Blessed, here the land of the children of Moses.

But we find here all the old legends which are known from the pages of the Talmud and Midrash, in a somewhat independent form, and a number of many legends for which no parallel exists or is hitherto known. This version seems to be the source of the famous "Iter ad Paradisum," and some incidents are found in mediaeval French Romances.

The text of this Hebrew version has come down in three MSS., of which one is in Modena, and has been published from it by I. Levi (*B*), in Steinschneider's Memorial Volume,¹ to whom this text is devoid of any interest and absolutely valueless. With his usual superficiality he writes:—"Ce texte, nous l'avouons sans détour, n'offre aucun intérêt pour l'histoire de la légende d'Alexandre. Il ne forme pas, comme d'autres, un anneau dans la chaîne de la tradition littéraire; il n'a exercé aucune influence sur les conteurs chrétiens, ou arabes, ou même juifs. Il est tout à fait hors cadre!" The other was found by Professor A. Y. Harkavy in Damascus (*C*), who has given an analysis of it in Russian, and has added valuable notes, trying also to ascertain the date and place of its composition, and tracing some of the parallels in the literature of the Alexander legend.² He has failed, however, to identify the proper names that occur in this version, and as his MS. seems to be a comparatively modern copy, he has also been mistaken in the date of its composition, nor has he adduced any sufficient reason for a supposed Arabic original. The third MS., discovered by me and copied as far back as 1888, is in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (*A*). It is imbedded in the Chronicle of Jerahmeel (a translation of which I am preparing for the Oriental Translation Fund). This MS. belongs at the latest to the twelfth century. For more than one reason I am inclined, however, to assign to the romance itself a much earlier date. No allusion is made to any of the

¹ "Festschrift zum achtzigsten Geburtstage M. Steinschneider's" (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 235-7, and Hebrew, pp. 142-63.

² "Neizdannaya Versiya romana obŭ Alexandrē," St. Petersburg, 1892.

nations that occupied Asia Minor since the seventh or eighth century. Islam does not seem to be known by the author, who must have lived in the East. He quotes in one single instance (ch. 49) an Arabic word, and quotes it wrongly. He can therefore not have translated it from the Arabic. It is certainly older than the version of which a mutilated form had been inserted in Pseudo-Josephus (Josippon, or Gorionides, as he is commonly called), which I consider to be a translation from an Arabic text of the seventh or eighth century. The legends are given in their more primitive simple form. Some of the words which occur in the other two MSS., and which might have warranted the belief that the author was acquainted with French, or Provençal, are missing in the old MS. It is also centuries older than the existence of the Marranos, in Spain, with which Professor Harkavy connected this version.

In the translation I have followed in the main the Oxford MS. (A), but I have added also those portions which I found in the other two texts, when they added something material to the story.

In the few notes given here by me by way of introduction I have limited myself to pointing out those chapters which either have no parallels, or which show some relation to other Oriental versions or to mediaeval Romances. In some instances I have drawn the attention to the peculiar character of the legends, and here and there the attempt is made to explain some of the proper names. Harkavy's essay is always referred to whenever his remarks or identifications are mentioned.

The character of this version is best seen by the fact that the story starts directly from Egypt. Macedonia is mentioned only towards the end three times, and it is thought to be a province of Egypt! Everything connected with Greece is thus omitted; so also Alexander's battles with Darius, and with Por. Every trace of genuine history is effectively obliterated. Even the name of Alexander's mother is changed into Galopatria, i.e. Cleopatra, unless it is a peculiar corrupted reading of גוליפטריא, אוליפידאה

(*Olipiada*). In this the Hebrew Romance agrees with the Ethiopic-Christian Romance (Budge, p. 445), and the same name is also found (according to Harkavy) in one version of the "*Historia de Preliis*." Nectanebus, the Egyptian king-wizard and reputed father, as represented by the literary tradition of Pseudo-Callisthenes, is replaced here by a simple magician who bears the biblical name of Bildad. We also do not find a trace of Candace and of her transactions with Alexander. Cleopatra has, according to this version, many children, and is not at all friendly disposed towards Alexander—at any rate, not at his birth; she afterwards gets reconciled to him. Instead of the god Ammon, in whose name Nectanebus pretends to speak, Bildad mentions a god Digonia, in whom I see either Dionysos or Diogenes. Thus far no satisfactory explanation of the proper names can be given.

The second chapter agrees more with *B* and *C* than *A* in Pseudo-Callisthenes. At the birth Cleopatra wishes to have the child strangled: the only parallel is in the French poem of Alberic de Besançon (Harkavy). No parallels to the whole of the following chapters are to be found anywhere. Harkavy points out a faint reflex of chapters 9 and 10 in Ibn Fatikh. A remarkable legend, contained only in the Oxford MS. (*A*), is that of the dwarfs and the stone by which they make themselves invisible, and the episode that when Alexander meets them they were just engaged in conducting a bridal procession to their home. It reminds us of the numerous popular legends of fairies and pixies and the cap of invisibility, so well known in German mediaeval romance; such as the story of the dwarf king Alberich and his "tarn-hut" or cap of darkness, and of the *Nibelungenlied*. (Cf. Grimm, "*Deutsche Mythologie*," chap. xvii and additions; cf. also the legend of Gyges and the ring that makes him invisible (Plato, "*De Republ.*," ii).) Capp. 13 ff. contains a peculiarly changed version of the visit to the temple and the mysterious figure on the couch, which is preserved only in Pseudo-Callisthenes, *L*, *B*, *C*, iii, chap. 28 (v. Zacher, p. 169). Harkavy compares the

temple mentioned there (ii, 18, and i, 31), but neither of these has anything in common with the description given in the text, and which seems to be the fullest account of that mysterious figure on the couch. We meet here for the first time Menaḥem, the chief of the scribes. Harkavy has compared this name with that of Simon in one of the old French poems and Solomon in one MS. of the "Iter"; and has thought that all are derived from "Eumenes." It would be difficult to say whether it be so or not. Remarkable, however, is that the Ethiopic legend has "Rahâmân" (p. 293) as the name of the scribe, a name which looks very similar to Menaḥem. The history of "Busfal" (instead of "Boucefal" or "Boukefal") is told here, and not in any way resembling the version in Pseudo-Callisthenes or the other sources. Here commences already the recital of the encounters of Alexander with peculiar peoples, one of which attempts to poison Alexander and his army by means of strange-looking fish. But for that incident the rest resembles chap. 49. No parallels are to be found for the following chapters, in which there is a peculiar incident about a frog emitting a foul stench. Immediately upon this incident follows here that of the speaking trees, and in the Oxford MS. again a meeting of Alexander with the king of the dwarfs. The description of these trees varies from that in Pseudo-Callisthenes, iii, 17 (Zacher, pp. 161-2). In chap. 25 we have the trial, for which no other old parallels are available beyond the rabbinical "Exempla," No. Va, and then in various rabbinical works. It is found also in the "Bocados de Oro" of Ibn Fatikh and in the French Romance of "Lambert," etc. (v. Meyer, ii, p. 199). The name of the country is identical with that of the "Exempla." The first half of No. Va contains in the "Exempla" a very short account of Alexander's fight with the Amazons; here it is very amplified in chapters 26-7. The country is called "Anṣiq," with which Harkavy compares the name "Sichie" of the Queen in the French version. No parallel have I been able to find for the history of the treasure and the

behaviour of Ga'tan the treasurer. Alexander avoids fighting a king who had dug pits in his country, and he journeys to Jerusalem. The recital of this meeting of Alexander with the High Priest, whom he calls "Anani" (Josephus and others call him Yaddus, others Simeon—so my "Exempla," No. cclxxix, only Gorionides, Hanani), resembles Pseudo-Callisthenes, *C*, ii, 24 (Zacher, 134). Chap. 32 is like a faint reflex of Alexander's meeting with the Gymnosophists (Pseudo-Callisthenes, *C*, ii, 35; cf. iii, 17*a*), and more like Syriac, p. 93, and the later Slavonic versions of Alexander's meeting with Evant and the Brahmans, but there is no parallel to the second half of chapter 32. So also none for the very extraordinary tale in which a certain Matan, who is the priest of the god Aşilin, plays the chief rôle. In the Ethiopic version we meet with a *Mâtûn* who is a sage, and is the type of a pious man, exactly the reverse of the Matan in our text (Budge, p. 264 ff.).

Alexander comes now (chapter 37) to the famous water of life, which is recognized by the fact that birds which had been killed came to life again when dipped into it. In all the other versions the place of the birds is taken by fish. Pseudo-Callisthenes, ii (*C*, 39 and 41). This incident is not found in either "Gorionides" or "Historia de Preliis" (Harkavy). In our text the servant drinks of it, and as he cannot find the water at the bidding of Alexander, the latter cuts off his head, but the servant, being immortal, goes to the waters of the great sea and lives there headless: cf. Pseudo-Callisthenes, iii, 28, about the headless people in the sea. Wesselofsky has given a long list of modern tales of such men (*loc. laud.*, pp. 377-8). This fountain leads Alexander to the gates of Paradise, and he obtains there as a token a piece like an eye. It is a human eye, and its meaning is explained to him by Menahem. Here we have the parallel to the "Iter." The same tale is found in the Talmud, but also in the Ethiopic version (p. 271), and, what is more, in the French romance of "Lambert li Tors" and the German version of

"Lamprecht" (v. Meyer, ii, 201). Chapter 39 contains the description of Alexander's flight to heaven, by means of iron spits with meat on them, and eagles looking up to them and carrying him upwards. In my "Exempla" No. v, the tale is absolutely identical with the version of the Romance; in the Talmud and in the Midrash the legend is very short. Pseudo-Callisthenes has the tale, but in a somewhat different form, and only in *L* and *C* (Pseudo-Callisthenes, ii, 41). How widely spread this legend is in the East, is shown by the fact that we meet it also in the Samaritan Chronicle published by Joynbull, pp. 185 and 322 (Harkavy). In the Ethiopic (pp. 277-8) Alexander flies upwards on the back of an eagle like the old Babylonian hero Etana (v. Budge, ad. loc. in the note). The sequel to this flight is the diving in the sea in a glass cage, chapter 40. The only old Hebrew parallel is found in the "Exempla," No. v; Pseudo-Callisthenes only in *L*, *C*, ii, 38 (Zacher, p. 140). I have not found anywhere a parallel to the idea that the sea could not tolerate any blood or dead body, and throws it up in consequence, as mentioned here, chapter 40, a bit of folklore which deserves further study. The Ethiopic version, which contains a very elaborate description of Alexander's descent into the sea (p. 282 ff.), does not know this incident. In chapter 41, I see a parallel to the French poem of "Lambert" (v. Meyer, ii, p. 174). The riding on the lion's back reminds us of the legend of Macarius and other legends of saints. In chapter 42, the land of the dwarfs is mentioned, which we find in a fuller form in the Slavonic Alexander legend, where their fight with the storks is told. The Kynokephaloi are mixed up here with that other legend: cf. Pseudo-Callisthenes (*C*), ii, 34, 37. Chapter 43 contains the long journey upon the sea and the foetid sea, which is mentioned only in the Syriac Christian legend (Budge, pp. 147 and 145) and in the Ethiopic version (p. 224). For the strong wind cf. Pseudo-Callisthenes, iii, 17, *k* (A. V.), Zacher p. 159. No parallels are known to the following chapters, one of which has the extremely curious tale of the Couvade,

for which custom this is the only mediaeval reference. In modern times it has been studied by folklorists. One incident seems to be found also in Thomas of Kent's Romance of Alexander, viz., that a dog rules the people in the absence of the king (chapter clxxx). Whether the Igoli of the legend are the Uigurs (Harkavy), I better leave undecided.

The Ethiopic version contains the description of a huge serpent, and the Syriac of a dragon (p. 107), worshipped by certain people, which was killed by Alexander by means of pitch. This seems to be a reminiscence of the Daniel and Dragon legend; but in our text we meet a peculiar animal (chapter 46) that has the body of a lion and the hands and feet of a man, which vomits pitch upon Alexander and nearly kills him. This seems to be the older form of the legend transformed by the Ethiopic writer under the influence of the Daniel legend. The great noise heard on the top of the mountain is the same that Alexander hears in the modern Greek and Slavonian versions, and also heard by Macarius and his companions. It is the voice of the damned in hell, and that of Adam and Eve or of Prometheus. There is no parallel for chapter 47, about the appointment of Tikusa or Tibusa as regent of Egypt. Quite unique is the legend in the following chapter about the fish-men and the means by which they were recovered. Pseudo-Callisthenes (*C*, ii, 42) has some bearing on it, but is incomplete, and in the French mediaeval romances we often come across the Otifals (or Ichthyophagoi). In the Syriac (p. 106) and Ethiopic (p. 166), only huge fish and the dress made of their skin are mentioned. In the Hebrew we have a much closer parallel to the famous tale in the "Arabian Nights" of men being changed into fishes. The charm or the performance by which they seem to be restored to life solely from the scales, is parallel to the popular tales of human beings being restored to life from the smallest particle of their body. Still more interesting is the recital of the encounter with the women in the following chapter (49), who wear magical bags for

protection and two snakes' heads under their garments. As for the strong woman who runs so fast that no steed is able to overtake her, cf. Pseudo-Callisthenes (*C*), ii, 33.

The chapters 52-3 are those in which we find the oldest parallels to the meeting with the Rehabites in the legend of Zosimos (Gerasimus in the Ethiopic), who had become first the Happy, then the Blessed, and then the Departed, and has nothing whatever to do with the visit to the Paradise and ought not to be confounded with it. These are two independent incidents, which have afterwards been mixed up as soon as the "Blessed" were considered to be the "Departed" from this world. In the most ancient form Alexander merely comes to a land in which the righteous and pious men lived under the special protection of God, but they are in this world. The Brahmans and Gymnosophists are the true counterpart in the Greek version. In the Hebrew and Christian tradition these godly men were either, as I have mentioned, the Rehabites, or the children of Seth (as in the Slavonic and Rumanian version), or as in the Hebrew, the children of Moses and the Ten Tribes. Of all these variations, the last is in every probability the oldest, as it occurs already in the apocryphal ancient literature, such as in the Rest of the Words of Baruch and in the Fourth Ezra. This early tradition has been incorporated at a later time into the version of Alexander, and it can be shown that it was known in this form in the Jewish literature in the fifth and sixth centuries, and from then uninterruptedly.

The place Sidonia is in every probability "Sinai," as in the Ethiopic (and Syriac?) version, and there Alexander really finds the Manna. The mixing of the sweet with the bitter herb has a parallel in the French mixing of sweet and bitter water (Weismann, ii, p. 356). The fighting of the stars, which portend the death of Alexander, is also based upon an old legend connected with the birth of Abraham and the downfall of Nimrod. Remotely identical with it is the sign in Pseudo-Callisthenes (*B, C*), iii, 31.

The death of Alexander by poison administered here

by a certain Afq (chapter 56) is accelerated by the feather dipped in poison. In this incident concur only the Ethiopic version and the "*Historia de Preliis*." All the rest is peculiar to this version. The division of the empire among the four diadochs and the ultimate burial are described in a manner different from all the other versions.

This short summary shows us that, far from standing isolated, many an incident in this version is found also in the Syriac and the Ethiopic. There must have existed from very ancient times already a number of legends grouped round the name of Alexander, out of which grew in the first instance the Christian and Hebrew Romances in the East, which must have found their way, directly or indirectly, also into many a mediaeval composition and metrical romance as well as into some of the oldest legends of saints. Some of them were ultimately absorbed into the more developed form of the Pseudo-Callisthenes version, which superseded the Romances and destroyed them, obliterating their memory. These have now been recovered, and help us to lay bare the fountains from which many of the writers in later times drew their information and their legends. Those parallels between the "Romances" of the East and West are not the result of chance, but prove that the latter have borrowed directly or indirectly from this other, hitherto not recognized source—the ancient oral traditions and legends of the East as embodied in the Eastern "Romances," the oldest recoverable hitherto being the Hebrew.

II. *Translation.*

THE BOOK OF ALEXANDER OF MACEDON.

1. It happened in the days of yore that there reigned over the land of Egypt a man named Polipos (פּוֹלִיפּוֹס Philipus). He was a liberal and kind-hearted man, and he did righteousness and justice, and there was none like unto him. All his people loved him. The name of his wife was (גּוֹלּוֹפִירָא) Golopira (or Gloptiria, Cleopatra), and she was a most beautiful woman, such as had never been before her. A certain man lived in the land of Egypt whose name was Bildad, the son of Ason. This man was an astrologer and a wizard, and was such as none has ever equalled in cleverness. Whatever he desired he brought about by means of his witchcraft. Now it happened that he had set his eyes upon Cleopatra the Queen, the wife of Polipos, king of Egypt. He desired her, for she was most beautiful in form and appearance, so that he pined within himself on account of his ardent love for her. When he had almost died through his strong desire, Bildad strengthened himself, and relied upon his knowledge of astrology and witchcraft to find out if his destiny would be to go to the Queen or not. He therefore drew a lot by means of his witchcraft, and the lot fell upon the Queen, so that he rejoiced exceedingly, [B, C. and going into the fields hither and thither he sought to find a certain herb, the name of which was (צֶרְפִּילִיא) chervil, and conjuring it by means of his witchcraft, he buried it for nine consecutive days.]

2. It came to pass on the third day that a letter reached King Polipos (Philip), as to whether he would not deliver the land of (תּוֹגַרְמָה) Togarma from the hands of King Kos (כּוֹס), who had invaded the country, for then he would lose his whole kingdom. When the King Polipos heard this, he feared very much, and having taken counsel he issued a command to all his kingdom that they should

all be prepared, everyone that drew the sword, to come to the help of the King, so that all the people of his kingdom were assembled before him as one man. And the King and his army went to save the land of Togarma.

3. When Bildad saw that the King had gone out of his land, [B. he went on the ninth day to the place where he had buried the herb (צֶרֶפֶלִיאַ), and taking it up he performed therewith some witchcraft, according to the desire of his heart, and] going to the queen Cleopatra, he said to her: "Hear, O my lady, for I have brought a message unto thee from Digonia (or, Rigonia רִיגוֹנִיָּא) our God." The Queen thereupon rejoiced very much. She arose from the throne, and making obeisance to Bildad, she said to him: "Tell me what thou hast to say, and do not keep back anything from me." Bildad replied, and said unto the Queen: "Digonia, our God, hath sent me unto thee, saying, since he has seen thy modesty and the uprightness of thine heart, he has therefore filled his heart with desire to come to thee, and having lain with thee to beget a son, who will also become a God."¹ The Queen upon this said to him: "Give me a true sign by which I may know that thy words are just and true." And Bildad answered, and said to the Queen: "Let this be a sign: when the God shall come to thee, there shall be three horns on his forehead, one of silver, the other two of gold; and at the end of an hour, one of them shall be sunken and the other two shall continually grow."² When the Queen heard this she rejoiced, and bowed and prostrated herself to the ground.

4. It came to pass on that night that Bildad performed some witchcraft: [B. he came into the court and garden of the Queen, after he had caused a deep sleep to fall upon

¹ A. "Thy God Digonia has searched through the whole world to find a woman of royal birth, who should be modest and beautiful, so that he obtain from her a son, who would rule over the whole world, and he has not found any one like unto thee."

² A. "When he comes the room will be full of light, and he will have a burning light on his forehead, and two horns, one of gold and one of silver, both turned towards the heavens, as a sign that the son who will be born shall reign over the whole world under the heavens."

all the household of the Queen's palace; he then entered from one chamber to the other until] he came before the bed of the Queen. He then performed those signs of which he had spoken to her. And the Queen saw all these signs, and hearkened unto him, so that he went in unto her, and she conceived by him. She then said unto him: "What shall be the name of the boy who is about to be born?" And he replied, "Alexander" [A. Alexandron]; for Alexandron in the Egyptian language signifies 'Lord over all.' The Queen then rejoiced very much. And it came to pass in the morning that the Queen sent for her wise men and princes, and made a great banquet for them.

5. While they were eating and drinking and their hearts were merry, Polipos returned from battle rejoicing and of good cheer, for he had conquered King Kos. The Queen then ran to meet him; she embraced him and kissed him, and related to him everything that had happened to her [A. and she told him that the God Digonia had been with her]. When, however, the King heard it, he became enraged; he smote his hands together, for he knew very well that Bildad the wizard had gone to her. The King thereupon sent a messenger for Bildad, and Bildad was very much afraid, and fled the land of Egypt, and dwelt in a cave all the days of his life, for the King had sent after him in all the borders of his kingdom to slay him, but he had hidden himself and could not be found. The King then said to the Queen: "The punishment of death shall not be awarded thee; but stifle the report, so that no man shall know of this, lest we come to shame."

6. It came to pass after a time that the Queen bore a son, and she said to the midwife: "Strangle this my son, and I will give thee a shekel of [A. his weight in] gold." But the midwife answered: "Far be it from me to do such a thing, to stretch forth my hand against a son of the King, and besides which, considering the fact that I foresee in him signs of royalty, for he will reign over the whole world, although he shall die in his youth in another land."

The Queen heard this, but refrained from replying. Thus the child escaped. This was the form of the child. One eye resembled the eye of a cat, and the other eye the eye of a lion; he looked towards the earth, and he was fearful, and his appearance was strange.¹ His mother called his name Alexander. The lad grew, and was prosperous in all his ways, and the land trembled before him. The fear and the dread of him fell upon all those who saw him or heard him. [A. And the Queen said to her husband: "Let us kill this bastard, so that he may not inherit with our own children"; for they had besides four other sons. But Polipos said: "Far be it from us to kill him. Maybe, our children will benefit through him."]

7. It once happened, when the lad went out among the ministers of the King in the court of the garden of the King's palace, that a wizard, one of the magicians of Egypt, came there, and on beholding the lad trembled exceedingly, and fell at full length on the ground, prostrating himself before the lad. At this the lad said: "What art thou doing?" The wizard replied: "Behold, I see that thou art destined in the future to vanquish the whole world, and many shall the number of the slain be; thou shalt go to a distant land, and [A. thou wilt die in the prime of thy days, and thou wilt be buried in Egypt] and thou shalt go down to the depths of the waves, and thou wilt place thy seat among the stars, and during thy life thou shalt come to the place of those who fear God." The lad rejoiced very much at this, and said to the wizard: "If thou speakest the truth, behold I will make thee and all the family of thy father and mother free men, and thou shalt be my second in rank." The wizard then made obeisance to him, and gave some presents to the lad as a sign and as a memorial.

¹ A. "From the sole of his feet up to his navel he was covered with hair; between his shoulders he had the image of a lion, and upon his chest that of an eagle. One eye resembled that of the lion, and he looked with it towards the sky, and the other resembled that of a cat, and he looked with it towards the earth."

8. Now King Polipos became old and ill, and was about to die. He therefore assembled all the magicians of Egypt and all its wise men, and asked them to make known unto him in truth who was to be king after him. They all thereupon answered at once, and said: "Give us time until the morning, and we shall then tell the King." The King did so. In the morning all the magicians of Egypt and the astrologers came to him, and said with one voice: "This lad Alexander shall reign after thee, and his throne shall be more powerful than the throne of our Lord the King, and whatever he shall do will prosper." The King then became very angry and wept very loudly, for he had many sons, and not one of them was destined to inherit the kingdom, and moreover the King knew that Alexander was not his own son.

9. The King then called his sons together, and said unto them: "Hear me, O my sons: you have heard from all the wise men that the kingdom is decreed to Alexander: therefore do you listen to my counsel, and do not fight with Alexander, for this thing is destined by God; do not be angry, nor let your countenances fall, and do not break the yoke of Alexander from off your neck, lest he be to you a stumbling-block and a danger, for the kingdom and the dominion are in the hand of the King of Kings, who grants or takes away the kingdom, and it is in His hand to make great and to strengthen all." When he had finished exhorting his sons he was gathered to his people. He died in his old age of 93 years. They buried him with great honour, and erected a large and wonderful building upon his grave.

10. It came to pass after the death of Polipos that his sons sought to kill Alexander by poisoning him. This was told to Alexander, who said to them: "What sin or transgression have I committed that you seek to kill me and shed innocent blood? Do you not know, and have you not heard, that the kingdom has been granted me from Heaven; and, moreover, has not the King exhorted you to give me the kingdom?" When the brothers

heard that their deed had become known, they said to each other: "We are indeed trying in vain, for all the magicians and astrologers have declared that he was to reign after our father. If we make him king it will be well for us, for he is our brother and our own flesh; and if we are stiff-necked towards him, then, when the kingdom is strengthened in his hands, he will slay all of us." The King's sons then called all the princes, and said in their hearing and in the hearing of the wise men, the sages, and the astrologers, saying: "You have heard what our father commanded us, viz. to make Alexander king; why, then, do ye delay this thing; for is not the kingdom given to him by God, just as the magicians and wise men have said?" All the princes replied, saying: "You have spoken the truth. But we were afraid to make him king on account of you; but now that we see you are pleased with it, we shall certainly not prevent it." So the princes assembled all the people of the land, and made Alexander king, and they exclaimed, "Long live the King!" The King then ordered for himself a chariot and horsemen, and he prospered in all his ways.

11. The King then said to his mother: "If it is pleasing to thee I shall build a new Temple to our God Digionia (דִּיגוֹנִיָּא)." His mother replied: "Do not thus waste the treasures of thy ancestors, but hear thou my counsel, and issue a command in all the provinces of thy kingdom that every man from the age of thirty years and upwards should come unto thee to go to war and to vanquish all the kingdoms under thee, and do thou gird thy loins and become a warrior to fight thy battles in thy youth, and then it shall be well with thee in thine old age." Alexander the king hearkened to the words of his mother, since it pleased him. He accordingly did whatever she had spoken, not knowing that she was eagerly desirous that he should fall into the hands of his enemies, as a consequence of which she would then be able to give the kingdom to her eldest son begot by Polipos the king.

12. King Alexander then gathered all the princes of the

armies and took counsel with them, and their counsel agreed with that of the Queen; for she had (previously) induced them to do so. The king Alexander accordingly commanded his army to be assembled, and had many iron chariots made. Having gone forth at the head of the army he took his standard, and they all followed after him, and came to a very huge forest, through which they travelled twenty-nine days, and they came to a beautiful meadow, in the midst of which was a fountain. Alexander rested there with his army. Whilst he was walking to and fro he alone beheld a dwarf riding on a richly caparisoned horse, the trappings of which were of gold and the stirrups of precious stones, and decked all over with jewellery. Alexander, beholding him, went up to him and said to him: "Who art thou, and whence art thou coming, and why art thou so richly and gorgeously dressed? Dost thou not know that here are desperate men among my company who covet money and riches?" The dwarf replied: "My name is Antalionia (Antoninus?), and I am a king, and many are now riding along with me, and we are not afraid of anyone; we are now conducting a bride to the house of her parents-in-law, and I have more riders with me than thou hast." And Alexander replied: "But I do not see anyone except thyself." The dwarf said: "Every one of us carries in his hand a stone of invisibility, by means of which no creature is able to see the man who holds one of those stones in his hands. I have, however, shown myself to thee in order to warn thee." And he gave him one of those stones of making invisible. Alexander asked him: "About what wishest thou to warn me?" And the dwarf replied, and said: "O King, thou hast more than one enemy among thy servants who wish to take thy life." And Alexander asked: "Who are they?" The dwarf said: "They are a great number. Come to-morrow and sit here close to the fountain, and I will sit next to thee, and whomsoever I will strike know that he is not thy friend. I will all the time be invisible, and thou call all thy servants, and do afterwards as seems best:

to thee." Alexander said: "Antalonia, blessed art thou, for thou art a good man. How can I thank thee? I will come to-morrow, according to thy word." The dwarf asked leave to go, and it was granted to him. On the morrow, Alexander came and looked for the dwarf, and he found him sitting close to the fountain on the stone, as he had promised. And Alexander rejoiced very much, and he embraced and kissed him. When the dinner-time came, a servant brought the meals to the King, and the dwarf struck him so violently that the blow could be heard some distance. The servant turned round and asked the King why he had struck him. But Alexander denied having touched him. Another servant came, and he again was struck, and he fell down to the ground. He also said to the King: "Why dost thou strike thy servant?" But the King denied having touched him, so he turned upon the other servant, and said: "O wicked man; why dost thou strike thy fellow-man?" And thus arose a mighty tumult in the camp, for the dwarf struck all those who wished to lay hands on the King. The King kept quiet all that day, noticing only those who were struck by the dwarf. On the morrow, the King took counsel and deposed those men who had been struck from their positions, and appointed others in their stead; and he told them: "Egypt is now like unto a flock without the shepherd, and there is no one who could help them against their enemies. Return therefore to my country Egypt, and bring this crown to my eldest brother Qanitor (קניטור), and take also servants with you." And Alexander gave them those very men who had been struck by Antalonia as servants. And all those who remained behind with Alexander loved him very much, and he loved them, and he rejoiced mightily on that day, and appointed new governors and generals, and the rejoicing was general. And they stayed in that place ten days.

13. Leaving the forest, they arrived at a great and very high hill, upon which was a large, beautiful building. The King, on noticing this, said: "Who will ascend with me

upon this mountain?" At which 200 men volunteered to do so, saying: "Come, we will ascend with thee." They thereupon went to the top of the mountain and there found a large and broad gate, beside which an old man was sitting. When the old man saw the King he ran to meet him, to embrace him, and to kiss him; but the King's warriors intervened, and, pushing him aside, did not allow him to approach the King. The old man then asked: "Why do you not allow me to embrace and kiss my Lord the King Alexander?" At which the warriors retorted: "Who told thee that his name is Alexander?" The old man replied: "Because his name and image are engraved on my temple, and I have dwelt upon this mountain many days and years to guard this fortress for him." "But," said the warriors, "what is thy power and thy might, that thou dwellest here alone. We, who are not a few, have caught thee and shall not allow thee to approach the King." The old man thereupon became angry with the warriors, and said to them: "Do you imagine that you are going to conquer me? for were it not that the fear of the King is upon me, I should not be afraid of you all, since I have thus been commanded not to do anything against the King."

14. The warriors then said to the old man: "If now we have found favour in thine eyes, show us thy power." To which the old man replied: "If the King will grant me permission, I will show you my power and my might." The King said: "Permission is granted thee." When the old man heard this he cried so loud that the warriors had no strength left to stand, but all fell upon their faces, as did the King also. The King then said: "Thou takest too much upon thyself: do not repeat this cry, for neither I nor my warriors have the strength to stand before the power of thy voice." The old man then said to the King: "If thou desirest, I shall show you my might by another means." But the King refused. The old man continued, and said to the King: "Come with me, thou and thy men standing before thee, and I will show thee the beauty of

this fortress and the whole of the building in detail, for it is wonderful and pleasant to behold." The King replied : " If it is agreeable to thee, let one of my warriors descend the mountain and call one of my scribes, that he may write down everything that he shall see on this mountain." The old man assented. One of the warriors accordingly went down and brought back with him Menaḥem the Jew, the principal scribe of the King. The King then went with the old man into the fortress, and after them there followed his warriors and Menaḥem, the chief of the scribes. The King and his warriors entered a chamber of red glass, which was very lofty and wide and contained ninety-five windows, and on every window there were all kinds of birds, clean and unclean, chirping so that it could be heard very far off, and on the highest window there sat an old black man, who waved his turban (kerchief) towards the birds and they were immediately silent.

15. The King then went with his warriors from that chamber into another, built of green glass, wherein lay all kinds of beasts, clean and unclean, and in their midst there sat a strange beast, from the sole of the foot unto the head of which there was no hair, but it was quite smooth ; its feet resembled those of a lion and its face that of a bird. Its eyes were large and as broad as two cubits. The height of the beasts was about five cubits ; and the length of the tail, which was green, was about three cubits, and that of the teeth was about one cubit and a half. When the King appeared very much astonished, the old man said : " Do not be amazed, because I will show thee something much more wonderful than this." The old man then took a certain herb, and, placing it in the mouth of the beast, there came out of its bowels a strange beast covered with white hair. Its voice resembled that of a human being, and its teeth were green. The old man then said : " The hair of this beast is very powerful in its effects, for whoever carries it in battle will be sure to conquer, while his enemies fall before him slain in multitudes." The King scoffed at the words of the old man, and he appeared to be laughing at

him. On seeing this the old man waxed angry, and said to the King: "How darest thou to scoff at my words? Know for a certainty that it shall be bitter for thee in thy latter end." When the King saw that he was very angry, he spoke to him mildly to try and appease the wrath of the old man, saying: "If it appears to thee that I have said anything that is not right before thee, pardon me for the sake of thine honour and show honour to the King." The old man replied to the King, saying: "I have hearkened to thy entreaty, but do not do this again."

16. The King then said to the old man: "If now I have found favour in thine eyes, show me yet further the beauty of this fortress"; to which the old man replied: "Come with me and I will show thee a great and marvellous wonder." The King went with the old man, and they came to a very beautiful chamber built of red marble. In it were all kinds of spices (perfumes). When the King felt the extraordinary odour, he marvelled greatly at it. Through it he regained his former strength and might. On raising his eyes, the King saw a beautiful marble stone, on which a red glass vessel was placed. "What is this?" he exclaimed. "This," replied the old man, "is balsam-oil, all of which has been brought from Jericho, the city of the palm-trees." On further looking round, the King saw a stone of green marble, like the sepulchre of kings. On asking the old man what it was, he replied: "Beneath this stone King Altinos (אלטינוס), who was anointed with oil of balsam, was buried, and his body still remains (intact)." "Dost thou know how long ago he was buried?" asked the King. "Wait a little time," answered the old man, "and I will read the inscription which is engraved upon the stone." On reading the inscription he found that it was 285 years old. The King then said to the old man: "If I still find favour in thine eyes, I entreat thee to show me the body of King Altinos (אלטינוס), so that I may verify what thou hast said, that his body still exists." "I will grant thy request," answered the old man; "but be warned and take heed of

thy life that thou touch not the body of this king if thou hast been with any woman this night." The King replied, falsely, that he had not been with a woman that night. "Also tell thy men," said the old man, "not to touch the body of this king unless they are quite clean." The King then said: "He who touches the flesh of this dead person shall surely die." Thereupon the old man drew near, and removing the lid from the marble, he took the shroud from off the dead, so that the King and his warriors saw the dead king. They expressed their intense astonishment to each other. On the King asking whether he might touch the dead man's flesh, the old man said, "No!" But no sooner had he asked the question, than he stepped forward suddenly and touched the body. He immediately fell down backwards, perspired very much, and became changed in his appearance. When his warriors saw it, they uttered a loud and bitter cry, and all fell down before the old man prostrating themselves to the ground. "O my Lord! What shall we do with our king?" they exclaimed. But the old man replied: "Did I not tell you not to touch the dead body, lest you die." The warriors continued, however, to lament very loudly, and entreated the old man a second time, to which he replied: "Were it not that I wish to show favour to you, I should not trouble myself about your King. Now stand up, and see what I shall do to him." They all said simultaneously: "We shall do just as our Lord commands us." "Be not afraid," said the old man, "for there is yet some hope for the King." The old man then took a black horn of a ram, and bringing some glowing coals, and placing them in the horn, he put it upon the neck of King Alexander. Alexander stood up as before, but was dumb, and could not utter a word. His warriors were afraid, and wept, so their joy was turned to lamentation. "Do not be afraid," exclaimed the old man, who took a certain herb, and placed it on the left ear of the King, when he opened his mouth and spoke to his men. They were all exceedingly rejoiced. "Why," said the old man to

the King, "didst thou not fear to touch the dead body, and why didst thou not listen to me and take care? Through it thou didst stumble. Did I not command thee, saying: 'Take heed of thy life, that thou touch not the body.'" The King replied by saying: "The mouth of a fool is a snare to him"; and he said further: "O my Lord, I entreat thee to measure the length of this dead body for me." The old man complied with his request, and found the measurement to be ninety cubits. The King and all his warriors were greatly astonished. "Place now the covering upon the body," said the King; and the old man did so.

17. After this the old man said to the King: "Come thou with me into another chamber, and I will show thee the desire of thine eyes." On entering the chamber with the old man, he saw there a very beautiful girl, and the heart of the King was broken on account of the girl, his face changing many colours. The old man then said to him: "Why dost thou tremble so?" To which he replied: "I will not withhold from thee that my heart is broken within me, on account of the beauty of this maiden." "Swear, then," said the old man, "that thou wilt not make her thy concubine, and I will give her to thee as a wife." The King rejoiced very much, and took three oaths. "Now thou mayest go thy way," said the old man; "take her and let her be to thee as wife, since thou hast sworn." The King approached the maiden, took her by the hand, and led her into his tent. He then said to his warriors: "Take my first wife and carry her into Egypt, until I return in peace." They accordingly took her away to Egypt, and told his mother all that had happened to them. And the Queen rejoiced, and said in her heart: "Why should I hate my son, who came forth from my womb. What matters it whether the King or another man has begotten him; he is just the same my son, and I shall be honoured through him." She then sent a certain horse named Busifal (בּוּסִיפָל) to her son, since it was very swift and strong, the like of which was not to be found in the

whole of Egypt. When the horse was brought to the King he tried it, and found it to be according to the desire of his heart. The King then ordered a great banquet to be given to his princes and servants, so that the King and his warriors rejoiced. The King then took the maiden to wife, and he loved her. The old man, after presenting the King with precious stones and all kinds of beautiful vessels, blessed him and sent him away, and the King and his army went from this tower.

18. They came to a forest, whence there emerged a number of very hairy men, who destroyed many people of his small army. They pressed the King very sorely, so that he commanded his men to shoot the rebels of the forest. But when they shot at them they caught the arrows in their hands, and they did not harm them. As soon as the King saw that this kind of war was of no avail against them, he ordered his men to burn the forest with fire, which they did, and they fled [A. and they were burned in the fire].

19. After the King had departed thence, he came to the land of Carthage (קרטיגוניה Qartigonia), the length of which was a thirty days' journey. In the whole of this land there was not a woman to be seen; they were kept in subterranean places. The King asked the people for tribute, and they brought him a hundred thousand talents of gold and precious stones. They moreover brought him a large, strange-looking fish. Its scales were red, it had but one eye in its forehead, and its teeth were as black as pitch. The King did not wish to eat it, and ordered it to be cast away to the dogs, but when the dogs ate it they died. The King was very angry at this, and said to them: "Why do you seek to kill me and all my people?" They were silent, and were not able to reply, so the King ordered his men, saying: "Arm yourselves and go to war against these men, who sought to lay their hands on you." They did so. They fought a great battle with them, which lasted for three days and three nights, and the King prevailed over them, and slew of them men without number. The women then came

out from beneath the ground, and fought against the King and all his host, but the King again prevailed over these also, and slew a great number of those who had hidden themselves under the ground.

20. The King then went forth from thence and fought against the inhabitants of Antiochia (? אַנטִיפֿיא ; אַנטוכיא), and slew of them 30,000 men, and took away all their arms. They fell before him to the ground, and the King had mercy upon them, and ordered them to be saved alive. They afterwards brought him 500 talents of gold, and putting upon them a tribute, the King went away from them.

21. He next came to the land of Alsilah (אַלצִילָה), which was as black as pitch. The men of that place fought against the King, who said to them: "Why are ye stiff-necked towards me?" "Because," they replied, "we have never had either king or ruler, and we have hitherto been free from all the peoples of the land." The King then said: "I do not seek your silver or your gold, but only all the young children that were born this year. Give me them as a present with which to feed my dogs." "We do not think it right," they replied, "to give our children away as food for thy dogs. If thou desirest it, take our silver and our gold in abundance, but if not we must fight with thee." The King then took counsel with his wise men, who said: "Do not take their silver or their gold, but fight against them, and then thou wilt obtain fame among the nations." The King listened to their voice, and went to war against the enemy, and prevailed. He slew of them numberless men, and took their silver and gold and all their precious objects, until they scorned silver and gold and only took precious stones.

22. The King went forth from that place and came to the land of Armenia (? אַרמֶנִיא Argonia). The men of that place went out to meet him, all the men of war, and fought against him and slew many of his men, but the King prevailed over them on the second day and slew a great number of them. The King went forth with his standard

and came with great strength against the fortress of their king. There he found an exceedingly great number of precious stones; he took all their precious objects and divided them among his men. He made a great feast to all his servants, and remained there nine days. It happened in the night-time that a frog came before the bed of the King, and in its mouth it held a certain herb. The King said to himself: "This has not come here for nothing." He thereupon drew his sword upon the frog and slew it. It emitted a stench so foul that many of his men died through it. The King also became very ill, but the physicians cured him.

23. The King went from that place and came to the land of 'Ofra (? עופלה, or 'Arpola ערפולא). The people of that land came out to meet him and killed many of his people. But the King ultimately prevailed over them, and slew of them about 40,000 men, and took their gold and precious stones.

24. He then passed from that land across the water, and came to a certain forest, in the midst of which sweet waters were flowing. The King then had rafts made, and ordered his men to go up to its source, and he abode there on the rafts with his men, but a wind blew up and cast the King and all his army into a cave, from which the water issued. For twenty-nine days the King was wading through the waters, seeing neither the sun nor the moon during this time. At the end of the twenty-nine days he emerged from the cave into the light of the world, and found two large red trees, upon which two old men were sitting. One of them was blind and (the other) dumb. On seeing them the King said: "Why are you sitting here?" To which the other old man replied: "To hear tidings of the future from these trees." "Is it possible," said the King, "that these trees are able to speak?" "O my Lord the King," said the old man, "do not be surprised, for I tell thee the truth, that these trees speak on the third hour of the day, and whatever one asks of them they tell, except of the day of death." The King expressed his

great astonishment, and fixed his tent there. It came to pass on the morrow, at the third hour, that a voice went out from the tree and called the King, saying: "O my Lord the King, ask of me whatever thou art searching for, except one thing, and I will tell thee?" The King then said: "Shall I reign ten years?" "Thou wilt reign," said the tree, "ten years and more." "Shall I reign forty years?" asked the King, but the voice was silent and did not answer him. The King further asked: "Shall I reign thirty-five years?" "Thou wilt reign thirty-five years and more." "How much longer (than thirty-five years)?" The voice was again silent and did not reply. The King then knew that he would not reign as long as forty years. The King then asked: "Shall I return to Egypt?" To which the voice answered: "Thou shalt die in a strange land, and shalt be buried in the land of Israel(?)." "Shall my son reign after me?" asked the King. "Thy son shall not reign after thee, but thy kingdom shall be divided among four rulers." The King, on asking further questions, was not answered.¹

¹ A, § 24, reads totally differently, and in some particulars more correctly:—"And the King went away from that place and came to the land of the Dwarfs, and their King Antalanion who ruled over them came to meet the King Alexander, who on seeing him exclaimed: 'Art thou it, O King Antalanion! tell me what thou wishest and I will do for thee.' But Antalanion replied: 'Nay, I am willing to offer thee any amount of gold and silver if thou desirest it.' Alexander said: 'I do not wish anything from thee, except thou givest me herbs which are good for healing.' So they told Alexander the virtues of all the herbs and their curing powers. Alexander stayed there three days and ordered the scribe Menahem to write down the virtues of the herbs. He then said to Antalanion: 'Which way am I to turn from here, as I have gone out of my country for the purpose of encompassing the whole world?' Antalanion replied: 'There are a great number of kingdoms here round this country who are all subject to my rule; if thou wishest I will place them all under thy power, and they shall go to war for thee and pay thee tribute.' But Alexander refused, and said: 'Far be it from me to take anything that belongs to thee; only tell me which way I am to take?' And he said: 'Thou must pass through the Dark Mountains, and I will give thee precious stones which are brilliant as the sun.' And he gave him those stones and food to last for seven days for him and his whole army. And Alexander passed through the Dark Mountains. When he came again forth to the light of the world he said to his followers, 'Let us encamp here for two or three days.' There were at that place two red and tall trees, and two old men were sitting close to those trees, one of them blind, the other dumb. The King asked them, 'What are you sitting here for?' One replied, 'To hear the future from these trees.' And Alexander said: 'Is such a great thing possible that trees should be speaking and foretelling the future?' And the old man said: 'In truth it is so; at the third hour of the

25. The King went forth thence, passing through the Mountains of Darkness by means of a pearl which gave him light. A king came out to meet him, and, paying him great honour, did whatever he commanded. It happened while the two kings were sitting together with their crowns on their head, that two men came before the king. One of them said to the king: "O my Lord! I bought a piece of ground from this man and desired to build upon it, but on digging it I found a treasure and an immense store of riches, so I said to the seller: 'Take thy treasure, for I have not bought this from thee, but only the ground.'" The other man answered, and said to the king: "My Lord, when I sold my ground to this man, I sold him also everything that it may have contained, from the depth of the ground to the height of the firmament, and since this man does not wish to associate himself with robbery so do I not wish to do so." The king thereupon said to one of them: "Hast thou a son?" He replied: "Yes, my Lord." To the other the king asked: "Hast thou a daughter?" On replying that he had, the king said: "Then give thy son to his daughter, and let the treasure be given to both of them." Alexander laughed at this decision, which seemed wonderful to him. The king, noticing Alexander, said: "Why dost thou laugh? Have I not judged well, and have I not acted justly?" "Thou hast judged well," answered Alexander, "and thou hast acted justly, but if this had been my kingdom I should not

day these trees speak and tell the man what he asks for, except the day of his death.' The King was greatly astonished, and he fixed his tent close to the trees. On the morrow, at the third hour, a voice came forth from the tree, saying: 'My lord King, ask whatever thou wishest, and I will tell thee, except the one thing.' And he said, 'Shall I reign ten years?' And the tree replied, 'Ten and more.' And he asked, 'Shall I reign twenty years?' 'Twenty years and more.' And the King asked, 'Shall I reign thirty years?' 'Thirty years and more.' And he asked, 'Shall I reign forty years?' But no answer came. He then asked again, 'Shall I reign thirty-five years?' And the answer came, 'Thirty-five years and more.' He thereupon asked, 'How many more?' But again no answer was given. Thus he knew that he would not reign forty years. He then asked, 'Will my son rule after me?' And the tree replied: 'Thy son will not rule after thee, for thy kingdom will be divided among thy four generals.' He asked many more questions, but the tree did not reply any longer."

have decided thus." "How, then, wouldst thou have acted?" asked the king. "Why, if this had been my kingdom," he said, "I should have killed the two men and have taken all their money." The king was much astonished at this, and said: "Does God's sun shine in thy kingdom?" "Yes." "Are there dews in thy kingdom?" "Yes." "Are there small and large cattle in thy kingdom?" "Yes." Then said the king: "It is, then, through the merit of the animals that you live and are sustained, as it is said, 'Both man and animal God saves.'"

26. Alexander went forth from that place and came to Afriq (אפריק), which he subdued. They gave him 180 talents of gold and very precious stones. The King, departing thence, came to the land of Anṣiq (אנשיק), and found there only women; the men dwelt on the other side of the river. The men, however, never crossed the river, but the women used to do so in order to have relations with the men, and if a woman bore a male child she carried it across the river, and the men took it and reared it; but when a female was born the woman reared it until it was five years of age, and then taught it the art of war. The women rode horses, and continually crossed the river two or three times every year to fight their neighbours. King Alexander sent word to the Queen, saying: "Do not refrain from coming to me with thy princesses and with all thy precious things; do not be stiff-necked before me, because it will act as a stumbling-block to thee." The Queen answered the messengers of Alexander, saying: "What right has my Lord to come to my land in order to war against me?" "He humbles," said they, "all his enemies beneath his feet; there is no wall which is too high for him; kingdoms and peoples have fallen beneath him, and whatever he does, prospers." "Tell then your Lord that he does not appear to me to be wise, but only his lucky hour favours him." "Why dost thou speak thus," they said, "of our master?" "Because," said she, "we are

recognized to be speakers of truth. If your Lord were wise, he would not have come here to war with women, because, if he conquers, the world will say: 'What glory is there in having conquered women? are not men swifter than they? he was sure to conquer them.' On the other hand, if the women are victorious, what will the world say? 'Women have been found able to conquer so great a king.' None of his former victories will then redound to his honour and praise, but shame will come upon him and will be magnified by all those who hear of it." The messengers returned to Alexander, and said to him: "Thus and thus has the Queen said to us"; and her words pleased Alexander and all his people, to whom he said: "What shall I do? If I go away without having gone to war against them and without obtaining a victory over them, all who hear of it will say that women have conquered me." He therefore said: "I shall not go away from here until I see the Queen herself and speak to her face to face."

27. When the Queen heard that the King was coming to see her, she assembled 5000 virgins, clothed them in fine linen, silk, and lace-work, and mounted them on camels. In this manner they came to meet the King. When the Queen approached Alexander's camp, she said to her maidens: "Look at me and do what I do." Thus they did. The Queen then hastened and uncovered one of her breasts, and all followed her example. The King and all his people were much amazed when they saw this. The King immediately hastened to ride up to her, and, embracing and kissing her, said: "Why did you act like this?" to which she replied: "It is customary and right in this kingdom, when receiving a king, to show him the beauty of our bodies." "What can I do for you?" said the King. "Thou shalt do nothing," said the Queen, "except leave us and do not destroy our land." The King then said: "If thou wilt accept the kingdom from me I will leave you, but if not, I shall destroy your land?" "Why," answered the Queen, "wilt thou destroy my land, and add iniquity to thy iniquity; for we have of old sworn that

we shall not bear (submit to) the yoke of any king; but if thou desirest I shall give thee gold, silver, and brass, and very precious stones, the like of which thou, nor thy fathers, nor thy grandfathers, have never seen." The King then said to her: "If I fight with thee and conquer thee I shall take the precious stones, the gold and silver, and everything which thou hast from thee." But the Queen replied: "Thou hast thought foolishly in this, because I have stored with my maidens all our treasures in a place which it is impossible for thee to find, wert thou even to turn the earth topsy-turvy." But the King said to her: "If thou dost not reveal all thy treasures I shall torture thee and all thy maidens, until thou show me the place of thy treasures." The Queen replied: "We have already sworn, both we and our handmaidens, not to reveal any of our treasures to any man in the world. Therefore, stop thy words, because it will not help thee." At this the King said: "What can I do for thee, for thou art much wiser than I am? I have only spoken in this manner to test thee, and now give me the gold and the precious stones as thou hast spoken, and I shall depart in peace from thee." The Queen thereupon hastened to blow upon a strange little trumpet, and there came to her a very beautiful maiden, to whom the Queen said: "Take with thee my maidens and bring me the gold and the precious stones which I have stored in the place shown to thee." The girl hastened and brought the King gold and the precious stones, at which all wondered who saw it. Even the King wondered at it.

28. And he said to her: "Comply, I entreat thee, with my request, and I shall then know that I have found favour in thine eyes." The Queen replied: "I will do anything thou askest, except one thing, viz. to accept my own kingdom from thee." He then said: "I only ask thee to be with thee this night." "I have hearkened," said the Queen, "to thy request; but swear to me that thy men will not do the same to my maidens, for such things are not done in the whole of my land." The King said: "I will do according to thy word," and he swore

unto her and passed the word of command in all his camp, saying: "He who molests the Queen's maidens shall surely be put to death." It came to pass in the night that the King sent messengers to bring the Queen to his tent; but she refused to go, saying: "It is not proper here for a woman to go to a man"; and the King said: "She has spoken the truth," and rising, he went to the Queen, and she conceived by him. In the morning the Queen said: "I have conceived by thee." "How dost thou know?" said the King. "Because," she said, "I noticed by the planets of the sky that I had conceived a male, who will be a mighty warrior, and he will slay very many, and in his old age will be slain himself." While she was yet speaking with the King, one of her maidens came up and, crying to the King, said: "One of thy men has done violence to me." The King thereupon grew angry, and said: "Who is the man that has done this thing?" "Ga'tan (גֵּאֲתָן)," they replied, "the guardian of thy treasures." "Hasten, then," said the King, "and bring him to me." They accordingly hastened to bring him before the King. The King said: "Why hast thou transgressed my command?" to which Ga'tan answered: "Why should I banter with words? Know thou that if thou wilt not swear to me that thou wilt do no harm to me, thou shalt not see again any of the treasures entrusted to my care; for I have hidden them in a place, which it is impossible for thee to discover." The King waxed exceedingly angry, and did not know what to do. At length he said to Ga'tan: "Wherefore hast thou acted so evilly and committed such iniquity against me?" "Because," said Ga'tan, "my evil inclination got the better of me, and I had not the strength to restrain myself." The King then said, "I shall swear"; and he did so. "Show me now," said the King, "my treasures." He showed them to the King, who took them away, and entrusted them to Ašan (or Aşdan, Işdan אִשְׁדָּן) the chamberlain. It came to pass one day, when the King was dining at his table, that he raised his eyes and beheld Ga'tan standing in front of him, with

his eyes fixed upon the King. The King was terrified, and cried: "Remove this man from me." But while he was giving his command, Ga'tan suddenly ran against him with his knife, and stuck it into the King. When his men saw this they trembled, and, dashing forward, caught hold of Ga'tan. Antipal (or Antofil **אַנְטִיפֶל**), the physician, however, came quickly, and, applying some herb to the wound, cured him immediately, as the reward for which the King gave him many presents. The King commanded Ga'tan to be torn to pieces by the dogs, limb by limb. This being done, the anger of the King was assuaged.

29. After this the King journeyed, with all his army, in the direction of the land of Hagar (**הַגָּר**). It was soon told him that the King of Hagar had set out to fight against him; but he laughed and scoffed at the idea. He sent messengers to the King of Hagar, saying: "What hast thou seen that thou art stiff-necked, and that thou leviest thine army to fight against me? Has it not been told thee of the deeds I have done by the strength of my hand, and of the kingdoms and peoples I have subjected beneath my sway." The messengers accordingly carried the wish of the King, saying: "Thus and thus are the words of Alexander." The King of Hagar replied to the messengers of the King (Alexander), saying: "Say unto your Lord: 'What sin have I committed or what transgression have I made that thou hast come to war against me, and to destroy my land?'" They reported his words to the King, upon which the King said to his people: "Prepare ye the implements of war, for at this time to-morrow I shall go to him and shall humble his pride." They accordingly prepared their implements of war and went to fight with the king. But the King of Hagar anticipated this, and commanded his men to dig pits and to hollow caves throughout the whole land, and to cover them with straw, so that Alexander and his army should stumble thereon and fall in them. This, however, was told Alexander, and it appeared dangerous to him, so that he feared to go there, on account of the

depth of the pits which the servants of the King of Hagar had dug. He therefore sent word a second time, saying: "Listen to my counsel and do not be stiff-necked; come, now, to me and bring me a tribute, and I shall go away in peace and not destroy thy land." The King of Hagar sent word saying: "I willingly will empty my treasure-houses if he then only will leave my country." The messengers brought this word to Alexander, who accepted it, and the King of Hagar came to him with the choicest of his men and with very precious stones. The King, on receiving them, departed from his land.

30. He then turned in the direction of Jerusalem, for he was told of the power, of the strength, and of the might of the Jews, so that Alexander said: "If I do not conquer the Jews, my glory will be accounted for nothing." He therefore journeyed thence, and arrived in twenty-six days with all his camp at Dan. He then sent messengers to Jerusalem, saying: "Thus sayeth the mighty king Alexander: 'You have dwelt here so many years, in which you have never yet paid me tribute, poll-tax, or (other) taxes; now that this letter is brought to you, collect and send me your tribute, and this is the tribute which I ask of you: all the treasures of the house of God, which you have stored in the Temple for several years.'" When the people heard this, they were very much afraid, and proclaiming a fast they clothed themselves with sackcloth, and prayed to God. And the old men and the sages in Jerusalem took counsel together as to the reply they should send King Alexander. The High Priest Anani (אנני) accordingly wrote to Alexander, saying: "Thus say the men of Jerusalem, the thing that thou askest is too difficult for them; they are not able to do this thing, because we have not the power to bring forth the treasures contained in the house of our God and to send them to thee, for our ancestors have dedicated them for the wants of widows and orphans, for the lame and the crippled, to support them; but if thou desirest, we shall send thee from every house in Jerusalem a dinar of gold, but we have no power to bring

forth the treasures of the Temple which our ancestors have dedicated." When King Alexander read the letter of the men of Jerusalem, he grew very angry, and swore by his idol that he would not leave that land ere he had made Jerusalem and its temple a heap of ruins. It happened on that night, when the King was lying in his bed and could not sleep, that he opened the window, and lifting up his eyes he saw an angel of God with drawn sword standing before him. He trembled very much, and said to the angel: "Why will my Lord smite his servant?" But the angel answered, and said, "Am I not he who subdues kings beneath thee; why, then, wilt thou do evil in the eyes of the Lord, to destroy his land and his people?" The King, replying to the angel who addressed him, said: "Whatever thou tellest me I will do." The angel, clothed in linen, then said: "Beware lest thou doest evil to the men of Jerusalem, but when thou enterest it thou shalt ask after the welfare of the city, and do good to them, and give thy treasures to be stored up in the House of God. If thou rebellest against my word know that thou shalt surely die, thou and all that belong to thee." Alexander was grieved at this, and said to the angel clothed in white linen: "It is very hard for me to do this thing, to degrade my honour, but if it is evil in thine eyes I shall return and not enter Jerusalem." But the angel retorted: "By thy life! return not until thou enter Jerusalem, and there place thy treasures in the House of God."

31. It came to pass on the morrow that the King journeyed with all his host to Jerusalem. When he arrived at the gate of the city, the High Priest Anani, together with eighty priests clad in holy garments, came forth to meet the King, and to entreat him not to destroy the city. When Alexander saw the High Priest Anani, he alighted from his horse, and prostrating himself to the ground, embraced the feet of the High Priest, and kissed them. The warriors of Alexander, seeing this, were very much angered, and said to the King: "Why dost thou do this, and humble thy

honour before an old man like this? Do not all the kings of the earth bow down before thy feet, and now thou degradest thy honour before this man: what will the world say?" "Do not be surprised," answered he, "for this old man who has come here is the likeness of the angel of God who goes before me at the time of battle, and who tramples down nations beneath me; I therefore do him this great honour." When the High Priest Anani heard the words of the King, he bowed down to the God of Israel, and blessing God in a loud voice said: "O my Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, do not harm the men of Jerusalem, for they are thy servants ready to perform thy will." The King replied: "Instead of entreating me on behalf of the men of Jerusalem, entreat the men of Jerusalem on my behalf, for I am not able to do any harm to them, for the angel of God has warned me, and commanded me to do no evil to them." All the warriors of Jerusalem, its old and its wise and its pious men, brought the King to the upper castle in Jerusalem, where he remained three days, and on the fourth day the King said to the High Priest: "Shew me, I entreat thee, the temple of the great God who subdues nations beneath me." The King and his warriors then went into the temple of God, and on lifting up his eyes, behold, an angel clad in white linen stood before him. The King, on seeing him, instantaneously prostrated himself at his full length upon the ground, and lifting up his voice he cried: "This is indeed the house of God, the like of which there is none in the world." The King then brought forth vessels of gold and silver and precious stones, and placed them in the treasury of the Temple, and he sought the High Priest Anani and the other priests who took the gold that they should make a statue of him in the Temple as a token and a remembrance. But the High Priest and the other priests replied: "We cannot do this thing, to make a graven image or any likeness (or figure) in the Temple, but listen to our counsel: give this gold, of which thou desirest a statue to be made, to the treasury of the House of God, by means of which

the poor and the crippled of the city will be maintained. As for thy good name and thy remembrance, all the males born this year shall be named Alexander after thee." This thing pleased the King, who forthwith weighed forty talents of the finest gold, and placed it in the hands of the High Priest Anani and the other priests, saying to them, "Pray for me continually"; and he added more silver and gold and other precious stones to the treasury, and entrusted them to the High Priest, who acceded to his wish to pray for him continually.¹

32. The King then journeyed from Jerusalem, and passed over to Galilea, and thence to Qardonias (or Qironia, אֶרֶץ קִירוֹנְיָה, קִירוֹנְיָה), a land very fruitful and fat. The inhabitants lived in tents, and they had no houses, and the only clothes they possessed were those made from camel's hair, but on account of the extreme heat they could not bear any clothing on them. When they heard the report of Alexander's arrival they went forth to meet him, and made obeisance to him. The King received them and spoke to them, and testing them with riddles and in various sciences, found them very clever. He wondered at the greatness of their wisdom, and said to them: "Whatever you ask of me I will give you." They thereupon all cried: "Give us everlasting life." The King, however, was confused, and confessed his inability to do that. "If, then," they replied, "thou hast not the power to do this, we shall not ask thee anything more." They then said: "Do thou ask what shall be given to thee." The King replied: "I only ask for some choice herbs which you are so clever in knowing their virtue." "We shall do," said they, "what thou askest." They accordingly brought the King many herbs, and explained to him their virtue, their use, and their power of healing,

¹ A. "Coming out from the Temple, Alexander and his host stayed three nights in Jerusalem, and he gave lavishly away gold and silver and precious stones, so that the wise men said that such riches had never been seen any more in Jerusalem since the days of Solomon, the son of David. And all the people from the surroundings brought food and drink to Alexander's host, and he gave them whatever they wished, so that the land became enriched."

and the King went searching everywhere for similar herbs, so that he should be able to recognize them in any place. He commanded his physicians to write down all the herbs and their use, and ordered them to place the book in which they were written into the treasure-house. After these things King Alexander became very ill, and he commanded the book of cures, which was placed in the treasury, to be brought to him. They brought it, and found instructions as to his disease, and the physicians accordingly cured him by means of it. Among the physicians there was one who hated the King, so he stole the book of cures and burned it in the fire. When it was told the King he was very much grieved, and he rent his garments, and commanded the culprit to be brought before him, but he had fled and was not to be found.

33. After this the King journeyed to the land of Qartinia (קרטִינִיָּא), where they received the King with great honours. The name of the king was Ardos (or Amzosh אַרְדּוֹס). He brought him into his residence, the name of which was 'Amaq (or 'Ariq; Zeriḳ עֶמֶק). There was a woman there whose beauty was so great that all who looked at her praised her, and testified that there was not her equal in the whole world. Now every month it was the custom of this woman to go once to the temple of the god Aṣilin (Apolon ?) (אַצִּילִין), in order to offer there a sacrifice of idolatry, and whenever she passed through the market-place of the city all the workmen ceased from their work and ran after her to gaze upon her beauty. This woman continually passed to the temple, and burned incense. One day Matan (מָתָן), the priest of Aṣilin (אַצִּילִין), in the temple of the god, saw her and had almost lost his mind after her. Once when she had come to the temple to offer incense to Baal, Matan the priest said to her: "I have been sent to thee from our holy Aṣilin (אַצִּילִין)." The woman rejoiced, and said to Matan:

"Tell me, I entreat thee, what thou wishest to say, and do not hide anything from me." "Know," said Matan, "that Aşilin (אֲשִׁילִין) desires to come to thee, and to beget a son by thee like himself, for there is not another woman in the world that is fit to be with him except thee." The woman rejoiced, and said: "Whatever Aşilin (אֲשִׁילִין) commands me I shall do, and shall not neglect anything." Matan then said to the woman: "If, then, thou hearkenest to the words of Aşilin (אֲשִׁילִין), go thou and obtain permission from thy husband, and if he be willing, do thou come to the temple this very night and thou shalt beget a son by Aşilin (אֲשִׁילִין)." The woman thereupon hastened to her husband, and told him whatever Matan had said to her, to which her husband replied: "Do that which seemeth good in thy eyes, but take with thee into the temple of Aşilin (אֲשִׁילִין) pillows, coverings, and wraps, and silk garments to spread over them." She did so, and having taken them, made a couch in the temple behind the altar. It came to pass on the night that the woman went to the temple that her handmaid came with her, and Matan said to the woman: "It is not right that thy handmaid should come with thee into the temple, because she is not worthy of it." The woman therefore told her handmaid to go out of the temple, and to lie down before the door until dawn. In the middle of the night Matan came into the temple by way of the door of the second gate, and the handmaid, hearing the creaking of the door, was frightened, and, rising from her bed, she went softly into the temple, and beheld Matan coming into it. She was afraid lest he should kill her, therefore she did not speak, but beheld him kissing and embracing her mistress. . . . She waited until he had exhausted his strength, and then, going in secretly, she took the statue of Aşilin (אֲשִׁילִין) and struck him upon his head with it, so that he died on the bed of her mistress. The handmaid then said: "What is this

thou hast done, for thou hast defiled thyself with another man?" The woman quaked and trembled, for she knew that she was defiled, and, lifting up her voice, she wept; but her handmaid said to her: "Do not cry, because what has been done cannot be undone; therefore remain silent, and go to thy house, and do not say anything about it." But the woman replied: "Do not tell me to remain silent, for it is impossible for me to restrain my words, for I am defiled, and no other man than my husband has ever touched me." She then went out, and, placing her hand upon her head, she wailed until she came to her husband, who said unto her, "What ails thee?" and she told him all that had happened, but her husband could not reproach her, since he had given her permission to go to the temple of Aşilin (אֲשִׁילִין).

34. Her husband then went to the king and related to him everything that had occurred, and that his handmaid had killed Matan. The king then asked Alexander how he would decide in this case, and Alexander said: "If the kingdom were mine, I would pull down the temple of Aşilin (אֲשִׁילִין) to its very foundation, since it has been defiled, and it is therefore not right to pray within its precincts." The king thereupon commanded the temple of Aşilin (אֲשִׁילִין) to be pulled down to its foundations, and that Matan, who was killed, should be burned with fire. Alexander then said: "Send the woman to me, that I may see her beauty." The king sent for her. She came to the king. When Alexander beheld her he was amazed at her beauty, which appeared wonderful to him. On asking the king to give her to him, he replied: "Far be it from me to do such a thing, to take a woman from her husband while he is yet living. The land would be filled with wickedness." Upon this King Alexander went away in great anger, and sent a message to the king, saying: "If thou wilt not give me this woman, know that fierce wars will be waged in thy kingdom." But the king

replied: "Let him do that which seems right to him, for I shall not give her to him, because I am honoured in all my kingdom through her, and if she goes away from my kingdom it will create a great rebellion." As soon as Alexander saw that the king would not part with her he got ready his implements of war, and fought against the king and was victorious. He killed many of his warriors, and, seizing the king, ordered him to be put in chains of iron. Alexander then took the woman by force, and he loved her very much, and made for her a temple of gold, the length of which was eleven cubits, its breadth six cubits, and its height fifteen cubits. He covered the beams of the temple with very precious stones. It contained no windows, but the precious stones gave light during the day and night. The King then placed the woman within it. The temple was placed on iron wheels, and several horses drew it along, but the woman did not move from her place within the temple, for all the food was prepared for her. She conceived by Alexander, and bore a son, whose name they called Alexander. The King rejoiced very much, and made a large banquet for all his princes and servants, and he placed the crown of sovereignty on her head and made her Queen. And the King was very merry, with all his host, and distributed money and presented many gifts.

35. It came to pass after this that Alexander, the King's son, died after nine months, and also his horse Busfal (בוספל), and the King wept very bitterly for both of them, and commanded his son and his horse Busfal to be buried by the side of each other. He then ordered a large and beautiful mausoleum to be built over them, and he consoled his wife and went to her so that she conceived, and at the time of her bearing, which was very hard, she died. The King and all his host showed great mourning, and the King rent his garments, beat his hands one upon the other, tore out his hair, and fell upon the ground. His princes came to comfort him, but he refused to be comforted, so

they went away from the King and left him alone. He then took a rope and tried to hang himself, but his princes perceiving it, ran to him and took the rope away and reproved him, saying: "Why wilt thou refuse to reign? Are there no more women in the world that thou seekest to hang thyself for one?" Thus they continued to speak to him for a long time, and they said: "If it be pleasing to thee let us send scribes and messengers in all the provinces of the King, and let them seek and search for virgins or beautiful wives, and let the King crown her who appears best in the eyes of the King." This thing pleased the King, so he sent messengers and they found a very beautiful maiden in the land of Africa (Afriqia, אַפְרִיקָיָא). They brought her to the King, and he loved her, and placing the crown of sovereignty upon her head he made her Queen.

36. It came to pass after this that the King journeyed with all his camp and arrived at a certain very large forest. At that place there ran against the army strange beasts with five horns, which destroyed a great part of the army. On seeing this the King said to his men: "Take fire and brimstone and pitch and burn the forest; perhaps God, with His abundant mercy, will save us from these wild beasts." They accordingly hastened to burn the trees of the forest, and the wild beasts ran away: thus the King and the army were saved.

37. They then went forth from that place and came to the land of 'Ofraṭ (עֹפְרַת). There they found a large river strange to behold. Both the King and his army were thirsting for water, but were afraid to drink the waters of that river, so the King commanded them to dig wells round about the river. They thus found plenty of water to quench the thirst of the King, themselves, and the cattle. The King then said to his army: "Let us encamp here by the water, because I like the odour emanating from it, which is healthy." They accordingly encamped there for ten days. And it came to pass on the tenth day that one

of the King's hunters caught some birds, and killing them, washed them in the water of that river, but when he put them in the water, in order to wash them, they came to life and flew away. When the servant of the King saw this he hastened to the river and drank of its waters, and then told the King, who exclaimed that it must be the water of the Garden of Eden, and whoever drank of it would live for ever. "Go and bring me some to drink." The servant, taking a vessel, went to bring the water; he sought, but was not able to find it, so, returning, he said to the King: "I was not able to find the water of that river, for the Lord has hidden it from me." The King, on hearing this, grew so angry that he took his sword and cut off his head. The headless servant then went to the great sea. Menaḥem, the scribe, says in the name of our sages that there exist headless men in the sea who overturn ships, but when one approaches to overturn a ship, if the passengers cry out, "Flee, flee! Behold thy master, Alexander," they at once run away, and the ship is saved.

38. The king Alexander, ordering the image of himself to be brought to him, swore by it that he would not return until he came to a place where there is no way to turn either to the right or to the left, nor any place through which to pass. The King then journeyed with all his host, and, passing the river, came to a very large gate about thirty cubits high. The King was amazed at the height of it, and heard a voice calling to him. It was the voice of the keeper of the gate, behind which the righteous are. The King then, raising his eyes, saw letters engraved on the gate. He thereupon called Menaḥem the scribe, who read the inscription, which was: "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be elevated, ye gates of the world," etc. The King went from that place, and wandered among the hills with all his army for fully six months, during which time the way of the hills did not come to an end, until the end of that time, when they came to a plain where stood another immense beautiful gate, whose height the eye of no man could reach. Upon it there was an inscription

in very large and exceedingly beautiful letters. Menahem read the inscription, which said: "This is the gate of the Lord, through which the righteous shall enter." Menahem explained the letters and the words to the King, who exclaimed: "This is certainly the Garden of Eden!" The King then cried out: "Who is there upon this gate?" and a voice answered: "This is the gate of the Garden of Eden, and no uncircumcised man may enter it." Accordingly, in the night-time, Alexander circumcised the flesh of his foreskin, and his physicians cured him immediately by means of herbs. But nothing of this was known in the camp, for he commanded his physicians not to say anything. On the morrow, the King said unto the gate-keepers: "Give me a token and I shall go on my way." They then gave him a box (chest) in which was something like a piece of the eye. The King stretched forth his hand to lift it from the ground, but was unable to do so. The King then cried, and said: "What have you given me?" They replied, "This is an eye." "What is the use of it to me?" the King said. "This is a sign," said they, "that thine eye is not satisfied with riches, nor will thy desire be satisfied by thy roaming over the earth." "But how," said Alexander, "can I lift it from the earth?" "Place," they said "some dust upon the eye, and then thou canst do what thou wilt with it, and this is a sign that thine eye will not be satisfied with riches until thou return to the earth from which thou wast taken." The King did so: he placed some dust on the eye, and lifting it from the ground, placed it in his treasure-house, together with his treasures, to be a remembrance of his having obtained a token from the Garden of Eden.

39. It came to pass after this that the King said to himself: "I am not yet satisfied with what I have hitherto done." He then ordered his warriors to bring him four large and strong eagles. The King then ordered them to be starved for three days. On the third day the King took a board, and ordered his men to bind him upon it. The King then ordered four iron pikes to be fixed

at the four ends of the board, and then ordered four pieces of meat to be stuck on the four pikes. The King then said: "Take the four eagles and bind their legs to the four corners of the board." They did so. Now the eagles were starving, and, on seeing the meat fixed above them, they lifted their wings and flew to reach the meat, but they, of course, could not. They flew until they reached the clouds. When the King had almost died on account of the heat of the clouds, he quickly turned the pikes, on which the meat was stuck, downwards. When the eagles saw this they descended after the meat until they reached the land. The King said: "When I was placed between heaven and earth I saw all the world in the midst of the waters, and the world, with all its inhabitants, seemed to me like a cup floating on the waters of Oceanus."

40. The King then said to his wise men: "Make me a hollow (bell of) white glass, for I am not satisfied yet that I have been and I have seen what is above, for now I will descend and see what is under the earth." The King then sat in the glass, and took with him a fowl and a brilliant stone which gives light. He then said to his wise men: "Let me descend into the sea, and wait for me a whole year; if I do not return after the year, return then to your tents." His sages accordingly let him down into the sea, and the glass floated from sea to sea, and descended into the depths, where he saw everything the sea contains, large and small. When the King had seen all that he wished, he took the fowl and strangled it, so that the blood issued from it. Now the great sea (Mediterranean?) does not retain any blood, so it vomited the King upon the dry land at the end of three days (months), and cast him among a people which he did not know, and whose language he did not understand. The form of the people of this land, both of the men and the women, was as follows: their faces were about two cubits in width, in the middle of which they had one eye, and their legs were very broad. When they saw the King they were struck with terror, and prostrated themselves to the ground.

41. It came to pass in the night that the King suddenly became frightened, and fled from the land. For nine whole months he was searching for his army; the cold was consuming him in the day and the frost in the night. At the end of his nine months' wandering, he met a lion, and being afraid ran away, but the lion ran after him, and seizing hold of his garment it crouched before him. Alexander then sat upon the lion, which carried him by force into a cave, where he found an old man and greeted him. "Art thou," said the old man, "my lord Alexander?" The King was surprised at the question, and said: "Who told thee that my name is Alexander?" The old man replied: "Because I saw thee when thou camest to Jerusalem to destroy it." "Of what people art thou," said the King, "or who art thou and what is thy name?" "Why dost thou ask for my name?" said the old man: "I will not tell thee anything, but if thou wilt swear to me that thou wilt not do any harm to the Jews, I will bring thee to thy army." The King rejoiced very much, and swore to him. The old man then brought the King into one of the chambers of the cave, and bringing forth a lovely horse said to the King: "Do thou ride, and I shall walk by thy side." The old man walked with him for six months, until he brought him to his camp. When they saw their King they were exceedingly rejoiced, and blew the trumpets, so that the earth quaked at its sound. The King then related to his army all that had happened to him, and commanded Menahem, his scribe, to write it down. "But where is the old man who brought me to you?" he asked. They searched for him, but could not find him, so that the King was very grieved and commanded his men to search for him in every place, but they could not find him.

42. The King then journeyed thence with all his camp, and came to the land of Kalbina (כלבינא). All the people of that land barked like dogs, and were very weak and very hairy from the soles of their feet to the crowns of their

heads. They were dwarfs, about one cubit and a half in height. They neither sowed nor reaped, and the only food they possessed was nuts. They covered themselves with the leaves of the nuts, which was all the clothing they had. The King ordered one to be brought before him. He barked like a dog before him. The King then took him to the Queen, whom he had brought with him from Africa. When the Queen looked at this man she was terrified and the beauty of her face was changed. She became livid, and fainting she fell backwards. The King, seeing this, cried aloud, smote one hand upon the other, and tore out his hair. One of his physicians immediately ran for a herb, which he placed in her mouth, and she stood up again. The King and all his host therefore rejoiced.

43. The King went forth thence with all his army, and crossed the sea in large ships. They were on the sea fifty-two days. One night the King, raising his eyes, saw a very large fish come up from the sea; its eyes were like two great torches. The King immediately drew his bow and shot the fish, and, through its struggling, it sank three of the King's vessels. The King was very grieved on account of this, and wept bitterly. Soon after this a storm arose and carried the King's ships to the Salt Sea, where many of his men died, on account of which stench emanated from it. Alexander then cried to God, and God sent a wind which carried the King's ships to the dry land, the land of Alfariq (אלפריק), a land fruitful and fat. The King encamped here for three months. When the King saw the juice of the fruits he passed word to his army not to eat the fruit of this land, because they were too rich and dangerous to eat. But there were some who did not listen to the King, and ate of the fruits. On account of this about 3000 of them died.

44. The King then said: "Prepare to go forth from this land, lest it be to you a stumbling-block and a hindrance." They accordingly went forth from that land, and came to the

land of Togirah (תוגירה), and the king of Togirah (תוגירה) went out to meet Alexander with a large army, and they arrayed themselves for war. Many were slain on both sides, but Alexander was ultimately victorious, and the king of Togirah fled away into a cave. This was told Alexander, and he forthwith commanded his men to kindle wood at the mouth of the cave, so that the smoke ascended in the cave, and the king of Togirah died. Alexander then pursued the army, and he smote them until there were but few left. On these Alexander had pity, and sent them away in peace.

45. The King then journeyed thence and came to the land of Igoli (יגולי), and, having crossed the water by means of rafts, he came to the land of Jobilah (or Havilah, חוילה, יובילה), where it was customary for women to wear breeches, but not for men. When a woman bears, and has lain for two months in bed, she goes out and her husband confines himself for four months. When Alexander heard this he was astonished, and sent a messenger to the king of Jobilah, saying: "Come, let us see each other." The messengers returned to Alexander, and said to him: "Thus says thy servant the king of Jobilah: Behold, I am to seclude myself for twenty-nine days more, because my wife has born a son, and I may not go out until my time is fulfilled, viz. four months. I will then come to thee." When Alexander heard this he was much amused, and scoffed at the king, and he said to his princes and his servants: "Prepare yourselves and come with me to the king, who is lying in bed." Alexander accordingly went to the king, and found him in bed. The queen waited upon him, and served him with food and drink and all kinds of dainties. Alexander, on seeing the king, laughed, and said: "During the time that thou liest in bed, who reigns instead of thee, who judges, who sits upon thy throne instead of thee?" "My chosen dog sits upon my throne with an interpreter at his side, and before him the people come to obtain justice." "But is it right," said Alexander, "for a dog to sit on the throne

of thy kingdom?" "This is the glory of the kingdom," the king replied, "that a dog should sit upon the throne and people should obtain justice from him." "I entreat thee," said Alexander, "to show me the dog which reigns instead of thee." "I am not allowed," answered the king, "to go out of this bed until the four months are fulfilled, and, were I to go out before the time, the people would appoint another king in my stead, and thrust me from the kingdom." Alexander then said to the king: "Tell me now whether, during the six months of conception, thou goes to thy wife, as it is the usual thing, or not?" The king replied: "Herein lies the power of the king, that whenever man and wife come together during the six months of conception, their eyelashes fall off, and the messengers of the king go forth every day searching to see whether any man and woman during that time have come together, and the presence or absence of their eyelashes prove this to them. They bring the culprits before the king, and burn them in the fire, and their ashes they send in all the king's provinces; but the king, after two months, may go to his wife once a week, and, on the day of his coronation, they make him swear that, after the two months, he will not go to his wife more than once a week!" "What does the king do," said Alexander, "when the six months have expired?" "It is a custom and a law of the country," said the king, "that all the people then bring him a present, each according to his means—one brings a horse, another a beast—and the king gives a banquet lasting three days, after which each one returns to his own home." At this Alexander said: "From the day I went forth from my kingdom, Egypt, I have not seen a custom so peculiar."

46. The King departed thence with his whole army, and journeyed in the wilderness nine days. On raising their eyes they saw smoke ascending to the very heart of the heavens, and a fire burning in every direction, in the midst of the thick smoke. The King then said to a hundred of his men: "Go and see this great sight." They accordingly ascended to

the top of the mountain, which was very high; but they could not reach the place of the smoke, and of the fire which was burning in every direction, on account of the heat. They there heard the sounds of woe and lamentation, as the voices of men crying, "Woe, woe!" When these men returned and told the King, he said: "Hasten and go up the mount a second time, and ask what this great noise is." They went up to the top of the mountain and cried aloud, saying: "What is this great noise?" They shouted the same question two or three times, and there was no reply; but after a good hour there appeared to them a form similar to that of a lion. Its hands and feet, however, were like those of men. "Why have you ascended here?" he said. To which they replied: "King Alexander has sent us to inquire what this great noise is?" The lion then said: "I shall not tell you until the King himself comes to me; and then, perhaps, I shall tell him whatever he asks of me." The soldiers thereupon descended, and told the King to go to the top of the mountain; but his servants said: "If we have found favour in thy eyes, O lord the King, do not go up; for it does not appear to us advisable for thee to go alone to the lion." But the King replied: "If you are desirous of showing me honour, do not say that; for it is not an honour to the King to appear afraid of anything. Now take heed, if I am detained for more than three hours on the mount, hasten ye up to me." This, however, displeased the warriors. The King went to the top of the mountain, when the lion came up immediately to him, and seizing him by the hair, cast him to the ground. The King raised a very loud cry, for the lion vomited pitch upon the King. When his warriors heard him they hastened to the top of the mount, where they found the King between life and death. When they carried him down from the mountain, and the people saw him, they raised their voices and wept bitterly. All his physicians came to him and applied their arts and sciences, but they were of no avail. When they saw that, the lament for him was very great, and they remained

with him nine days, during which time the King neither opened his eyes nor his mouth. But on the tenth night a serpent came to the King's camp, with a very large herb in its mouth. When the people saw it, they tried to kill it, but an old man among the crowd, named Afiliis (or Apiliis, אפיליים), exclaimed: "Take care of your lives, that ye do not attempt to kill the serpent." The people, therefore, let it go where it wished. The old men and the sages went after it to see what it would do. It placed the herb which it held in its mouth on the King, and the King forthwith opened his eyes, and having sneezed three times he stood up upon his feet, and all the people rejoiced and shouted aloud with joy, so that the earth resounded with their shouting. The King then made a large banquet to all his princes and servants, and distributed presents to each one of them, according to his rank. [A. His warriors asked him how it had come about, and he told them what had happened to him on the top of the mountain. They replied: "Did we not warn thee not to risk it, but thou didst not hearken unto our voices."]

47. After these things a message was sent from Egypt to King Alexander as follows: "Thus say the men of Egypt: We are not able to govern the kingdom without thee. Since thou hast departed, every passer-by scoffs at us, and the kings of east and west wage war against us. We are left like unto orphans without parents, and like unto widows. We have no one to guide us, nor do we know what to do; therefore, if thou wilt return it will be better for us, but if not, then know that we shall appoint a king over us, who will go before us and obtain us rest from our enemies, for we are unable to keep ourselves free any longer from the oppression of other kings." The King then took counsel with his sages and philosophers, and they advised him to return to his native land, the land of Egypt; but he replied to them: "Again I will not hearken to your advice to return to Egypt, for I have already sworn that I shall not return until I am not

able to find a place where to turn; then I shall return with all my host." But said his philosophers: "What wilt thou do to Egypt if they appoint a new king over themselves?" At this the King called Tikusa (טִיכּוּסָא) (or Tibusa, טִיבּוּסָא), his nephew, and taking a royal crown and placing it upon the head of Tikusa, made him King of Egypt until he himself should return. He then sent him to Egypt with ten mighty men, for it was not advisable to give him very many horses, lest he should be swallowed up among the people and lest they should seize him by the way. The King then commanded Tikusa, saying: "When thou arrivest in peace at the land of Egypt, execute justice and right according to all that my mother teaches thee, and do not transgress her word either in trivial or important matters; and whoever rebels against thy word, do thou write it down until I return in peace." Tikusa then went forth from the King, and journeyed secretly with horses and asses just as spies and merchants travel from city to city. After two years' journey they came to the land of Egypt. They then brought forward the King's seal and his crown, which the people recognized. They therefore made Tikusa king over them.

48. The king Alexander now commanded his army, saying: "Prepare your implements of war and make chariots." They fulfilled the order of the King, and made 190 chariots of iron, in addition to those they had previously. Then, taking his standard, the King journeyed on in front of his army until he, together with his army, came to a very wide lake. In this brook they found large fishes, in the ears of which were things like golden earrings. Having caught the fishes, they boiled them and ate them, and many of his men died. The King was very grieved at this, and said: "Did you not have anything else to eat except these fishes?" While he was speaking a strange-looking man suddenly appeared before him from the lake. His head was like an eagle's, his ears were as long as an ass's ears, his hands like a man's, and his feet like a lion's; he had a tail like that of a horse. The King commanded his men

to seize him. But the man heard it, and casting some stones from the brook in front of these men, they were not able to catch him. The King then ran after him in order to catch him. When the man saw the King he prostrated himself to the ground and fell before his feet. The King then said: "Why didst thou cast stones before my warriors, and didst not do so before me?" "Because," said he, "I saw an angel of God standing at thy right hand, by which I knew that thou wast a king. I therefore showed honour to royalty, that thou mightest have compassion upon me and upon my children." "Hast thou children?" said the King, "and where are they?" "The fishes," said he, "which thy men have eaten, are my children." "If this is so," said the King, "what shall I do for thee, since thy children are already eaten?" "Do thou command thy men," said he, "to restore to me the rings which were in their ears, and then thou shalt see what I will do." The King therefore commanded the earrings of the fishes to be brought before him. This being done, the King said to the man: "Take them." The man took them, and cast them very high in the air nine times; at the tenth time he suddenly sprang in the midst of the water, and remained there a good hour, while the King and all the people were standing by the side of the lake, watching to see what would happen; after the hour the man ascended from the brook, and his wife after him. They then gathered the scales which had come off the fish, and the woman took them and carried them across the lake. She then took a herb and placed it on the scales, and she threw them afterwards into the water. The King [B. then sent messengers to look for the scales, but] they could not find out what had become of them. The woman and her husband also returned to the lake, and were not seen again.

49. The King then journeyed on to the land of Qalila (קלילא) (or Qalilin, קלילין), where only tall, old men were to be seen. They had black hair and their teeth were

small (sharp), nor was the King able to understand their language. The King then said: "Why should I quarrel with a people whose language I do not understand?" He therefore went forth from that land, but the men of Qalila pursued him. King Alexander looked behind him, and saw a great army following them, and the men of Qalila slew about 30,000 of Alexander's men. The King then said: "Is this how the men of Qalila reward me?" and he swore that he would not quit that land until he had destroyed the whole of Qalila. On the second day Alexander said to his men: "Prepare ye the implements of war, and I shall avenge my people on the men of Qalila." They then laid siege to their residence, 'Iyuna (עִינָה) (or 'Arimah, עֲרִימָה). For five days they were battling against the town, without being able to capture it. On the sixth day the King himself dug some ditches and broke down the wall. In the night, however, the inhabitants of 'Iyuna rebuilt their wall, so that the joy of Alexander was turned into lamentation. But he again broke down the wall, and entering with his warriors, they slew all the men that were in the city, and taking their spoil they divided it by lot. Whilst they were thus engaged they quite suddenly beheld a tremendous army of fighting women from 'Iyuna pursuing them in order to fight with them. When it was told Alexander, he replied: "Why, I have not seen a single woman in the whole of this land." "We must see what we shall do," said his men. "But can you entertain the idea," said Alexander, "of fighting with women? Wait, however, until you see what they intend doing." The army accordingly stood on the alert, but the women fell upon them as a bereaved bear, and effected a great slaughter among Alexander's army. They fought with them for eight days, until the strength of Alexander's army was weakened. When Alexander saw that his army was being beaten, he cried aloud, and said to his men: "O ye men of Macedon, what will the peoples and nations which you have conquered say. They will say that 'they have been ultimately conquered by women.'"

The men of Alexander then strengthened themselves, and smote the women until not a trace of them remained, except an old woman whom they were not able to kill. Having seized her, they found round her neck a magical bag. The King commanded the bag to be cut; they cut it, and found therein nine stalks of garlic, nine grains of pepper, nine chips of stones, nine heads of serpents, and nine heads of fishes, called felifan (פִּלְפָּלָן) (or felifli, פִּלְפִּלִּי), in the language of Ishmael (Arabic), and şemiliya (צְמִילִיָּא) in the language of Macedonia (מוֹקְרוֹנִיָּא). The King commanded them to be cast into the fire. When this was done, the woman raised a loud cry, and lifting up her voice she wept. "Why dost thou weep?" said the King; but they could not understand her reply. His servants then said: "Let us bind her with chains of iron." With the King's permission they did so. They then placed some food and drink before her. Having eaten sufficient for fifty men and drank very much, the woman, strengthening herself, broke the chains as if they were threads of flax, and smote 180 men with them. She then ran away, just as a hind runs after its lovers. The warriors ran after her, but were not able to overtake her. They then harnessed the chariot, but they were not able to overtake her. She ran into a brook, and not knowing what became of her, the men returned to the King and related all that had happened. The King had the river searched for eight days, but not a trace of her could be found. They then searched the clothes of the women whom they had killed, and found under the clothes of each of them two heads of serpents. Having burned them, they took all the spoil and divided it between them.

50. The King journeyed thence, and came to the land of Amriša (אֲמֵרִישָׁא) (or Abomarisa, אֲבֹמֵרִישָׁא), which was very barren, with nothing growing therein. The men were very fat; their hair was as white as snow, but the hair of the women was as red as blood. Their food consisted only of nuts, which grew upon trees in the midst of the

water. These nuts were as sweet as honey and black as pitch, and melted after they were eaten.

51. The King then journeyed on with all his army to the land of Lapos (לפוש) (or Lakis, לכיש), which was full of pools of oily water. They were only able to pass through the land by means of ships. The King therefore ordered 300 ships to be made, in which he crossed the water, but a very strong wind blew up, and cast the King and his army, together with his ships, on the other side of the land of Lapos, which brought them beyond the land of the rivers of Kus (כוש), which is near the Ten Tribes.

52. The King then came to the river which surrounds the land of the Tribes, but was not able to approach them, because huge stones were being thrown up by the river during all the week-days until Sabbath eve. The King therefore encamped there, with all his host, until Sabbath eve, when the stones were no longer thrown, and, passing across the water with his army, he encamped upon the water until he saw how he was placed. He then sent two messengers to the people of that land to inquire and to ascertain to what people they belonged. "We are," said they, "the people of God, who went forth from our land in the time of Sannaherib, king of Assyria." When the messengers returned and told the King, he was greatly rejoiced, and sent Menaḥem the scribe to the Jews to ask them whether they would give him permission to enter their land with all his army. As soon as Menaḥem came to the Jews and spoke to them in Hebrew, they asked him: "Art thou a Jew?" "Yes," he replied. They then waxed very angry with him, and said: "Why wert thou not afraid of the Lord thy God, to do this evil, and profane the holy Sabbath. Know that thou shalt surely die" At this Menaḥem replied: "Do not be angry, for the fear of the King is upon me. I was compelled to cross the water on the Sabbath, for if I had not done so I should have remained alone, and would have endangered my life on account of wild beasts, and the Law says, 'Take care

and guard thy life.' Our sages, of blessed memory, have also said: 'That man should perform God's commandments and live by them, but not die through them.'" "Thou speakest falsely," said they, "for there are no wild beasts in the whole of this land, for our sons tend to our flocks, and no wild beast hurts them either by day or by night. Now go forth from this land, for thou deservest to die, because thou hast profaned the Sabbath in journeying more than 2000 cubits." When Menaḥem heard this he was very grieved, and, coming to the King, was asked why he looked so sad. And Menaḥem related all that had happened. The King was very much perplexed at it, and sent several honoured princes to the Jews, but they refused to talk with them until they circumcised themselves. When they told this to the King, he commanded them to do so, which they did.

53. The King himself then went to the Jews, and found them all encamped in tents dyed with all sorts of colours. On going to one of these tents he found there an old man with a scroll in his hand. The King greeted him, but he did not reply. The King then said: "I am circumcised, just as thou art, and am a king, the son of a king." When the old man heard this he rose up, asked him into his tent, and paid him great honour. "Why," said the King, "did you not assemble to fight with me? Did you see that I have a great army, as numerous as the sand on the shores of the sea: why are you not afraid of me?" "How many men, then, does your army consist of?" answered the old man. "I do not know the exact strength of my army," said the King. And the old man said: "We are not afraid of you, for the Lord will be avenged of us. Five of us shall pursue five hundred, and one hundred of us will pursue a myriad, and your enemies shall fall before you by the sword." "But how do you maintain yourselves, and what is your work?" "There are ten tribes of us," replied the old man, "five of which go out to war against our surrounding nations in the South once in ten years, where we capture the spoil

and maintain ourselves therewith. At the end of these ten years the other five tribes go to the North, capture the spoil, and we maintain ourselves with it during the whole of the ten years; then going to the East and to the West, this we continually repeat." The King then said: "And is this your piety and goodness, that you behave in this manner towards the nations?" "From the very day," he replied, "that other nations refused to accept the Law, God permitted it." "What do you do during the week-days?" said the King. "During the week," replied the old man, "we occupy ourselves with study day and night, and on the Sabbath we enjoy ourselves with all kinds of food until noon, from which time we study the Law." The King then said to the old man: "If I have found favour in thy sight, speak now in the hearing of thy people, and give me permission to cross their land." "I will do as thou hast said," said the old man. He then sounded the trumpet, and an army as numerous as the sand upon the seashore assembled before him. The old man then told them the wish of the King, but they answered: "We cannot do this, to allow unclean people to cross our land." When the King heard this he was grieved in his heart. He remained there until the end of the second Sabbath, and then set sail with all his host.

54. They then prepared to go to the land of *Ṣinoria* (צִינורִיָּא) (or *Sidonia*, צִידוֹנִיָּא); for the King had heard that there the manna descends. So they journeyed in the wilderness seventy-five days, and crossing the water, they came to the land of *Ṣidon* (צִדוֹן), where they found very lofty hills, and upon them something similar to white snow. The King and his warriors then went to the top of the mountain, and found there something similar to manna. After the King tasted it, he was sick and vomited his food, on account of the sweetness of the manna. A very tall man of about twelve cubits in height then approached the King, and said: "What ails thee that thou art perturbed?" "I was ill on account of the sweetness of the manna." "But does there not grow by

the side of the manna a very bitter herb? mix this herb with the manna, and it will not injure thee." The King did so, and it then tasted like honey to him. The King and his men then gathered some manna and herb, and bringing it to the camp, they ate it, and it pleased them very much.

55. The King encamped, with all his army, in the land of Sidonia (צִדוֹנִיָּא) for thirty days, for he thought the land very healthy. It happened on one night that he saw two stars fighting with each other. One of them conquered the other and cast it to the earth, through which an earthquake was caused. The King, being very terrified at this, called his wise men and astrologers, and told them what he had seen. When they heard this they [B. trembled very much and] smote their hands upon each other; they were very grieved, and cried in a loud voice. The King said to them: "What has happened that you are so grieved?" They answered and said: "O our Lord the King, we are trembling because we understand that thy end has come; for no man can see the fight of the stars, except a king, at the end of his days." The King, on hearing this, wept bitterly, and said: "Let the Creator do what is right in His eyes."

56. It came to pass after these things that the King was angered against Apiq (or Afq, אֲפִיק), the butler, so that Afq took some poison and placed it in the King's cup and in his food. When the poison entered the King's stomach, he became ill, and his appearance was changed through grief and pain. Then, calling his servants, he said: "Bring me a feather which I shall place in my throat; perhaps I may be able to vomit the food." Afq accordingly hastened away, and taking a feather, dipped it in poison, and placed it in the King's mouth, so that his pain and suffering increased. When the King saw that his end had come he called his wise men and warriors to him, and said to them: "Hear me, O my people; you know of all the troubles which you have encountered on your journeys. Now, strengthen yourselves, take courage, and be men of valour; you have subdued peoples as numerous as the sand of the

sea, and they hate us because we have vanquished them beneath the soles of our feet. Behold, I am going the way of all the earth, and now act kindly and truthfully to my mother, and strengthen the kingdom in her hands, and transfer the kingdom from my nephew Tikusa (טיכוסה), and place the royal crown upon my mother." The King then called Tomlaya, Šabil, Polysius, and Agmani, the chiefs of his army, and said to them: "You have always behaved towards me in a kindly and truthful manner, and you have left your father and mother and your inheritance; now divide the kingdom among yourselves, and do you strengthen the kingdom in the hands of my mother; do not rebel against her word, for she is a valiant woman; and after my death, take up my bones, and carry them to the land of Egypt, and bury them among the graves of the kings, and mourn over them seventy days: do ye divide my treasures, my gold, and my precious stones into two divisions; one is to be given to my mother, and the other consecrated to the temple of Digonia (דיגוניא), the Egyptian god; and the other silver divide among yourselves." When he had finished his command, he gathered up his feet in his bed, and he died in great suffering, for the poison broke all his bones.

57. His armies mourned for him seventy days. When the days of mourning were at an end, they took Alexander's body, cut it up into pieces, and boiling it, took his bones and placed them in roeskin to bring them to Egypt. They [B. The Macedonians] returned after three years to Egypt, and they came to Macedonia (מוקדוניא), to the King's mother (Gloptria גלופטריא), Cleopatra, and they brought all the treasures and jewels and placed the royal crown upon her head. After this she reigned fifteen years, during which time the Queen acted justly and truthfully. She entrusted the kingdom to the princes [A. Tolmiya, Šabil, Polysius, and Agmani. The Queen did not bury the bones of Alexander, but placed them in her treasure-house, and gave orders that they should be buried next to her

after her death. The Queen died at the age of eighty-nine years, and they buried her in the burial-place of the kings, placing Alexander's bones next to her. The kingdom was then given to the four chiefs, who ruled the land with justice and mercy. They took all the treasures which Alexander had gathered and deposited them in the temple of Digonia], and they erected an immense temple, the like of which has never before existed in Egypt.

THE LEGEND OF THE GRAIL.

IN the history of mediæval romances there is none so complicated as that of the romance of the Holy Grail. Many a scholar has tried to solve the problem of its origin, and yet a final solution is still wanting.

No one who has ever trodden the enchanted land on which the castle which contained the Holy Grail stood could entirely escape the charm that overhangs it. Just as difficult as was the ancient quest in romance, is the modern quest after the origin and sources of this remarkable and weird tale.

This romance now exists in various forms, more or less akin to one another. These have been subdivided into groups, according to the affinity in which the incidents narrated therein stand to one another, and also in how far one tale is developed more than the other: a work which has been successfully carried out by Mr. Nutt, who, in his admirable *Studies on the Grail*, has endeavoured to disentangle the skein of this complicated problem, and to make some order in the mass of versions, texts, and alterations in which this legend has been preserved. Mr. Nutt rightly distinguishes between an *Early history* of the Grail and *the Quest*; the former containing the origin and source of the Grail, and the Quest, on the other hand, consisting of the description of the adventures the expected hero had to undergo until he finally reached his goal. Stripped of all the embellishments which made out of these simple facts the most renowned of mediæval romances, the numerous versions of it are practically one. The differences begin with the detailed accounts given in the *Early history*, and still more with the peculiarities of the Grail, of the hero and his achievements. The frame-

work is the same, but the contents vary almost in every version.

At the head of the whole literature stands Chrestien de Troyes, the famous minstrel, who, as far as our present knowledge goes, was the first to sing the praise of the Grail, and of the hero in search of it. Next in point of time, and, as I may at once add, first in importance, is the German follower of Chrestien, Wolfram von Eschenbach. In spite of the likeness, there is also a very great diversity in the treatment of the Grail by both these writers. Besides, Wolfram claims an independent source for his poetical composition, ridiculing Chrestien for not following the original closely.

Everything tends to make us believe that there must have existed a common primary source whence both Chrestien and Wolfram drew their tale. Of what kind was this primary source, and how much did it contain? Were both those parts which we find afterwards united, or was only one of them contained in the original? Did Chrestien and Wolfram know the Early history of the Grail or not? I entirely agree with Mr. Nutt that they, or even the original they followed, did not know much of it, the origin and properties of the Grail being only vaguely indicated. It is chiefly the *Quest* which plays the most important part in their poems. Whence did they take it from? It is round this question that a literary battle has now been fought for over fifty years. I do not flatter myself that I shall be able to bring the battle to an end, but I intend attacking this question from a different point of view altogether.

It is a futile attempt to reduce every incident of these poems to one and the same source. Every work of art, every poetical production is, to some extent, a kind of mosaic, a kind of blending in one of a mass of different, sometimes widely divergent, elements. Composite as our modern knowledge is, so must also have been that of the ancient or mediæval author who drew the elements of the

romance, not from one source alone, but from many, sometimes quite different ones.

Two main sources of inspiration have been suggested by the various writers on this subject. To some, the legend in its *entirety* owes its origin to Christian lore; others have divided the matter, assigning the Early history to the Christian source, whilst the other—Quest—would be of *Celtic* (Welsh) origin. It is remarkable, however, that both sections have totally ignored another main source of mediæval poetry and of modern civilisation; I mean the old classical literature of Greece and Rome. But before proceeding further, I must first make clear my standpoint.

The Celtic origin does not rest upon documentary proof, upon older texts and MSS. than Chrestien's poem, but on parallels to be found in Celtic folk-lore, and some later versions. I still hold to the theory that these versions are, in fact, only variations of Chrestien's poem of later origin, and that, through the instrumentality of such versions and adaptations, these romances entered into the possession of the people, and became its unwritten lore, the modern folk-lore.

Far, therefore, from being the primitive source for Chrestien or his predecessor, modern tales are merely the reflex of that written literature, and are by no means anterior to it. Parallels adduced from modern tales do not therefore prove that these tales were the direct sources whence Chrestien drew the elements of his poem, but, as I contend, they are the outcome of that literature.

We must look for older parallels than the time of Chrestien, older than the second half of the twelfth century. We must study first the surroundings in which Chrestien grew up, what amount of knowledge was accessible to him, what great events stirred the nations of Europe, and what kind of literary currents swayed the people at that time. It is only by answering such questions that we can come to a more positive result, and

then draw our inference also for Wolfram, and for the host of Chrestien's continuators. These also must have had access to some store of similar learning, to be able to tread in his footsteps, and to take up the thread where his dying hand let it fall. A few lays cannot, and could not, suffice for the explanation of the great mass of incidents embodied in these romances.

It must also first be proved how such Celtic tales, if they existed at all, could come to the knowledge of a French poet, living as he did in France, of whose sojourn in England not a trace has been found. One has only to compare the widely different parallels adduced from Celtic lore, to be convinced that Chrestien, or the author of the original which he adopted, must have had a herculean task to perform, to alter and change, to blend and to assimilate, an immense mass of tales, mythical and heroical, and mould them together into one tale, which, after all, does not appear in a coherent form in any of its modern parallels. For it must be borne in mind that such a Celtic tale, containing most of the striking incidents, and older than the time of Chrestien, has not yet been discovered. What we have instead is a number of lays, or other tales, where either the one or the other incident is said to occur, the similarity not being absolutely identical, and in very many cases only the result of skilful interpretation.

If one would follow the same line of argumentation, one could easily adduce parallels to those Celtic lays and tales from various quarters of the globe, which would thus destroy the claim of the Celtic origin. The moment the same incident could be proved to exist elsewhere, we might just as well consider it to have originated there also, and not be limited to Celtic lore alone. We would have then one source more for the supposed origin of the legend : the folk-lore of Europe.

The natural way, however, is to look for *one* central tale, containing a sufficient number of incidents complete in itself; and round that tale, other minor incidents

drawn from various quarters, could have been added *afterwards* by the continuator and amplifier of the tale.

But that primary one must already contain the most important incidents, and at the same time this primitive tale must contain that of the *Grail* as one of its incidents, but only in a vague, indefinite form, so as to afford the possibility for the double interpretation of the Grail as presented on one side by Chrestien, and on the other by Wolfram.

The problem, therefore, is to find a tale containing some of the principal elements of the Quest, the Grail or something akin to it being an important one; this Grail, or whatever would be standing for it, must be conceived in a vague, indefinite form, so as to be able to be filled with any kind of interpretation—religious, material, metaphysical, according to the poetical bent and the intentions of the poets. It is, further, an absolute necessity that such a tale should be of an older date than the time of Chrestien, and also it will have to be shown that it was, or could have been, accessible to him.

Before I proceed further, let us first examine the state of things as they existed in Europe at the end of the twelfth century, the psychological condition, in the midst of which Chrestien lived, and moved, and wrote.

It is in the twelfth century that the great French epical poetry flourished. Through patient investigation it has been proved that the history of the old Merovingian period was changed by the *trouveur* in some of these epopees into the history of Charlemagne. A battle at Roncevalles became the theme of one of the most celebrated old French romances, the *chanson de Roland*, and this was soon followed by a stately line of *Chansons de Geste*. Once started on the line of changing old history into modern, poets took a bolder course, and changed heroes of antiquity into national ones. Very well known is the tendency of the age to connect their own national history with that of the Greeks and Romans. The *Roman de Brut* of Wace, the old chronicles of Geoffrey and others,

are examples of this tendency. Homer, *i.e.*, Dictys and Dares, Virgil, and other writers of classical antiquity, furnished the materials for the writers of the middle ages, who drew upon them largely, only altering them, so that from Greek and Latin they became French and English.

The crusades had furnished further new themes for the fancy of the *trouveur* of the time. The whole world was stirred to its innermost depth by that general upheaving; the exploits of the first and second crusade had already begun to belong to the history of the past, when Chrestien began his poem. How many oriental legends were brought home and circulated by various pilgrims, especially such as were in Jerusalem, now once again in the hands of the infidels? The highest aim of the Christian world of that epoch was to regain possession of those sacred places; and the Order of the Templars represented the most ideal aspirations of the time—to live a chaste life, and to be found worthy to keep watch over the Lord's sanctuary.

Rumours of a great Christian kingdom in the far East, the kingdom of Prester John, reached Europe at the time, and like lightning these tidings spread from country to country, reviving the hopes of the crusaders by announcing help from an unexpected quarter in the deadly fight against the Mahommedan power.

At the same time a great dogmatic change was taking place in the teachings of the Church. The theory of Paschasius Radbertus found many adversaries, but no less adherents, and the twelfth century is the time when that dispute reached its climax, and the dogma of *Transubstantiation* was finally settled. The mystery of the sacrament, and the more than symbolic meaning of the Eucharist, was the central point of this dogma which has profoundly altered the Catholic Church, and was in later times one of the principal elements of discord between the Reformed church and the Church of Rome.

In naming these factors, classical literature, so to say

modernised in an epical form, the French Chansons de Geste, the Crusades and the legends of Palestine, and, finally, the question of transubstantiation and the pseudo-epigraphic literature of the mystery of the sacrament, I have pointed out the chief sources to which the romance of the Holy Grail owes its origin, without any further admixture of Celtic tales or lays, or Celtic mythology. The life that is described in the romances is that of the authors' time. Knightly deeds, adventures, miracles, and spells all belong to the machinery of the romantic literature of the time, and though important for determining the exact character of the surroundings, vary, as is natural, in every version, and if more MSS. had been preserved the number of variations might have increased.

I shall now proceed to prove my case as far as possible in the order indicated.

Classical Influence.—Working the romance backwards to its primitive form, we shall find that the main feature of the Quest may be summarised as follows :

A young man starts on an unheard of adventure, which no human being has ever achieved before him. It is by mere chance that he alights at the very spot where he had determined to go, although nothing definite is said as to the nature of that adventure. What he has to do, or to see, or to accomplish, is by no means clear. He himself does not know what to do, and fails thus in his first attempt.

According to Chrestien,¹ he comes to a river, upon which there is a boat, wherein are two men fishing. One of them, in reply to his questions, directs him for a night's shelter to his own castle hard by. Perceval starts for it, and at first, unable to find it, reproaches the fisher. Suddenly he perceives the castle before him, enters therein, is disarmed, clad in a scarlet mantle, and led into a great hall. Therein is a couch, upon which lies an old man ; near him is a

¹ Nutt, p. 11, Incid. 7.

fire, around which some four hundred men are sitting. Perceval tells his host that he has come from Beau-Repaire. A squire enters, bearing a sword, and on it is written that it will never break, save in one peril, and that known only to the maker of it. 'Tis a present from the host's niece, to be bestowed where it will be well employed. The host gives it to Perceval, "to whom it was adjudged and destined." Hereupon enters another squire, bearing in his hand a lance, from the head of which a drop of blood runs down on the squire's hand. Perceval would have asked concerning this wonder, but he minds him of Goneman's counsel not to speak or inquire too much. Two more squires enter, holding each a ten-branched candlestick, and with them a damsel, a "Graal" in her hands. The Graal shines so that it puts out the light of the candles, as the sun does that of the stars. Thereafter follows a damsel holding a (silver) plate. All defile past between the fire and the couch, but Perceval does not venture to ask wherefore the Grail is used. Supper follows, and the Grail is again brought, and Perceval knowing not its use, had fain asked, but always refrains when he thinks of Gonemans, and finally puts off his questions till the morrow. After supper the guest is led to his chamber, and on the morrow, awakening, finds the castle deserted. Issuing forth, he finds his horse saddled, and the drawbridge down. Thinking to find the castle dwellers in the forest, he rides forth, but the drawbridge closes so suddenly behind him, that had not the horse leapt quickly forward, it had gone hard with steed and rider. In vain Perceval calls: none answer.

More elaborate is the version of Heinrich von dem Türlin.¹ "After monthlong wanderings, he meets with Lancelot and Calocreant, and all three come to the Grail castle. They are led into a hall, which passes in splendour aught earthly eye ever saw. The floor is strewn with roses; on a bed lies an old man in gold-embroidered gar-

¹ Nutt, 27.

ments, and watches two youths playing at chess. Towards night the hall fills with knights and dames; a youth enters, bearing a sword, which he lays before the old man. . . . Then enter two damsels, bearing lights, followed by two knights, with a spear, and two more damsels, with a toblier of gold and jewels. After them comes the fairest woman ever God created, and with her a maiden weeping. The spear is laid on the table, by it the 'toblier', wherein are three drops of blood. In the box borne by the fair lady is a piece of bread, one-third part of which she breaks off and gives to the old man. Gawain, recognising in her Gansguoter's sister, stays no longer, but asks what these wonders mean. Straightway knights and dames, all with mighty shout, leap from table, and great joy arises. The old man says what he has seen is the Grail; none saw it before save Parzival, and he asked not. By his question Gawain has delivered from long waiting and suffering both those which are dead and those which live. The old man himself and his companions are really dead, though they seem it not, but the lady and her damsels are living; for their unstained womanhood God has granted them to have the Grail, and therewith yearly to feed the old man."

So in all the versions it is a magnificent castle, wherein the one constantly-recurring figure is that of an old, sick or dead man, surrounded by jewels, plates or dishes of gold, and a mysterious thing, a cup with blood, or a box with bread, and a bloody lance. Only in Wolfram is it a mysterious rock or a jewel upon which a dove lays once a year a holy wafer. The hero asks, or omits to ask, and upon that action the whole tale turns. It is not, however, clear from the beginning what kind of task the hero has to achieve, nor is it more clear afterwards when he has achieved it. This portion seems not to be in the original, as not one version can clearly account for it. The original tale must have been also quite obscure on this point, thus affording free scope to the poet to interpret and to use it according to his own fancy. The less definite the task

was the easier it was for the subsequent author to introduce into it what was nearest to him, and to give to it either a material or a spiritual meaning ; the whole history of the legend points to such a kind of development as that which it really did undergo.

But whence comes that fundamental motive, an adventurous knight endowed with superior gifts, striving after an undertaking quite unique, never attempted before and never afterwards ?

A glance over the literary activity in France at the time will give us the answer.

It was in the middle of the twelfth century that the Trojan war had been made the theme of an elaborate epos of 30,000 verses by Benoît de St. More, who, basing his work upon that of Dares Phrygius, Paulus Orosius, Ovid, etc., wrote his *Roman de Troie*. At about the same time the fabulous history of *Alexander the Great* was changed into a national epos by Alberic de Besançon, Alexander de Bernay (c. 1150), and very much amplified by Lambert li Tort (c. 1190-1200), the contemporary of Chrestien. One has only to see how they dealt with their originals, how they transferred the whole scenery from hoary antiquity to their own time, and to their own courts; to understand the liberty a poet of those times could take with his originals.

Seeing the manner in which the old kings and heroes were changed into knights and squires, the old gods into magicians and fairies, I do not think that I shall be considered very bold if I say that the legend of the Quest is nothing else but also a transformation of the most interesting episodes of that very legend of Alexander ; the hero of the Grail romance is none else but Alexander, the Quest the counterpart of his attempt to force the Gates of Paradise, and the wonderful castle or temple, the one that Alexander saw in his marvellous expedition.

There is not one old version in which that journey—the *Iter ad Paradisum*—is not contained either in an

amply developed form, or in an abridged one; but all contain the description of that marvellous castle. As we shall see presently, not only is it contained in the Greek text known under the name of Callisthenes (book iii, ch. 28), but also in the Latin version of Julius Valerius, and in that of the Archipresbyter Leo. The oldest French versions and the German of Lamprecht, which is based upon these French poems, contain it also. Thus, there is no difficulty from a historical and literary point of view; this legend was earlier than Chrestien, this legend was then not only accessible, but surely *well known to Chrestien*.

Starting from the oldest version, I will give here an accurate translation of the "Pseudo-Callisthenes'" version:

"We sailed away from that river, and came to a large island, 150 furlongs distant from the mainland, and there we found the city of the sun. This city had twelve towers, built of gold and emerald. The walls, the circumference of which was about 150 furlongs, were made of Indian stones. In the middle of the town there was an altar built, like the towers, of gold and emerald. Seven steps led up to the altar, at the top there stood a chariot with horses and driver, made likewise of gold and emerald. But all these things were partly invisible on account of the fog. The priest of the sun, Aeteops, was clothed in real Cyssus. He spoke to us in a savage tongue and ordered us to leave that city. After we had left we wandered about for seven days. Everywhere was darkness; not even fire lit up those parts. So we turned back, and came to the fields of Nysa, and there we saw a high mountain. We climbed to the top, and there beautiful houses, full of gold and silver, met our view; and these were enclosed by a wall of sapphire, with 150 steps cut into it, and upon the top stood a round temple, with seven pillars of sapphire and 100 steps. Inside and outside were images of demi-gods, bacchantes, satyrs, and of others, initiated in the sacred mysteries, but old Maron sat on a beast of burden. A couch was placed in the middle of the temple; on

this couch lay a man clothed in silk. I could not see his face, for it was veiled ; but I saw strength and greatness. In the middle of the temple there was a golden chain weighing a hundred pounds, and suspended from it was a transparent wreath ; a precious stone which illumined the whole temple, took the place of fire. From the ceiling hung also a gold cage, in which was a bird about the size of a dove. This bird called out to me in the voice resembling man's, the following, in Greek :—‘ Alexander, cease now to oppose (the) god ; return to your home, and hasten not through thoughtlessness (recklessness) your transit to the celestial regions.’ And as I was about to take down the bird and the lamp, which I intended to send to you, it seemed to me as if he who was resting on the couch moved. Then my friends said to me, ‘ Forbear, for it is holy.’ And as I was going out into the grounds of the temple, I saw two amphoras of gold which were capable of holding sixty metretes ; we measured them at table. I commanded the soldiers to encamp there, and to enjoy themselves.

“ A house also stood there, and it contained many beautiful and valuable goblets of precious stones. But just as we and the army were on the point of sitting down to the repast, there was heard suddenly a heavy thunder of flutes and cymbals, and pipes and trumpets, and kettledrums and zitters ; and the whole mountain was covered with smoke, as if a heavy storm had broken down on us. Seized with fear, we hastened away, and wandered on until we came to the castle of Cyrus ; and we came across many deserted towns, and one beautiful city, in which there was a house, in which the king himself received. I was told that there was a bird that spoke with human voice. I went into the house, and saw many wonderful sights, for the whole house was of gold. From the middle of the ceiling hung suspended a golden cage, like the one which I have mentioned before. In it was a bird like a dove, of gold colour ; it was told to me that this bird prophesied to the king through

its different tones, and that it was holy. I also saw an amphora capable of holding sixty metretes. The gold-work was marvellous, for all round it were figures, and above these a sea-battle, and in the middle was an inscription; everything was made and finished with gold. This amphora was said to be Egyptian, having been brought from the city of Memphis at the time when the Persians conquered Egypt. There was a house there, built in Greek style, in which the king had held his receptions, and in which there was a picture of the sea-fight of Xerxes. In this house there stood also a golden throne, inlaid with precious stones; and there was also a sweet-sounding zitter, whose strings moved of their own accord. Around it there stood a golden sideboard sixteen ells wide, and next to it another twenty ells wide; six steps led the way to it, and on the top of these stood an eagle with his wings spread out over the whole sideboard. There was also of gold a wild vine, with seven branches all worked in gold." So far Pseudo-Callisthenes. The text of Valerius has some variations, which I think essential, and I therefore mention them here. In fact, we have here two accounts, one of the temple of the sun, and the other of the palace of Cyrus and Xerxes. Being very much like one another, these two have been blended into one tale, some of the first description being left out by ignorant copyists, who took the former to be a mere narration of the latter (*Zacher*, pp. 170, 171).

The text of Valerius has now the following very remarkable detail in the description as he says of the palace, whilst, in fact, the *temple* is meant, as will be seen from the very wording, which runs as follows:

"In the temple hung from the ceiling a tropæum aureum (*Cod. Mediolan.*: stropæum aureum), from that 'trophæum' hung a ball in the form of 'vertiginis cœlitis' (the heavenly). Upon that ball sat the image of a dove, which prophesied to the king. And as I was about to take down that 'trophæum' which I intended to send to you, those present counselled me not to do it, as it was a

sacred place, and that I should not expose myself to the dangers awaiting the intruder."

It is obvious that this passage here belongs to the description of the temple, as it has nothing whatsoever to do with the palace of Xerxes; and so we find it also afterwards in the Latin and French versions of the Alexander legend.

Substituting Perceval for Alexander, we have in this chapter the central *motives* of the Grail legend: the marvellous castle or temple Alexander had been the only mortal who could reach after long and severe hardship; the mysterious old man on the couch, who appears in the romances as the maimed, sick king; the marvellous stone or cage, with the mysterious dove endowed with supernatural gifts—what could be more welcome for a poet than such a figure as that of the unknown powerful and yet half-concealed man lying on a couch? Fancy was quite free to picture in him either an ideal or a physical sufferer, tortured by a wound, inflicted either by a shaft, or by the dart of sin. Nothing could therefore adapt itself better to another cycle of tales and legends than the things seen in the temple; the jewel, or the dove, the huge amphoras and cauldrons, the numerous demi-gods and mystics, they could afterwards be substituted by Christian emblems or by other conceptions, drawn from different sources. The vagueness of the objects beheld in the temple, which can be seen already in the Latin versions of Valerius, whose words (almost unintelligible) I have retained, is the same which clings to the Grail, to the castle, its inmates, and the task of the hero.

It is, therefore, neither a feud-quest nor an unspelling-quest, to which two formulas Mr. Nutt has reduced the legend (p. 181), but simply the journey to the earthly Paradise, and the marvellous castle or temple of the sun, which form the primitive nucleus of the romance.

Following up that clue we shall be able to explain many an incident in the romance through the legend of Alexander. There is in the romance the chief fisher standing by

the river, who directs Perceval to the castle. In the legend it is not a fisher, but a *fish*, which is quickened to life by being dipped into the water of the river, which attracts the attention of Alexander and arouses his curiosity. He follows up the river, and is thus led to Paradise. Out of that fish there grew the fisher-king. I need not further insist upon the almost identical legend of the dove sitting on the ball (or jewel) and prophesying to the king in a human voice—*i.e.*, to the man lying on the couch—and the dove which lays a holy wafer upon the stone in Wolfram's, and the bread by which the sick king is kept alive in Heinrich's poem. Perceval is led by lights to the magic castle, which are almost identical with the lights that go before Alexander in the version of Valerius.

We shall see presently how deeply these elements taken from the legend of Alexander, have been modified through the agency of Christian ideas and Christian conceptions. This episode with the lights, and especially that of the tree full of lights whereupon one child (two children) sits, will find its explanation later on.

THERE is, further, that peculiar country *Sarras*, mentioned as the land whence the *Saracens* came. The nomenclature in these romances, both that of persons and that of places, is one which deserves a careful investigation. If we could succeed in fixing some of the most important localities, much will be won for the date, age, and probable origin of the sources. I cannot linger over that important question here, nor even touch it more than I have done. It opens a wide prospect where fancy would display itself in etymological plays, riddles and solutions. The country of *Sarras* is one of these. As far as I have been able to investigate there is no trace of a country bearing such a name in the East. Looking to the legend of Alexander, I think the mystery will be solved. After leaving the Temple of the Sun, Alexander went to the country of Xerxes and delivered decisive battles (so in Valerius). In the French version (*v.* G. Paris, i, p. 189-190) of Thomas of Kent, we have there (chap. ccxxx) substituted for Xerxes and his army: "de gens touz nuz sunt apellez *serres*," and in ch. ccxxxii, ccxxxiii, "del pople qu'est apellés *Serres* et de lur dreiture", "coment les *Serres* guierent Alix." The gymnosophists take the place of the Persians and are called the people of Xerxes. Out of this *Serres-Xerxes* grew the *Sarras* of the Grail cycle. These few examples suffice to establish a close connection also between minor details in the *Alexandreid* and in the Grail. The central portion has been taken over bodily and forms the central portion of the Grail, with all the pecu-

liarities which tend to explain the further development this legend went through, until it reached that stage in which we find it.

By being connected with Alexander's journey to Paradise the legend of the Quest, which in its primitive form must also have been a search after it, is brought into close alliance with the numerous tales of saints journeying to Paradise: the legend of the three monks, that of St. Macarius in the desert¹ (in itself only a modification of Alexander's), and St. Brendan, not to mention ever so many more.

The description of the palace or castle is revived and amplified in the famous letter of Prester John, which became known at that time, and is *directly quoted* by Wolfram. Here the Christian element begins to creep in and leads the way to the other profound modifications which the legend underwent. We can see the transition from the heathen temple to a Christian palace (church) with a king (priest); coming thus nearer to certain forms of the Grail legend. In another place I intend studying the letter of Prester John, and of showing the sources whence it was derived. It will be shown there that it owes its origin, to some extent, to Jewish tales and Jewish descriptions of travels; and some light may be thrown on Flegetanis the Jew, to whom, according to Wolfram, Kyot owed the original of the Grail legend.

I must incidentally mention that a careful comparison of Chrestien's poem with the French "Chansons de Geste" will reveal the great dependence of the former upon the latter. Many an incident, many a description is undoubtedly taken over. I limit myself here to one, because Mr. Nutt gives it such prominence; I mean the *Stag hunt*. Instead of having anything to do with the "lay of the fool", the connection with it being far from clear, or convincing, the true explanation is given in incident 70 of the *Queste* (Nutt, p. 49); there we read: "On the morrow they meet

¹ V. Graf, *Paradiso terrestre*, Torino, 1878.

a white stag led by four lions ; these come to a hermitage, and hear mass, the stag becomes a man and sits on the altar ; the lions become a man, an eagle, a lion, and an ox, all winged." There is not the slightest doubt as to who is represented here under the guise of a stag: it is Christ with the four Apostles, each in that form in which they have been represented by art.

This symbolism is not the author of the *Queste's* own invention. We meet it more than once in the "*Chansons de Geste*" (V. P. Rajna. *Le origini dell' epopea francese*, Florence, 1884, p. 252 and p. 706 ff). It can be traced even to a much older source, viz., the famous life of St. Eustachius Placida, so closely resembling the frame work of a romance, that it has indeed become a popular tale, and it has been incorporated into the *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley (ch. 110), and *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus à Voragine. This hero-saint is drawn away from his companions by the appearance of a stag, whom he pursues, and which turns out afterwards to be Christ himself. The stag has thus a symbolical meaning, and is of purely Christian origin.

The greatest modification in the tale, however, is that wrought in the character and attributes of the Holy Grail. I proceed, therefore, to investigate this second most important element of the legend.

There is, first, the question whence the name? What is the meaning of it? This question is the more necessary, as the oldest writers themselves do not know its exact meaning and have recourse to explanations which in the best case are mere plays upon the word. Paulin Paris, in his "*Romans de la Table Ronde*", suggests that the name *Grail* is nothing else but a modification of the Latin *Graduale*, the name of a book used in the liturgy of the Church, wherein the tale was written down. The romances themselves afford examples enough to connect the tale with books preserved in the Church ; the introduction to the *Grand St. Graal* lets the book come down directly from heaven.

I can adduce another positive proof, viz., that a book used in the Church did bear the name of *Grael*. Philipp of Thaün, one of the oldest Norman poets (1100-1135), who wrote his *Computus* undoubtedly before the first half of the 12th century, i.e., at least 50 years before Chrestien, gives a list of books which every good clergyman is expected to possess. He says : Iço fut

li saltiers

E li antefiniers

Baptisteries, *Graels*

Hymniers e li messels

Tropiers e leçunier, etc.

(M. F. Mann, *Physiologus*, I, Halle, 1884, p. 6-7.)

This being the case, the Grail must have been either a book containing psalms chanted during the liturgy, or a description of some sort of theological legend or tale connected with the liturgy.

If the book was called Sanct Grael, and by popular etymology connected with *sang* (blood), we can easily understand one of the main developments of the legend, for nothing would be simpler than to explain it first as the blood of Christ, and then as the vessel destined to receive it. But this is undoubtedly the youngest of all the variations, and must be studied together with the sources and origin of the early history.

Chrestien and Gautier knew nothing of its previous history, and in the few passages in which the Grail occurs it is vaguely indicated as having food-giving properties without any other spiritual or theological gifts. Again, in Wolfram's version it has quite a different character altogether : it is a stone which yields all manner of food and drink, the power of which is sustained by a dove which every week lays a wafer upon it, is given, after the fall of the rebel angels, in charge to Titurel and his dynasty, is by them preserved in the Grail castle, Mont Salvatsch, and is guarded by a sacred order of knighthood whom it chooses itself (Nutt, p. 25).

If we follow up closely the different versions, we can easily observe the increase of the properties assigned to the Grail, and through the Grail to the Grail-keeper and Grail-seeker. We can see how the author of each new version tried to outdo his predecessor, and thus in time a complete history of the Grail appears, of which nothing was known before.

The connection, further, with Britain is one of the latest developments, and has nothing whatsoever to do with the primitive history of the Grail, with which it became later connected. I must leave that point untouched, as I wish to go straight to the question of the Grail itself. I have already stated, at the beginning, that the temple of the Grail in the poem is the temple of Jerusalem, and the Grail in its double character a certain sacred stone in the Holy place.

The change from the temple of the sun to a Christian church is only natural and quite in accordance with the spirit of the time. Besides, the legend of Prester John with his palace-church paved the way for the transition, and certainly none was better known or more renowned than that of Jerusalem, of which numerous legends were circulated by pilgrims from the Holy Land swarming through Europe, not to speak of the crusades and the numerous expeditions to Palestine. We can trace those legends, which I shall mention later on more fully, through a great number of Christian writers, ranging from the twelfth century back to the third. From such legends is derived also the double character assigned to the Grail, that of a holy cup or vessel, with an eucharistical symbolism, and that of a sacred stone existing from the creation of the world, and carried about by the angels of heaven. Both are derived from a more primitive notion, viz., from the legends connected with a sacred stone which served as an altar in that very church. In this peculiar character we can trace it back to the first century, and, perhaps, to an earlier tradition preserved by Jewish writers.

It is well known that many ancient legends connected with the temple of Solomon have been adapted in later times to serve Christian notions. I mention, for instance, the legend of Golgotha and the head of Adam, the legend of the beam in the temple which became afterwards the cross, that of the queen of Sheba, and the Sybilla, and so very many other legends and apocryphal tales, some of which are also to be found in the Grand St. Graal, nay, form the greater part of its contents.

Now there was current at the time a peculiar legend connected with a certain stone that is still in existence; it is that stone which stands under a baldachin in the *Haram*, more precisely, in the *Kubbet-es-Sachra*, the *Temple of the Rock*. It is that famous building erected by sultan El-Melik towards the end of the seventh century, which so deeply impressed the Crusaders and the Templars, that they thought it was the real temple of Solomon. In order to watch this temple and keep it against the infidels, the knighthood of the Templars arose at the beginning of the eleventh century. They took the image of that dome as a crest. Many a church in Europe was built after this model; if I am not mistaken, the Temple Church in London, where the quarters of the Knights Templar were, as well as similar buildings in Laon, Metz, etc.

The centre of that building is the rock, famous alike in Jewish, Mohamedan, and Christian legends; it is surrounded by a trellis of iron, with four lattice doors wrought by French artizans of the twelfth century, and is covered with red samite and gold fringes.

It would be almost impossible to give here all the legends that are told of this rock. I select only a few bearing on our subject. I begin with the oldest, that taken from the Jewish literature.

The first impulse to legendary development is the passage of the Bible: (Isaiah, xxviii, 16) "Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I lay in Zion for a founda

tion a stone, a precious corner stone of sure foundation." (Cf. 1 Pet. ii, v. 6.) Later fancy saw in that rock the stone of foundation, endowed it with supernatural origin and power, and gave it the name of "Eben shatya", "the stone of foundation. This stone is the centre of the world, upon it stands the Temple, and that is the stone upon which Jacob slept and saw the wonderful ladder with God standing on top of it." So runs one legend.

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Another, more elaborate one, says: "When God created the world he took a stone (undoubtedly a precious one), engraved His holy and mysterious Name upon it, and sank it in the abyss to stem the underground waters; for when they behold the Holy Name they get overawed, and shrink back into their natural boundaries. Whenever a man utters an oath that stone comes up and receives that oath, and returns to its former place. If the oath is a true one, then the letters of the Holy Name get more deeply engraved, but if it is a false oath the letters are washed away by the waves, which surge and rise, and would overflow the world, if God did not send an angel, *Jaazriel*, who possesses the seventy keys to the mysterious name of God, to engrave them anew, and thus to drive the flood back, for otherwise the world would be flooded."

As a continuation of this legend there exists another, according to which David, when he intended to lay the foundation of the Temple, brought that stone up from the depth, and if not for Divine intervention, would have brought about a second flood.

More ancient is the belief that upon that rock the holy ark, with the stone tables of the ten commandments, used to rest, and that they were hidden inside the rock at the moment of the destruction of the first temple.¹

In the second book of the Maccabees the concealing of

¹ *Joma*, f. 53b, f. 54b; *Tanhuma*, ed. Buber, ii, p. 59, No. 59, 60, 61; *Levit. rab.*, sect. 20; *Numb. rab.*, sect. 12; *Cant. rab.*, ad. ch. iii, v. 18; *Pesikta rab.*, sect. 47; *Midrash Psalm*, Ps. 91, v. 12; *Yalkut Sim.*, i, f. 35, § 120, f. 44d, § 145, etc.

the holy vessels in a rock sealed with the ineffable name of God, is attributed to the Prophet Jeremiah—as is also the case in a certain apocryphal legend of Jeremiah, wherein also an incident occurs, which is absolutely identical with the legend of the Holy Grail. Both the keys of the temple and the Holy Grail are taken up to heaven by a mysterious hand reaching down from on high. But this I mention only incidentally. Let us proceed further with the *Eben Shatya*.

As the oldest tradition will have it, it was in the temple from the time of the first prophets, that is, it is recorded as having been from that time. It was therefore placed in the portion where the ark used to be before, in the Holy of Holies of the Temple ; the High-priest entered there once a year to burn "sweet incense". This act was considered to be of symbolic importance, and the popular belief endows the rock with food-giving properties. "It is thence that Israel got abundance of food"; so runs the passage in the original. To complete the characteristics of this stone I have only to add another legend, which brings us directly in connection with Christianity. An old anti-Christian writing—perhaps that mentioned in the seventh century, but modified in later times¹—has a peculiar tale about this stone.

It runs as follows :—

"Now, at this time (*i.e.*, in the time of Jesus) the unutterable name of God was engraved in the temple on the *Eben Shatya*. For when King David laid the foundations, he found there a stone in the ground on which the name of God was engraved, and he took it and placed it in the Holy of Holies. But as the wise men feared lest some inquisitive youth should learn this Name, and be able thereby to destroy the world, they made by magic two brazen lions, which they sat before the entrance of the Holy of Holies, one on the right, the other on the left.

¹ Lipsius, *Pilatus Acten*, p. 29.

"Now if anyone were to go within and learn the Holy Name, then the lions would begin to roar as he came out, so that out of alarm and bewilderment he would lose his presence of mind, and forget the Name.

"And Jesus left upper Galilee and came secretly to Jerusalem, and went into the temple, and learned there the holy writing, and after he had written the ineffable Name on parchment, he uttered it, with intent that he might feel no pain, and then he cut into his flesh, and hid the parchment with the inscription therein. Then he uttered the Name once more, and made so that his flesh healed up again.

"And when he went out of the door the lions roared, and he forgot the Name. Therefore he hastened outside the town, cut into his flesh, took the writing out, and when he had sufficiently studied the signs he retained the Name in memory, 'and thus he wrought all the miracles through the agency of the ineffable name of God.'"¹

Taking all these elements together we have here clearly all the properties assigned to the Grail: the precious stone, the centre of the temple, and further, the Keeper of the great secret, the mysterious words given to Joseph, and handed down by him to his descendants, the lions at the entrance against which Lancelot fought.

These are the primary elements for the later developments by Christians and Mohamedans; as that stone was equally holy to both, and the primitive legends were adapted to the altered circumstances, so, as we shall see, it became the altar upon which mass was celebrated, and the table of the Last Supper, the primitive form from which the later spiritual one was derived.

Well known is the interpretation of the text of Isaiah from which I started. In the first Epistle of Peter, c. ii, v. 6, these very words are quoted, together with those from Psalm cxviii, 22, and Jesus is identified with the corner-stone, which in its turn was identified with the *Eben Shatya*, the

¹ Baring-Gould, *Lost Gospels*, p. 77-78.

stone of the world's foundation : He the stone, the altar, the sacrifice, thus the Eucharist.

At the place where the Temple stood a church was erected, or the Temple transformed into a church, called the Church of Mount Zion, first the abode of the Virgin Mary, then the Church of St. James. One of the first pilgrims whose record is in existence, one from Bordeaux, *ca.* 333, shows the first phase of this transformation; he saw already there the "big corner-stone of which the Psalmist speaks."¹

Antoninus, another, of the year 570, knows already more about it, for he says: "When you put your ear to it, you can hear the voices of many men." According to the Mohamedan legend one hears the noise of water. Both tales derived from the old legend mentioned above, that the stone shuts up the waters of the depth.

This church founded there is the mother church founded by the Apostles; and with this agrees the whole Christian antiquity. In the same manner Evodius, Epiphanius, Hieronymus, and many other ecclesiastical historians, unanimously assert that the scene of the Last Supper took place on Mount Zion. John of Wurzburg (1160-70; an older contemporary of Chriestien) says: "*The Coenaculum*" is on Mount Sion, in the very spot where Solomon reared his splendid building, of which he speaks in his 'Song of Songs.' The *table* of the Last Supper was also shown there as late as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and this table was identified with the *altar* upon which the Apostle John celebrated mass, which altar stands for that *corner-stone*.

There is a very interesting passage in Mandeville's description, a syncretistic account of what he saw on Mount Sion: "And 120 paces from that church (St. James) is Mount Sion, where there is a fair church of Our Lady, where she dwelt and died, . . . and there is the stone which the angel brought to Our Lady from Mount Sinai, which is of

¹ A. N. Wesselofsky, *Razyskaniya vŭ oblasti russkago duhovnago stiha*, iii, St. Petersburg, 1881, p. 4, ff.

the same colour as that of St. Catharine." And further on : " There is a part of the table on which Our Lord made His Supper, when he made his Maundy with his disciples and gave them his flesh and blood in form of bread and wine. And under that chapel, by a descent of thirty-two steps, is the place where Our Lord washed his disciples' feet, and the vessel which contained the water is still preserved. . . . And there is the altar where Our Lord heard the angels sing mass."

Almost identical with this description is that of Philip, of the twelfth or thirteenth century. The identification of stone and altar, and further altar and mass, is to be met with also elsewhere. It is in fact no more than a simple adaptation of the old notion, that the ark stood upon that stone and that the stone took the place of the altar. To identify the altar in the church and the sacrament with the fundamental events in the life and the teachings of Jesus is in perfect accord with the allegorical and mystical interpretations indulged in since ancient times. The mass in the oriental church has throughout only a symbolical meaning, and the Grail partakes thus of a double interpretation. To one it is merely a vessel or a cup, a portion for the whole, the natural change from the altar and mass to the most prominent *portion* of it; to another it is still a primitive rock made by hands of angels, and the food-giving wafer is brought by the dove which represents the Holy Spirit.

In one the change is more radical, and with the time becomes more mystical and symbolical; in the other the original form is better retained, and offers thus more elements for the reconstruction of the oldest form of the legend. The *Munsalvasche*, where the castle stands, is nothing else than the "Mount of Salvation"—the Armenian church on Mount Sion is dedicated to the "Holy Saviour" the Salvator; and Wolfram was not altogether wrong when he accused Chrestien of having departed too much from the original conception.

In connection with the preceding, I will add now the interpretation of another name, *Corbenic*, not infrequent in the Grail romances, a name of some importance. According to *Queste*, Incident 13 (Nutt, p. 73), Castle Corbenic is the place wherein the *maimed king dwells*; further, Incident 76 (p. 50) the same is again mentioned as the Castle of Peleur, or the Maimed King, *i.e.*, the resting-place of the Grail. In the Grand St. Graal, Incident 51 (p. 63) we read: "Here is the resting-place of the Holy Grail, a lordly castle is built for it hight *Corbenic*, which is *Chaldee*, and signifies 'holy vessel'."

This interpretation is only half true, in so far as the word *Corbenic* can be traced to a Hebrew or Chaldee word *Corbana*, the meaning of which is, *offering, sacrifice*, and not that which is assigned to it by the author of the Grand St. Graal, that of *holy vessel*.

This explanation agrees perfectly with the identification of the Grail with the *Altar-stone*, the place of sacrifices, mystical, symbolical or material.

Starting from the Slavonic, especially Russian legends, about the mysterious Altar-stone, which he brought in connection with the Grail, Prof. Wesselofsky has tried to prove its identity with that stone of the Christian Church of Zion mentioned by the pilgrims quoted above. The Jewish legends, however, which I have been able to add, have enabled me to trace that identity further, and to furnish those links which were missing, and to show the last sources to whom those Christian legends owed their origin. The name "*Alatyr*", which remained unexplained, is nothing else but the *Altar-stone*, as I have proved it to be.

The same causes, *i.e.*, the same Palestinian legends, had the same result, *viz.*, to produce an *ideal stone* both for the East and the West of Europe, but it remained to the genius of the different *trouveurs*, or Kalêki perehojie, to develop that idea according to the skill and perfection possible in those two regions. The one introduced it into the famous legend of Alexander, in order to substitute it

for the meaningless stone mentioned there; the other connected it with other apocryphal tales and legends, and formed the famous Golubinaya Kniga of the Russian epos.

The legend of the Holy Grail had still to pass another stage of development, before it became what it is in some at least of the romances. It had to be entirely spiritualised. The Christian element so prominent in the Crusades pervaded the poem so thoroughly that to some it was nothing but the outcome of purely Christian canonical and non-canonical writings. By leaving the classical and local elements out of account, the Grail had still remained a puzzle to be solved.

I do not even attempt now to show all the parallels to the Christian apocryphal literature which we meet with in the different versions of the romance. The whole early history gives itself as such a tale; later on I may be permitted to show how inextricably interwoven with it are the apocryphal legends of Adam and Seth, the history of the Cross, a peculiar legend of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, the legend of Sunday, and ever so many more allusions to such and similar apocryphal tales.

But there still remains the liturgical character which is given to the Grail in some of the versions of the romance. It serves to bring home to the reader or hearer a certain dogmatic teaching about the mystery of the Eucharist. The mystical procession, with the description of everything that occurred, points clearly to the fact of the transubstantiation of the sacrament, as a thing that did occur in the sight of the bystanders, as if it were a proof more to the truth and accuracy of this dogmatic teaching.



Has the author of the romance evolved it out of his own fancy, or does he follow here also some legend, which he adapts to his purposes?

There is no doubt that the question of the reality or non-reality of transubstantiation was at the time a burning one. The author or authors have shown themselves well

versed in Christian and heathen lore, and on the other hand not much given to invent out of their own brains.

I do not know whether anybody has already pointed this out, or has brought in connection with it the legend, which occurs to me as an almost direct source for that portion of the romances of the Grail.

It is besides localised in Jerusalem, and is directly connected with that very same church on Mount Sion of which the other *stone legends* speak. I will deal now with this legend before concluding this, necessarily short, attempt to solve the question of the origin of the Grail. I have had to confine myself in many cases merely to indicating in a few words what required a special monograph, and I may return at another time to the study of those details at greater length.



FAIRY TALES FROM INEDITED HEBREW MSS. OF THE NINTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES.

It may sound paradoxical and not at all complimentary to the students of folklore, but it is none the less true, that we know now just as little about the origin of fairy tales, as was known half a century ago. Theories we have plenty and to boot, and faddists not a few; but one cannot say that there is wisdom in the multitude of counsel. I for my own part may be considered as representing one set of faddists, probably consisting of one single individual; but no other theory has as yet been able to solve the difficulties of origin sufficiently; and until a better explanation is forthcoming I stick to my view, the result of many years of research and study.

I hold that tales appear only at a certain stage of intellectual development, and after the time of previous literary achievements. They do not stand at the beginning of literature, but at its acme. The words "tale" and "fairy tale" are elastic terms, which often do duty for many a peculiar string of events, true or imaginary, bound together. Take any collection you like, and you will find in it fairy tales and simple jokes, beast-parables, and cumulative puzzles. The

true tale is the recital of a series of events, grouped in a given way, which if expanded might become a novel, if curtailed, a moral maxim.

I know I am treading dangerous ground in trying to define a thing whose very charm is want of definition, trying to press into the limit of space and time what is boundless and infinite. But one must start somewhere, and better start from a half-truth than from none at all.

The individual element in the origin of a tale has already been pointed out by others. One man must first tell a tale. This is taken up by others, and enlarged or assimilated. The question of the transmission is another moot point; that is, if we admit only one centre for the origin of one or more tales, and not independent origins of one and the same tale. This is for me out of question. The identity between the various tales even in distant countries is not the result of mere chance. It would be a miracle of the highest order to find such a similarity or identity between the intellectual products of various nations, limited wholly and solely to so complex a thing as a tale with a number of incidents. In everything else there is profound disparity; only in the tale there should be identity, and this not due to extraneous circumstances! There are things which men with theories will swallow without looking too closely at them; I decline to make the experiment or to follow the example.

I am asking myself, How have I come to know a great number of tales in my youth? Born and bred in the East, I had greater facilities of coming in contact with the most varied elements of the populace than those given by the artificial and highly secluded form of education in the civilized world of the West. I had thus the opportunity of growing up under the same influences, to which the nations of the West had been exposed during the period of personal intercourse of a primitive, slow, and more enduring character. The nurse from Hungary, and the housemaid from Wallachia, the Albanian with his sweetmeats, and the

peasant with his fowls and eggs, the pilgrim from the Holy Land, and the hawker, the Gipsy, all and each came and conversed and told tales. When a circle was formed, sometimes in the garden, often before the gate in the twilight of the setting sun, they would gather and listen attentively. At times one of those present would interrupt the speaker to remind him of an incident he had forgotten; and not seldom would the audience follow the recital with vivid and strong expressions of approval or dismay. When one had finished, others would follow, thus exchanging and communicating, spreading and developing the tale; and assisting it in its travels through many lands.

One bond united them, and this has hitherto not been sufficiently recognized, viz.: the belief in the reality of the tale. There was not one who for one moment would doubt the reality of such a courageous prince and a supernatural beauty; the speaking of animals, and their power of assistance; the qualities of living and dead water; the drakos and his mighty club, the vampire, the sun and moon as persons,—why it would have been rank heresy to doubt their existence. It would with one blow have destroyed that world of hope and delight, that ideal conception of things that may at any time fall to the share of mortals, portrayed in the tale. The tale would lose its attraction, and would speedily die. This is the reason why the school with its dogmatism and with nicely-balanced programmes, with mathematics and natural science, has proved the deadly enemy of the fairy world. It has destroyed the belief in the supernatural, the fantastic, and irrational, if you like, and it has left the children poorer than they were of yore, at any rate as far as the poetry of life is concerned. They are stranded high and dry upon the rock of exact sciences.

The element of religious belief, and I take this expression in the widest sense, is one of the most important features in the history of the origin and spread of fairy tales. And

this has been systematically neglected by the students of fairy tales. The reason is not far to seek. European folk-tales, and especially those in modern collections, have lost most, if not all, of the religious element. The more we go to the East, the more the religious character of the tale will become pronounced. In the West few of the supernatural beings have been allowed to subsist; they are on sufferance and wait to obtain leave to go. Their surroundings have departed, and we meet only with such beings in our tales as have not yet died out from the cruder forms of belief. The popular mythology of the Slavonians, or Albanians, or modern Greeks, or Rumanians is incomparably richer than that of any of the western nations. Their fairy tales are therefore fuller, richer, more vivid, and to my mind much more true to the original form, than any of the pale counterparts in western folklore. I know the Celtic faddists will turn fiercely upon me and point out to me modern tales in ancient MSS. of the 15th century, which may be copies of the 12th, and these in their turn copies of the 5th or more ancient texts. It is not here the place to discuss questions of literary criticism; but one point is certain, at least for those who have had occasion to compare ancient texts with later copies. They are never absolutely identical. A century will make a difference, often a very pronounced difference, between the original and the copy. The copyist is always also author *in partibus infidelium*. He handles the subject very freely. He will add and subtract, just as his fancy dictates to him. There is no such scrupulous observance of the author's rights as we would fain imagine. The substance may in some cases remain the same, but the accessories will often undergo a process of transformation so radical as not to be found any longer in the later copy.

This happens to literary monuments. How much more is this the case with the oral tale, subject to the changes and freaks of each new speaker. Small wonder therefore that the religious element should drop out in the West, thus

obscuring one of the main points of origin, and one of the main sources of attraction and dissemination.

But, if we go to India or to Egypt, more so to the former, the Jātaka has retained fully the religious character. The legends of saints and the miracles of the Apostles in the Apocryphal Acts, the story of Psyche and the legend of Adonis-Tammuz, the parables of Barlaam stand in the service of religion, and are carried on the crest of the religious wave, which spreads and covers one continent after the other.

The abiding factor in human life has been, for centuries, religious teaching; and whatever appeared under that form, was doubly welcomed. The tales and legends are so many means to teach a moral lesson, to inculcate a peculiar dogma, or to bring home to the minds of the people some abstract ethical truth. The standard of these maxims and the trend of the religious teachings conveyed through the parable are in absolute harmony with the religious environment. A Buddhist tale may teach transmigration-of-the-soul; an Egyptian, metamorphosis, or change of man into animal. Another will describe that form of Hell which is recognised by the dogma of his Church. But all point to one source, the religious and didactical, as the originating factor in the first place, and in the second, as one of the causes of the transmission. In this transmission the first change that will set in will be to transform, and then to drop slowly that religious element. It gets out of harmony. It is no more understood. Popular fancy will not fasten on it; but will cling to the poetical excuse in the form of an entertaining tale. Local deities and current beliefs will take the place of the old deities of the original form, when and where there is such a local mythology to supplant it. But where the fairies and goblins have departed from the hearth of the farmer, and have deserted the crossings of the roads, the tale will lack the poetical machinery, and get impoverished and attenuated to the extreme. It has lost,

already long before, its original meaning and has now become a mere skeleton, a shadow of what once was a picture saturated with rich colouring.

If my view is correct, and historical investigation seems to favour it, we shall easily understand why some of the fairy and other popular tales appear either meaningless or downright cruel and barbarous. The prince has been transformed by the wizard of the West, into the uncanny shapeless dog. A charm has been thrown upon him, which no one, if not this Society, will be able to break. The spell will, however, not be broken, if we start upon the wrong track. The comparison which has hitherto been made at random must give way to a certain system. The similarity between certain general points and the eclecticism in the comparison of incidents, which lies at the root of many far-fetched conclusions of modern researches based upon them, is to my mind fallacious. We dare not follow in our study the same flight of fancy, which delights us in the fairytale, or we shall never leave dreamland or Cockayne.

I always pre-suppose that we start from the assumption of migration, that tales wandered from land to land. In our research, I would try in the first place to follow geographically in the wake of that journey. Now, it is a remarkable fact that the tales of adjoining countries show much closer similarity to one another, than with those collected in a distant land. Even in cases of totally different races, and some of quite recent origin, but all now living in that neighbourhood, such as Turks and Greeks and Albanians, this similarity is startling. How this could be explained on the anthropological tack, or on any other, except on that of mutual borrowing, passes the wit of man. I am prepared to hear ingenious attempts to explain it away, but facts have a peculiar obstinacy; they will not be altered by any doctoring or hectoring. If, as I believe, the ancient Byzantine Empire formed the bridge between

the products of East and West, and the Frankish Empire to have been one of the means of bringing Byzantine lore near to the Atlantic, the route which the tales have taken will be perfectly clear.

In order to determine whether any given tale has retained its primitive form, or has been modified in its transmission, I would then examine the tale as to its religious character. As I have already indicated, I use these words in the broadest possible meaning. I would look for the amount of belief and things believed in contained in the tale; and the greater the prominence which is given to it, the more ancient would I consider that tale. It must contain a certain moral or ethical point, if it is not merely a joke, or the tale of simple clever feats, such as the clever thief (Rhampsinit). Beast tales pure and simple are another class of similar tales which have lost their original meaning, and have turned either to satires of existing circumstances (Reynard), or pure and simple tales of animals, although endowed with human faculties.

It would lead me too far astray to follow this question up here, although it stands in close connection with my views as to the easterly home and the route which the migration of tales took. Byzantium can be shown in this case also as the connecting link.

If these views of the religious (ethical) character of the tale be true, and also the criterion for the classification of tales in a chronological and geographical order, guided by the retention of that feature or by its disappearance, these views must be borne out by literary investigation. The older a tale is, the more prominent must be this character, and the more recent the tale is, the more bare and bald. If we then compare the versions that have come down to us in a written form with their oral counterpart, the same difference would have to be found, viz.: that the older MS. or printed version will contain more mythological or ethical (or didactical) elements, than the parallels in modern collec-

tions, which have undergone that change of shedding the skin.

Here our real difficulties commence. Old collections of fairy or other tales are extremely scarce. Egypt, with but one or two exceptions, leaves us thus far in the lurch; and Indian old fairy tales are distinctly different from European.

The literary tradition stops short at the twelfth century. I am speaking of Europe at large, and that part of it which stands under Latin influence. Classical antiquity lay buried under the ruins of Rome. From India and Egypt it is a far cry to those countries and to that epoch where and when the first "Exempla" appear and Syntipas, Bidpai and Barlaam have not yet obtained European citizenship. The bridge over that gap from East to West, and from antique to modern life, is formed undoubtedly by the Rome of the East—by the Greek Empire, which held sway for centuries over Asia Minor as well as over North Africa and the South of Europe, up to Venice; in fact, over all the countries of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean waters. This political unity helped the free intercourse between East and West. Life in Byzantium is half oriental under Phokas, Chalkondylas, and the Comnenes; and there is the place where a poem such as that of Digenis Akritas could have been written, and as early as the tenth century. It reminds one both of the *Shahnameh* of Firdusi and of the epical cycles of Charlemagne and Arthur in France and England. The intercourse between various nations was possible only there; and for that very reason I hold that the folklore of the Balkan peninsula has retained more of its ancient colour than any other folklore of Europe.

What we want is to find ancient literary parallels, at any rate some centuries old, and to compare them with their modern parallels. If my conjectures are right, then the old texts will resemble more closely the versions collected in the ancient Byzantine Empire and will be more remote from the

other variations. I do not hide from myself the difficulty which may beset our paths also in this direction. Very much, if not everything, depends upon the skill of the modern collector; and again, if a parallel is not to be found in these collections, we are far from justified in assuming that it does not exist among those nations. If not found in one spot, it often turns up in another spot, and the *argumentum ex silentio* is no argument at all.

I have thus far been roaming about in the wide and limitless field of airy speculations, befitting one lost in the wondrous world of tales and legends. I have tried to sketch a new line of study, so to mount up to the fountain of the imaginary stream of tradition. But hitherto we have been walking through a dried-up bed of the river: will it lead us to the water of life, by which the chopped up heroes are called back to life; or will it all vanish when the charm is broken? It is time, therefore, that I return to the world of stern realities and explain to you how I came to lead you so long, and, I fear, so weary a way. It was because I wished to introduce you to the old parchments and the treasures they have kept faithfully for so many a century.

I have now the honour to introduce you first to a remarkable volume of miscellaneous nature in the Bodleian Library, containing among other things, close upon 100 moral tales. Of these 30 or 40 constitute, thus far, the oldest "Preceptorium" on the Decalogue, being "exempla" arranged according to the Ten Commandments. The other 60 and more, are independent legends and tales. This MS. is famous for the fact that it contains a Hebrew—Old-French glossary and is older than the year 1,200. It belongs at latest to the second half of the twelfth century and was written either in France or here in England. It is thus older than Jacques de Vitry. But the date of the copy is not that of the original composition. Most of these tales and legends are copied from much more ancient sources,

and with but few exceptions occur again in another MS. (this in my possession, *Cod. Or. Gaster*, 82) belonging at latest to the tenth century, written probably in Palestine. It is here not the place to dilate on the date of this collection. Suffice it to say, that from internal evidence I place the date of the original compilation to be not later than the fifth century. No name of a person living after the fifth century is mentioned in the collection, of which the older MS. is thus but a recent copy and that of the twelfth century a still more recent one.

If we compare the parallel stories in both collections we shall find here again my views corroborated. Although the edifying element is still strongly represented, some incidents in the tales have been modified in the younger MS., and this modification continues in later versions. In these MS. we have thus far the oldest examples of genuine tales. One of these is a true fairy tale in the strictest sense of the word. I have selected only four to bring before you to-night. You will easily recognise in them old acquaintances, but somewhat changed. The motive is the same, but the setting is peculiar. They belong to well-known cycles and are curious specimens of ancient tales of fairies and genii. They are by centuries older than the Arabian Nights, and, except the Jātakas and the Egyptian tales, are probably the oldest extant specimens.

I commence with the story of the religious disputation between a heathen and a Jew. The comparative literature has been studied by Cosquin in connection with No. 7 of his collection (I., pp. 84-94). The oldest parallel belongs to the *Libro de los Gatos* of the fourteenth century. Our text is thus the oldest representative, and close upon 1,000 or 900 years older than the oldest European version. In our text the religious element is the reason for the tale, and the peg to hang it on. Instead of a disputation between the followers of two religious systems, in Christian

Europe an abstract ethical principle was substituted, viz: right or wrong, which of the two prevails? So in Russia, Greece, Servia, &c. This has been still more attenuated in western parallels, and only a good and bad fellow have taken their place in Lorraine, Tyrol, Italy. Worse still is the Norwegian parallel, where one cuts out the eyes of his companion because he had deceived him. In the old oriental text, Satan, the demon, plays the *rôle*, and is proud of his deception when speaking to the other two demons of this exploit. The others reveal their evil doings, and how to counteract them. The man loses only money and obtains more in return. The blinding of the good in some European versions is only an increase of horror, to accentuate the reward. Thus in western tales, such as in Lorraine, Brittany, Basque country, Germany, Flanders, &c., animals have taken the place of the demons in Greek, Russian, Gipsy, Servian, and other parallels. The Albanian parallel (Hahn, 30) is still more identical with our tale, as far as the king's daughter is concerned and the wonderful delivery of her troubles. Without going into more details, we find the tales of the Mediterranean basin more akin to the old text than their northern variants.

The second tale, a real fairy tale, is remarkable from many a point of view. It reminds one remotely of Amor and Psyche, and still more of the golden lock of the ancient Egyptian tale, by which the princess is found. The second half belongs to the cycle of "*La belle aux cheveux d'or*" (Cosquin, No. 73), but also to "*Le roi d'Angleterre et son filleul*" (Cosq. No. 3). The grateful animals and the water of life and death are the prominent incidents in the second half, whilst the first belongs to a totally different cycle of deathbed promises. The father requests his son to do a certain thing and the strict fulfilment of this command brings the reward with it.

A late version of this tale was known through the Jewish-

German *Maassebuch* of the sixteenth century; the German translation of Helvicus (1612) and Tendlau's *Fellmaier's Abende*. None of the versions quoted by Cosquin, Köhler, Shaineanu, and others, goes back beyond the sixteenth century. Taking it at its lowest estimate, this version of mine belongs at latest to the twelfth century. The existence of this text has been unknown hitherto. It has therefore been assumed by all those who knew it only from the *Maassebuch* that it was a German tale, which the compiler of that book of legends had introduced into it. Out of twenty-five longer and shorter "exempla" this would have been probably the only example not taken from ancient Hebrew writings. But my discovery of the Hebrew text sets this hypothesis thus far at rest, but not the question of its origin. Considering that in the Bodleian MS., out of one hundred tales, the Hebrew sources of almost all can be shown, it is not likely that this and perhaps one or two similar should be the only exceptions. German origin is quite out of the question, as this MS. has been written in a French-speaking country. Not a single trace points to Europe as the original home of this tale, embedded in the middle of a large collection. It does not stand at the end as an addition made by the scribe, but is in the very midst of a copy of a much older MS. I have already pointed out the connection between this MS., written in the west of Europe, and the older collection written some centuries previously in Palestine. To a similar collection must this tale also have belonged, as will be shown later on.

The third tale, taken from the more ancient collection (*Cod.*, 82) enables us to prove the fact of changes occurring in more recent copies. The same tale is found in both collections, and one of the most important elements which gives to the old recension quite a pathetic form is entirely omitted in the second, viz:—the love of woman daring death, whilst father and mother shrink in dread from the

contest, and leave their only son to the mercy of the angel of death. One is surprised to find this fine romantic touch in an old oriental tale. This tale belongs to the cycle of the mediæval Byzantine epos of Digenis Akritas. At the close of his life he fights death, but unsuccessfully. The fight of man (hero) with Charon is now one the best known themes of modern Greek folk-songs. Many years ago I got a Macedo-Rumanian version from a seller of Turkish Delight in the market of Breslau. In this song, the hero asks in turn his father, mother, brother and sister to take out the snake from his bosom. All refuse except the maid of his love, who pulls out from his bosom, not a snake as he pretended, but a girdle of gold, studded with diamonds. It would be somewhat hazardous to connect with our tale the numerous tales of Death acting as godfather, etc., in fairy tales, or the cheating of Death by the power conferred upon the hero through three wishes granted to him by God (Christ or St. Peter). The connecting links must be found first, although there can be no doubt as to their belonging to one cycle.

Last, not least, we have in No. 4 another peculiar tale from the Bodleian MS., to which I know scarcely any parallels in European literature. Portions of it resemble the cycle of the lost child ultimately found in great honour. The disputation of the crows has a particularly oriental ring about it. German legend tells of the snake asking Charlemagne to deliver judgment (Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen* II., p. 130); but that is all we find of parallelism in the two tales. In a Rumanian translation of a Turkish (Arabic?) tale called *The History of Skinder* (a MS. in my possession), we find thus far an absolutely identical parallel with the first half of the Hebrew version. The further development of the tale is different in both versions.

Fortune has now played into my hands another MS., no less remarkable than those two I have been dealing with hitherto. This also is a collection of tales, but written

mostly in the sixteenth century, and what is more interesting, somewhere in the North of Persia. It forms as it were the connecting link. For we find in it a variation of tale No. 1 taken from the very old collection, and also a parallel to No. 4, taken here from the Bodleian MS. This fact proves now that also those tales for which oriental Hebrew sources were not known, had none the less come from such eastern collections; and are not borrowed from some western source. The differences between these two versions are no less characteristic. They prove my theory, that oriental tales have kept in their home more of the mythical and religious original element, and that the tale in its migration becomes less complete, and is impoverished to a certain extent. The European copy is a modification and materialisation, and there are besides profound changes in the accessorial elements. Though the canvas is the same, the design on the whole the same, the colouring, however, is different. From No. 2 it is also evident that the Bodleian text is not original: instead of *three* things, Jochanan does only *two* for the queen. Similarly half of the prophecy of the birds has dropped out of the European text, and the reason for the washing of hands: these are an illustration of the changes in No. 4. I append, therefore, the Hebrew-Persian version of this tale.

We have here, moreover, almost all the elements out of which mediæval romances were spun. Crescentia and Veronica are only the counterpart of such similar simple tales, not to go as far back as the *Clementine Recognitions* with their legend of Faustus and Faustinus, or the legend of Eustathius Placidus.

But I must not go on rambling over countries and centuries, as I might be lured away from the object of my paper, viz., to bring before you the find I was fortunate enough to make, and to point out that the literary unbroken tradition for at least 3-4 tales can be traced, in one literature, as far as 1,000 years back, if not more, and the great

importance of which this fact may prove to be for the history of fairy tales in the lands of the West. Not that these have been borrowed directly from our MSS.; but the way one came, others could and probably have come too. Whence those tales may have come originally, and where they may have been told for the first time, is a question that I consider still premature to answer. The versions which I have read here to-night do not look like the very first attempts in telling tales. They show unmistakable signs of the reason of their existence and the cause of their dissemination. The ethical-religious principle is prevalent in all, and finds its counterpart in those parallels which by their geographical position lie nearer to the country where, close upon 1,000 years ago, we find them delighting the listeners and carrying them away from the stern reality of the temporary victory of cunning and wrong, to the poetical justice of the fairy tale in the reward of the hero.

I. *The Heathen and the Jew.*

Once a heathen and a Jew were walking along together, when the heathen remarked to the Jew : "My religion is better than thine." "Not so," replied the Jew ; "on the contrary, mine is better than thine, as it is said, 'what nation is there so great that hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law.'" The heathen then said : "Supposing it is decided my religion is better than thine, then I will take thy money ; but if it be decided that thy religion is better than mine, then shalt thou take my money." The Jew replied : "I agree to accept this condition." As they were walking along, Satan appeared to them in the form of an old man. They thereupon asked him the question as to whose religion was the better ; and he replied : "That of the heathen is the better." After they had proceeded a little farther, Satan appeared to them again, in the form of a young man. They put the same question, and they received the same reply. When they had walked a little farther, he appeared to them again in the form of another old man. On asking the same question again, the identical reply was once more given. The heathen therefore took the Israelite's money. The Israelite then journeyed on in fear of his life, and lodged in the open. When a third of the night had gone by, he heard some spirits speaking to each other. Two of them asked a third : "Where hast thou been to-day ?" to which he replied : "I met a Jew and an Aramean, I laughed at them and gave evidence in favour of the heathen." They then asked another : "Where hast thou been to-day ?" To which he

replied : " I prevented the daughter of an emperor from giving birth, after she had suffered the pains of travail for seven days. But if they had taken some green leaves of the tree overhanging their throne, and had squeezed them upon her nose, she would have given birth immediately." They again addressed a third spirit : " Where hast thou been ?" He replied : " I stopped up the well of a certain province. But if they had taken a black ox and had slaughtered it over the water, it (the well) would have been open again." The Jew gave great heed to their conversation ; and, rising up early in the morning, he went to the country of the emperor (spoken of), and found his daughter in travail. He then told one to take some green leaves of the tree overhanging their throne, and to squeeze them upon her nose. This was done, and she immediately gave birth. The king thereupon presented the Jew with a large sum of money, because this was the only child he had. The Jew then journeyed to the country in which the stopped wells were to be found, and told the people to take a black ox and slaughter it over the well, after which the water would flow as usual. They did so, and the water flowed. The inhabitants thereupon presented him with a large sum of money. On the morrow he met the heathen who had taken his money ; and the heathen expressed his surprise by saying : " Have I not already taken all thy money from thee ; how is it that thou art such a rich man ?" He then related to him what had happened. " Then I will also go," he said, " and inquire of the people of that place." He therefore journeyed on and lodged in that field ; but the three spirits came and killed him, for it is said, " The righteous is delivered out of trouble, and the wicked cometh in his stead." (*Proverbs* xi, 8.)

II. *The Princess with Golden Hair.*

There was once a pious old man, who was exceedingly rich. He had but one son, whose name was Jochanan. This Jochanan had a beautiful and pious wife. When his father was about to die he called his son and exhorted him to occupy himself with God's precepts and to continually perform acts of charity. He bequeathed to him all his wealth, saying : " When the days of thy mourning are over, go into the street and remain there until thou seest a man come to sell his wares in the market. The first man who comes, buy from him his wares and take them home, and take good care of them." The old man soon died and was duly buried. After his son had observed thirty days of mourning he remembered his father's wish, and accordingly went forthwith into the street, where he sat until he saw a man carrying a magnificent cup (or bowl). Jochanan asked him whether he was willing to sell the cup he was carrying. He answered : " Yes." " How much do you want for it ?" " One hundred pieces of gold," said the man. " Let me have it for sixty pieces," said Jochanan. The man refused and passed on. Jochanan remembering his pious father's wish, called after the man and said : " Give me the cup, and here are the hundred pieces of gold which thou hast asked." The man replied : " If thou wilt give me 200 pieces of gold I will give thee the cup ; but if not I

must go on my way." Jochanan then said: "I will not give thee more than the 100 pieces which thou askedst." He went away. Jochanan then thought that he must purchase the article in order to carry out his father's wish. He thereupon called after him again, and said: "Here, take the 200 pieces which you asked." The man replied: "If you are satisfied to give me 1,000 pieces in current money, I will give you the cup; but if not I must go." Jochanan, then seeing that every time the man, when recalled, charged more, bought it perforce in compliance with his father's last wish. He took it home, paid the 1,000 pieces, and put it aside. He sometimes tried to open it, but was not able. When one Passover Evening they (he and his wife) were about to celebrate the first evening he asked his wife to bring the cup he bought and place it upon the table in honour of the festival. The pious woman did as requested. Jochanan was this time able to open it, and found a smaller cup (box) within the larger.

On opening it he found a small scorpion. They were both amazed at the sight. Jochanan took it out and gave it some food. It crawled round his neck, embracing and kissing him. When it was satisfied it entered the smaller cup, which Jochanan closed and placed in the larger one as it was before. Jochanan then said to his wife: "My father did not request me to do this for nothing. We shall feed this scorpion and bring it up, to know what the end of it will be." They fed it every day, so that it grew and was not able to enter the smaller cup. It was therefore placed in the larger one; but it grew in such immense proportions that a separate place had to be made for it. Jochanan's wealth decreased very much through this; because the scorpion ate whatever they possessed, until it grew to such an immense size as not to be able to enter any house or court yard, and continued to grow until it was like a huge mountain. When Jochanan had nothing more in his possession to give it to eat, he wept and said to his wife: "What shall we do in order to provide it with food; we have nothing left; it has devoured everything we had." His wife suggested that he should sell his robe, and she would do the same to-morrow, to give it food.

They did so. When they had nothing else left Jochanan prostrated himself before it to God and said: "Thou knowest, O Lord, that I have given my all in order to perform the wish of my father, and am left with absolutely nothing. Reveal to me what is the use of this scorpion (dragon) which I have reared, and what will the end be?" The scorpion thereupon opened its mouth and said: "God has heard thy prayer, and has given me permission to speak to thee. I know that thou hast done whatever thou couldst for me, and hast not refrained from giving me everything in thy possession to enjoy. Now therefore, make any request thou pleasest and I will comply with it." Jochanan answered and said: "Teach me then all the languages of the world." He did so; and Jochanan was able to understand the language of animals, birds and beasts, and all the languages of the world. The scorpion further said: "Let thy pious wife, who took so much trouble for me, and who was so zealous to serve me, let her ask anything she wishes and I will grant it." She said:

"O my Lord, provide me with sufficient to maintain myself, my husband, and my household." "Follow me," he said, "and bring wagons, horses, and asses, and what animals you can with you, and I will load you with silver and gold, with precious stones and pearls." They followed him until he brought them to a forest, the name of which was Ilai. Into the depth of this forest they penetrated. The scorpion began to whistle, and there forthwith presented themselves before him all the wild beasts of the world, serpents, scorpions, &c. Every one of which brought a present of silver and gold, precious stones and pearls, and cast them before him, just as people bring presents to a king.

And the scorpion said to Jochanan and his wife: "Go and fill your sacks and wagons, fill whatever you possess, so that you may have abundance of everything." They did so. Jochanan then said to the scorpion: "Be not angry with me if I ask thee to tell me who thou art and from whence thou hast come." It replied: "I am the son of Adam. I am getting smaller during a period of 1000 years, and during the next 1000 years I gradually grow. I was not included in the command: 'On the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.'" Jochanan then said: "Since thou art the son of Adam, do thou bless me." He said: "May God deliver thee from the evils which will come upon thee." Jochanan in amazement asked: "What are these evils which are to come upon me?" But he gave no reply, and departed peacefully; and Jochanan returned to his house a very rich and wise man, and there was not a man whose wisdom was as great as his.

The king, having heard of his profound wisdom, sent for him to ask him to solve difficulties on very many subjects, and found him to be exceedingly clever and well versed in everything. The king therefore loved him more than all the other wise men. Now this king had not married. One day his counsellors came to him and said: "It cannot be pleasant to thee to live in this state, without any heir to succeed to the throne after thee. For when thou art dead the kingdom will remain without an heir and will fall to a stranger, because thou wilt not have a son to succeed thee. Therefore let a beautiful girl be sought for the king in all the provinces of the kingdom, or thee to take to wife." But the king refused to listen to them. They, however, came a second and a third and a fourth time, until he said: "Well, since you really wish me to marry, give me three days' time, and I will then reply whether it is right to marry or not." They did so. On the second day, while he was sitting in his courtyard in deep meditation, a raven perched upon him and brought between its legs a very beautiful golden hair, which fell upon the king. On the third day he brought this hair to his counsellors, and said: "You wish me to marry. Well, if you can bring that woman to whom this hair belongs I shall be pleased to marry her; but if not, I will execute you." "Give us," they said, "three days' time to know what to do." He gave it to them. They thereupon counselled together and found that there was not any man in existence able to do this, except Jochanan; for he was skilled in all languages, and his equal was not to be found in all the land. On the third day they came to the king, and said: "There is a certain wise man

in thy kingdom named Jochanan, who knows all the languages of the world. He is the only man who is able to do what you ask." The king thereupon sent for him. In the meantime it happened that a certain bird flew over Jochanan's house of learning and, crying, said: "May God deliver thee, Jochanan, from the evils about to come upon thee." When Jochanan heard this, he was much alarmed, for the scorpion had blessed him with the very same words. The servants of the king then came to Jochanan, and said: "Arise, come unto the king; for he has sent for thee." Jochanan trembled very greatly. He rose, went to the king, and prostrated himself before him. The king then said to him: "I have heard that thou art very wise, and of great understanding, knowing all the languages of the world. Now, I wish to take a woman to wife, for the law of the kingdom forbids a king to remain unmarried and without children. Therefore go and bring this very woman to whom this hair, which a raven brought to me, belongs; for I know that this hair belongs to a woman. Her I desire." Jochanan replied: "There is not a king, prince, governor, or ruler, who has ever made such a request as thou hast made, to seek a woman to whom the hair which thou hast in thy hand belongs." The king said: "If thou wilt not bring her to me, I will cut off thy head and those of thy people." "If so," replied Jochanan, "then grant me three years' time to seek her and bring her to thee." He granted it to him. Jochanan immediately went to his house, called his wife and family, and told them the whole matter. Then he, his wife, sons, and daughters wept on account of his sorrow. He, however, with the consent of his wife and family, went in the direction of the forest of Ilai for he said: "I may peradventure meet the scorpion whom I reared and brought up." He took with him three loaves of bread and ten pieces of gold. He penetrated the depth of the forest and met a huge dog, the like of which he had never before seen. The animals of that forest were unlike any others, and of immense stature. This dog, who was crying and howling, said: "God has created me so large and so different from any other dog that I am not able to find sufficient food for my want, for 'a handful will not satisfy the lion.' If I were as small as other dogs I could maintain myself with very little. Hast thou created me to die of hunger?" Jochanan said: "God has not created thee to die through hunger, for his mercies extend to all his creatures. Take one of these loaves which I have, and eat." It did so, and said: "May God deliver thee from all manner of troubles which are about to befall thee. May he grant me, that I be able to reward thee as a return for the food which I eat, as a return for this kindness which thou hast done to me." Jochanan went further, and came upon an immense raven, the like of which he had never seen. It cried and said the same thing as the dog. Jochanan gave it another of his loaves. The raven blessed him for it in exactly the same manner as the dog. Jochanan went on his way, and on coming out of the forest saw a river before him. He thereupon went and sat down by the river side and there ate the remaining loaf which he had, and drank some water. Just opposite him he saw a fisherman, who said to him: "Wouldst thou like to

buy the fish I have caught?" He replied: "Yes." "Wilt thou give me for them the ten pieces of gold which thou hast in thy bag?" Jochanan was amazed, and said: "Who told thee that there are ten pieces of gold in my bag?" "Nobody," replied the fisherman, "except God." Jochanan took them and gave them to him. When he opened the net he found in it but one very beautiful large fish, which was worth 100 gold pieces. When the fisherman saw that the fish was so immense he was angered to death at the bargain which Jochanan had made, and cast the fish before him (Jochanan). It spread itself before Jochanan, and said to him: "My lord, thou knowest that I am too large for thee to carry, and even if thou wishest to eat me thou wilt have ample with but a little piece of me. Do therefore what is upright and good, and cast me into the river from which I have come, and with the help of God I will pay thee back the sum which thou hast given for me. May God be with thee and deliver thee from the evils which are about to come upon thee, and may he grant me to reward thee for the kindness which thou hast shown to me." At these words Jochanan cast the fish into the river. The fisherman, seeing it, was very angry and said: "Why didst thou cast the fish back into the river? Thou hast acted foolishly, for it was worth 100 pieces of gold." Jochanan replied: "I did this on account of what is written: 'And his mercies are upon all his creatures.'" He rose, and while walking by the river side saw on the other side of the river a large handsome town situated upon the river. Outside the town there stood two women. One was the queen of that place, the prettiest woman in the whole country. The other woman was her handmaid. The queen said to her handmaid: "See this poor man on the other side of the river; he is coming after me and wishes to take me with him to wed me to a king whose wickedness is unparalleled. He has never seen me, nor has he heard from me; but a raven took one of the hairs of my head and brought it to him. He thereupon sent this good man after me. I shall have to go with him if he is able to do three things which I shall ask him. Do thou go and tell the boatman to bring him to me." The boatman did so, and brought him before the queen. Jochanan stood before her, and made obeisance to her. She replied by saying: "Blessed art thou who comest. Whence comest thou, and whither dost thou go?" He replied: "I have come from a distant land to seek a woman the hair of whose head is like this hair which I carry with me." "Stay with us one month," she said, "and we shall give thee what thou seekest." He stayed with her. At the expiration of the month Jochanan came to the queen and said to her: "Tell me whether I shall be able to find what I seek in thy kingdom." "Yes," she said, "I who stand before thee am the very woman whom thou seekest, and here is the proof: my hair is the same as the hair which thou carriest. Know, now, that I will go with thee; but first thou must perform three things for me if thou wishest me to go with thee." Jochanan then said: "Do not impede me. If I do not bring thee to the king within four months, know that the remainder of my people must perish." She thereupon said: "I possess two pitchers; and I wish thee to

bring me one full of the water of Hell, and the other full of the water of the Garden of Eden." Jochanan thereupon wept and said: "Who is able to do this?" She said: "If thou art not able to do this, I will not go with thee." "If this is so, then bring me the two pitchers and I will do what I can." When they were brought to him, he went immediately across the river and travelled until he came to the forest of Ilai. There he sat down, and weeping in bitterness of his soul prayed, and said: "May it please thee, O God, to send the raven to which I gave of my bread, and which promised to repay me in some way or another." The raven came and perched upon him, and said: "I am here to do thy bidding." He then took the pitchers and hung them upon the raven's neck, and said: "Bring me one of these (pitchers) full of the water of the Garden of Eden, and the other full of the water of Hell. "I will do what thou biddest," said the raven. It departed on its journey. It came and, immersing a pitcher in the river of Hell, filled it with the water of that river; but the water was boiling hot, so that one could not put his finger into it without scalding himself, and had it not been that the mercy of God was upon it the raven would have been burnt. From thence it went to the river which flows in the midst of the Garden of Eden and filled the other pitcher with its water. The raven then dipped itself in the water (of that river) and washed its body, after which its flesh was healed of the wounds and bruises which it had received from the waters of Hell. It then took up the pitchers, went to Jochanan, and said to him: "Behold, my lord, I have done as thou hast commanded me." Jochanan then took the pitchers and went to the queen. He said: "Behold, my lady, the pitchers full of the water of the Garden of Eden and Hell, as thou hast bidden." When the queen took them she looked at the waters and recognised that the water of Hell was very hot and had a very bad odour, while the water of the Garden of Eden was very cold and its smell was that of sweet spices. The queen was thereupon exceedingly rejoiced, and said: "There is yet another request which thou must perform for me. Twenty-five years ago my father died and gave me the ring from his finger. It contained a very precious stone, the like of which is not to be found in the whole world. One day I went out for a walk by the river-side, and the ring fell from my hand into the river. My servants sought for it, placed a dredge in the water, and carried the water to another place, and yet could not find it. If thou canst bring it to me, I will go with thee without delay." Jochanan said: "How can one possibly find a thing which has been lost in this river now twenty-five years ago?" She replied: "If thou wilt not bring it to me, I will not go with thee." Jochanan then went by the river side until he came to the spot where he cast the fish which he once bought. There he sat down and wept. While he was still speaking and praying, the fish appeared, and said: "O my lord, I am ready to fulfil thy wish. I know what thou seekest, and God knows that it is not in my possession; but I know, and am able to recognise that fish which took it and in whose possession it is still, but I must first arraign it (the fish) in judgment before Leviathan, to whom I must relate the whole case." That fish went to Leviathan, and said: "There is a

certain good man by the river-side," and he related to him the whole story. Leviathan then said : " Go after that fish and ask it whether it knows where that ring is, and I will intercede on thy behalf to return it to the owner." It went after that fish and brought it to Leviathan, who said to him : " Thou possessest a certain ring, which thou hast taken and found at such and such a time. Restore it to this fish, and it will carry it to the pious man who is standing at the brink of the river. All his people are bowed down with sorrow on account of this ring." This fish then handed it to the other one, and so it was brought to Jochanan. But when the fish spat it out from its mouth on the ground, a huge swine snatched it, swallowed it, and departed. Jochanan wept in the bitterness of his soul and, crying, exclaimed : " Woe unto me, woe unto me." The fish was also exceedingly angered at it, and said to Jochanan : " I have not the power to do anything more in this matter ; but may God grant thee the request of thy heart and bring thee forth from thy trouble to freedom." The fish then departed and went on its way. Jochanan then said : " O Lord, may it please thee to bring the dog to me, so that I and it may go out together to seek that swine, if it is possible to find it." While he was thus speaking the very dog came up barking, and it said : " Beloved, I have already performed thy request and thy desire ; for I met the swine that took the ring from thee. I killed it, tore its inwards, and took its entrails out of its body. They are now lying on the ground. Come, and I will lead thee to the place, and thou shalt open the entrails and find it within." Jochanan went there and found the swine dead. He opened the entrails and found the ring within. He took it out and went on his way greatly rejoicing. The dog also departed. Jochanan came to the queen and gave her the ring. When she saw it she took it and kissed it, and was exceedingly glad. Jochanan then said : " Since God has prospered the way whither he has sent me ; let us now go away together to my native place and country ; for I have performed whatever thou hast asked of me. Do therefore what is right, and let us not tarry." She replied : " Since this thing cometh from God I cannot refuse thee, but will go with thee to whatever place thou wishest to take me." They then arose, went together, and came to the palace of the king, who had sent in quest of her. When the king heard of their coming he went out to meet them, he and his horsemen with him, and brought them to his palace. When they arrived at his palace, Jochanan heard that his wife had died, that his sons were taken captive, that they had lost whatever remained to them ; for the counsellors who envied him had plundered all his property and taken them captive. When Jochanan heard this, he was exceedingly grieved for his wife and his sons, and wept and cried on account of them.

When they (his sons) heard that their father had returned they were exceedingly rejoiced. They came to him and related to him all the trouble which happened to them. He then freed them, and they remained with him. He was beloved and favoured by the king because he had brought him a most

beautiful woman ; one so beautiful was not to be found in the whole kingdom. The king thereupon desired to wed her at once, and to lead her to the wedding canopy ; but she answered and said : " It is not customary in my country as soon as one speaks to a woman to marry her immediately. Grant me twelve months' time." The king replied : " I will fulfil all thy requests and entreaties ; do what seemeth good in thine eyes." Now Jochanan was much beloved and favoured by the king and queen, so that the king took the ring from his finger and, presenting it to him, appointed him controller of all his household and the ruler of everything which he possessed. On account of this the counsellors envied him, and said to each other : " Unless we take counsel together to slay this man, he will now requite us for all the evil which we have done to him and his sons." So one day they lay in wait for him, smote him, and tore him to pieces limb from limb. When the news reached the king's palace that Jochanan was slain, and that his murderers had torn him to pieces, the king and queen were exceedingly grieved. And the queen said : " Take me to the place where his (scattered) limbs are lying." They took her to the place. She then took each limb and joined them together just as they were in the beginning. She then took her ring, and on touching the wounds with the stone the bones and sinews became joined together, by virtue of the power of the stone which the ring contained. After this she took some of the water from the Garden of Eden and washed his flesh, so that it became healed, and had the appearance of the flesh of a young boy. She then lay upon him, and placed her mouth against his mouth, and kissed him. She then prayed to God, and He restored his soul, so that he came to life again, rose up, and walked upon his feet.

When they saw that she was able to restore the dead to life they marvelled exceedingly. The king said : " If this is so, let us go and wage war against the neighbouring nations, and if I am killed in battle she will be able to restore me to life." The king accordingly set out with his princes and servants against another king's country. They were arrayed in a long line of battle. But the king, his princes, and his servants were killed. The counsellors then came to the queen and said to her : " Come and restore to life the king, his princes, and servants, for they have fallen by the sword." She went to the place (of the slain) together with Jochanan and did to them first the same that she had done to Jochanan ; but she took instead water from Hell and sprinkled it upon them, when they were all immediately burnt to ashes. She then said : " Behold the wonders of God ; for mine is not the wisdom nor the knowledge to kill and restore to life ; but it is God who slays and revives the dead, who wounds and heals, who humbleth and who exalteth. It was not pleasing to him to restore to life these wicked men as he restored to life this good man. I am not able to do anything more." They therefore returned to their homes, and the kingdom remained without a king. They then cast their eyes upon Jochanan and accordingly made him king over them ; for all those who sought his life were now dead. Moreover they gave him the beautiful woman to wife. They lived together in peace, tranquility, and comfort for many years, and begat both sons and daughters. On account of

this it is said : "Cast thy bread upon the water, for in time to come thou wilt find it again." (*Eccles. xi., i.*)

III. *The Bridegroom and the Angel of Death.*

It is told of a certain Reuben the Libellarius, that he had but once only during his life committed a sin, which was the following :—

One day when he went to synagogue in the morning he found a man sitting in his place. He rebuked him, and said : "In the place of great men thou must not sit." The man immediately went away, and sat by the door weeping bitterly. His tears reached the throne of glory, and God therefore sent the angel of death to take his (Reuben's) son ; and he had begotten his son after his eightieth year. When the angel of death came to him, Reuben recognised him, and said : "Why hast thou come here? has the time arrived for me to quit the world?" "No," replied the angel, "God has sent me to take away thy son's life." "Why?" said he. "Because," replied the angel, "thou didst rebuke this poor man." "If," said he, "I am thus found guilty grant me thirty days during which time I may marry my son to his bride, so that he may rejoice ; and then take his life." The angel of death granted him thirty days. God was angered fourfold with the angel of death. Reuben then divided his property into three portions ; one portion he dealt out to the poor and needy, the second portion to rejoice his son, saying : "Perhaps this verse will be realised, viz. : 'Wealth does not profit in the day of wrath, but charity delivereth from death.'" The third portion he put away to see what would happen. After twenty-nine days had passed, during which time he had rejoiced his son's heart, the prophet Elijah came and sat by the door of the lad, who immediately trembled, and said : "Why hast thou come here, old man?" He replied : "My son, I am Elijah who have come to tell thee good tidings." The lad, making obeisance to him, asked him : "What good tidings have you?" To which he replied : "To-morrow the angel of death will take thy soul, my son." The lad then said : "Is it not true, old man, that from the beginning of the world it has been so, that as soon as one's day comes he must die?" "Yes," replied the prophet, "but thou wilt not die as other people." "How is that?" said the lad. The prophet replied : "The angel of death will come against thee with the fourfold anger with which he was rebuked by God." "What can I do to save myself," said the lad? He replied : "When thy father goes up before the ark and thou standest at his left side, watch and thou wilt see a poor man attired in dirty torn clothes. Pay him honour, for he is the angel of death, who will perhaps have mercy upon thee." Accordingly, on the morrow, when the time arrived, he again saw that man, and greeting him, said : "O my master, get up and sit in the place of the great." To which he replied : "O my son, but yesterday thy father said to me, 'in the place of great men do not sit,' and now thou biddest me [sit there]." The lad replied : "I wish to do thee honour." At which the angel replied : "May he to whom honour belongs have compassion upon thee." He then forthwith

went out and sat by the door of the canopy, and the lad sat in front of him. He said: "My son, I will ask thee a question." The lad replied: "Ask." He then said: "A man borrowed from his neighbour a barnful of straw. He then took the straw and placed it in clay, and with it built a large house. After some time the owner of the straw came and said: 'Return to me the straw I lent you.' What should he do?" The lad said: "He should give him other straw instead." "But if," said the angel, "he will not take any except his own, what should he do?" The lad replied: "He should then break down his house, place the bricks in water, dissolve them, and extracting the straw return it to him." The angel then said: "Thou, my son, art the straw, and the breath (body) of life is the building. God, who is the owner of the straw, has sent me to take back his straw." He had not finished speaking when the father of the lad came out of the synagogue, sobbing and crying for his child, and prostrating himself before the angel of death, said to him: "I entreat thee to take away my life instead of my son's." The angel of death immediately clothed himself with the garments of cruelty, anger, wrath and severity, and appeared to him equipped as a warrior going out to battle. He unsheathed his sword and placed his foot upon his neck, in order to slay him. At this his 248 limbs trembled violently. He then stood up and fled from before the angel, and said: "Go and take the life of him for whom thou hast been sent, for I am not able to bear thee." When his old mother saw that, she fell down, and her hair was dragged in the dust, and she said: "I entreat thee to take my life instead of that of my offspring." And she was sobbing heavily and weeping. The angel of death immediately clothed himself with the four garments of cruelty, and appeared armed like a warrior going forth to battle. He unsheathed his sword and placed his foot upon her neck, to slay her; but she fled from under him and running away shut the door after her, and said: "Go and take the life of him to whom thou hast been sent; take it, for I am not able to bear thee. Go." At that moment the bride of the lad saw this commotion. She descended from her bridal canopy and, falling down, prostrated herself before the angel of death, said: "I entreat thee to take my life instead of this young man's, and leave him to complete the term of his life. 'Life for life' will then be literally fulfilled." At this the angel of death immediately clothed himself with the four garments of cruelty, he then drew his sword from its sheath and placed his foot upon her neck. She then said to him: "Finish the word (bidding) of the King of Kings who hath sent thee." He nearly crushed her two or three times. She did not stir, but said: "Fulfil the word of the King of Kings." The angel of death forthwith had mercy upon her; and a tear of mercy fell upon her from the eye of the angel of death. Then spake God, and said: "If this cruel one who slayeth people has mercy upon them, shall I, who am called the God of mercy and kindness, not have compassion upon these people?" He thereupon granted seventy more years to each one of them.

IV. *The Story of the Young Man and the Ravens.*

It happened once that a man had an only son, who was eighteen years old. He was very rich. One day his son came to his father and said : "Hear me, O my Lord ! Thou hast reared me and given me a good position, so that I am very rich both in wealth and in property ; but I learn absolutely nothing from thee, neither the law, nor wisdom, nor polite manners, nor knowledge, nor understanding. If now it is pleasing to thee I shall go and study in a certain country beyond the sea ; for I have been informed that there exists a particular city full of exceedingly wise people—in fact, wiser than any other people in the whole world. I should like to go there to study for three years, after which time I will return to thee." His father replied : "What is the use of it, my son ? Seeing that thou hast abundant riches, and considering the fact that I am old and do not know how soon the day of my death may come, besides which thy mother is also very aged. If we die, to whom shall we leave all these riches ?" At this his son said : "I do not care for thy wealth, because in the hour of death neither silver, nor gold, nor precious stones, nor pearls are of any use, but study and the fact of having performed good deeds." When his father heard this, he said : "Remain with us, O my son, and I will engage a very learned man for thee who will remain with us. Further, every day I will sustain six poor men, all in order that thou remain with us." "Do not be angry, my father," said his son, "when I tell you that nothing in the world will prevent me from going there, for I shall learn more there in three years than I should here in ten." When his father saw he could not prevent him, he said : "If this is your firm intention, then take with thee 1,000 pieces of gold and some beautiful and suitable garments, and then go in peace ; but do not be delayed from returning at the end of three years." The lad thereupon went on his journey to the city across the sea, and arrived at the city, all the inhabitants of which were exceedingly learned. He went to the chief among them and studied there under him. In the course of three years he learned very much. When the end of the time had nearly arrived, his father sent for him and, obtaining the permission for his departure from his teacher, he returned home. When his father and mother saw him, they were exceedingly rejoiced, and asked him what he had learnt. To which he replied : "I have been learning the law, and I would yet wish to go and stay there another three years." "But," said his father, "thou hast already remained there a long time." To which the son replied : "I have promised to return to my teacher to study yet another three years, and then I will allow nothing to detain me." "If that is so," said his father, "then take with thee another 1,000 pieces of gold, and new and beautiful clothes, and go in peace. But when I send for thee, thou shalt come back immediately and not linger." He took what was given him and went on his journey, until he arrived before his teacher, with whom he studied another three years. During his stay there of six years he had studied the Law, the Prophets, Hagiographa, Talmud, and the general rules of Hermeneutics. When the end of the time arrived, his

father sent for him and obtained permission of leave from his teacher. When he came to his father and mother they rejoiced exceedingly on seeing him ; and on his father asking him again what he had learnt, he replied : " I have learned very much." Then said his father : " Tell us something of what thou hast learned." " But," he replied, " I have not yet been able to acquire wisdom, and therefore I cannot tell thee anything until I remain there another three years." " Thou hast been there a very long time and thou shalt not return ; for we are both of us very aged and wish thee to stay here with us to take care of us." But he replied : " I shall surely lose whatever I have gained if I do not remain there another three years." " If this is so," said his father, " since it is not good for thee to lose whatever thou hast gained, go in peace." He accordingly went on his journey, taking with him another 1,000 pieces of gold, and remained there another three years. During those three years he learned how to speak the language of the trees and demons, the tales of foxes and the language of every animal, wild beast and bird ; in fact, there did not remain any single science in the world which he had not learned. When the three years came to an end his father came for him himself, and presented his teacher with very costly gifts. The teacher then said to him : " Take thy son, thine only son, and go with him in peace to thy house. He is profoundly wise in all the sciences of the world ; there is no equal to him." Having taken leave of the teacher they went on their way. When they came to the sea they engaged a ship and entered it. On being in mid-ocean a raven came and, sitting on the mast, cried ; and while he was crying, said : " The father of this youth is now very rich ; but before he dies he will be reduced to absolute poverty, and ultimately he will again become so rich that there will not be anyone like him in all the land."

When his son heard this he laughed very much. " Why dost thou laugh so much ?" said his father. He replied : " Because I was thinking of things I used to do in my boyhood." But his father said " Thou dost not laugh at that, but at something else." The son did not wish to tell his father the truth, lest he should frighten him and make him angry. But his father was nevertheless exceedingly angry with him, and said : " Is it for this I have thrown away my money, that he laughs and does not know why ? He must indeed be a fool, as Solomon in his wisdom says : ' Laughter in the mouth of a fool is weeping.' " He thereupon seized hold of his son and cast him into the sea. Now God prepared a great fish, which swallowed him and carried him to a place far off ; and there it vomited him in another kingdom. While he was sitting by the seashore the shepherd of the king saw him there naked, and going up to him said : " My son, what is thy business ? Whence comest thou, and from what place ?" He replied : " I was travelling in a ship and the Lord brought a very strong wind upon us which destroyed the ship in which I was travelling. But the Lord prepared a raft and brought me hither." " Dost thou know any kind of work ?" said he. " Yes," he replied. " What kind of work dost thou know ?" " I have been a shepherd from my youth," said he. " If so, then stay with me and mind my flock, and I will give thee

thy wages." He stayed with him, and the shepherd clothed him, maintained him, and loved him very much; and the Lord blessed the shepherd for his sake. He entrusted to him all he had.

It happened once when the king was sitting in his house, together with his princes and servants, that there gathered upon his house a huge army of ravens, so that the whole house was covered with them. They divided themselves into two bands on the two sides of the palace, and between the two bands there were three ravens, two males and a female between them. These three sat there and would not stir from their place, while two other ravens were going from one band to the other as if they were messengers. Moreover, nobody was able to drive them away, neither by (the shooting of) arrows, nor by throwing stones, nor by any other means. The king and princes and all the onlookers were amazed; for they had neither heard of, nor seen, anything like this before. The king then sent messengers to all the provinces of his kingdom, in order to gather together every wise man, every man of understanding, every counsellor, every enchanter and wizard to come at an appointed time. All of them accordingly assembled and came before the king. The king said: "Whoever will be able to interpret this thing to the king, to him will be given the king's daughter for wife and half of his kingdom, during the king's lifetime, and the whole after his death." Some of them came to the king, and said: "My lord, the king, this thing points to famine and want." Others again interpreted it to mean, that he would beget sons and bury them. Each one of them interpreted it to be, in any case, a sign of woe. But their words did not enter the heart of the king, so that he said: "Not one of them is able to speak such things as will enter my ears, for they all speak lies." The king then sat on the floor in bitterness and sorrow, and he was grieved to the heart, so that he desired neither to eat nor drink. They all came to comfort him, but he refused to be comforted. When the lad saw the intense grief of the king, and that he had vowed to confer such great honour upon the man who would be able to interpret the mystery, he rose up as a wise and courageous man and went up to the garden of the king's palace, to the door of his bed-chamber, and wished to enter therein to speak to the king. When the gate-keepers saw him, that his clothes were torn, and his hair dishevelled, just as he was in the field with his flock, although he was beautiful in stature and appearance, they said to him: "What is thy business with the king?" "I desire to speak to the king, and to tell him what he wishes." The gate-keepers ran and told the king, and said: "Our lord, the king, there is a certain lad standing at the door of the chamber, who wishes to speak to thee; he says, he will tell thee whatever thou hast hidden in thine heart." The king said: "Let him come in." The lad, then entering before the king, made obeisance to him, and said: "Long live the king! behold I am a young man in years, while all thy wise men are old; but God has given me knowledge and understanding to tell the king what he has buried in his heart; but it is not from me, but from God, who has revealed his secret to his servant. Now, my lord, O king, thou hast promised to give thy daughter and one half of thy kingdom to him who shall be able to tell thee,

and all thy kingdom after thou hast departed this life." "This have I promised," said the king, "and this do I swear to fulfil." "I will tell thee then," said the lad, "for what reason all these ravens have gathered themselves at that place, and the truth I will tell before all so that my words may be proved true." So they all came to listen to the words of the lad. Then the lad said: "It happened once that there was a grievous famine in all the land so that the birds were not able to find sufficient food in the fields. Now my lord, O king, do thou pay great attention to my words and know that of the three ravens which thou seest, two are males and the one in the middle is a female, which is the wife of the raven sitting on her right. In the year of the famine he drove his wife out and said to her: 'Go away to whatever place thou wishest, for I have quite sufficient to do to find enough food for myself, so that I cannot help thee.' His wife therefore went on her way and found this raven that is sitting on her left side. He said to her: 'Who art thou, my daughter, and whither goest thou alone?' To which she replied: 'Know, my lord, that my husband has driven me away on account of the famine, saying that it was difficult for him to find his own maintenance.' He then said: 'Behold my own wife is dead and I possess no companion. If thou desirest to remain with me, I will support and maintain thee to the best of my power, but on condition that thou become my wife and that thou wilt never leave me for any other.' She replied: 'We two are better together than I myself left alone; therefore I will do as thou sayest.' The raven then came and took her to himself as a wife. They lived together, and he maintained her during all the years of the famine. Now when the years of plenty had arrived, her first husband wished to receive her as at first. But the other raven said: 'I have maintained her during the years of famine, and have taken to me to wife that female whom thou hast divorced; and now dost thou come to rob me of her, seeing that the time of plenty has arrived?' They argued for some time, and at length determined to go to judgment. On account of this all these ravens have assembled here, because, not knowing the law, they have all come here to hear from thee what the judgment should be. And this shall be a sign to thee (of the truth of my tale). After thou hast declared what appears to thee to be the just decision, all the ravens, acting immediately upon that decision, will go against the guilty, will slay it, and cast it at thy feet. Now, therefore, pronounce judgment as it seems just to thee, as to which of these claimants the female belongs as his wife." The king and all his princes and servants thereupon were greatly astonished and perplexed at what they had heard. The king then took counsel with his princes and servants, all of whom were of opinion that the one who had divorced her had no right whatever to make her return to him as his wife, for he had driven her away during the years of famine; and further, since this other one supported her during that time, he was worthy to keep her as his wife. This decision being ratified by the king the ravens forthwith rose up against the condemned, smote him with their wings, wounded him, and killed him, and then, casting him before the feet of the king, they all went on their way. When the king saw this, he

said: "Since God has made known to thee all this, there is nobody so great in understanding and in wisdom as thou; therefore thou shalt be the second in the kingdom, and I will give thee my daughter."

In the meantime the father of the young man was impoverished; in fact his poverty was such that there never was any so poor as he, for there did not remain to him and his wife sufficient to clothe themselves, they were naked and put to shame. The young man then said to the king: "My lord the king, if I have found grace in thy sight, grant me this request, which I shall ask of thee, by which I may know that thou art pleased with me." "Ask what thou desirest," said the king, "and I will fulfil it." He then said: "Let the king issue a command, and make it known in all the kingdom, that there shall not remain either old man or old woman, poor or rich, who shall not have come to the wedding of thy daughter; I shall be willing to supply water for them to wash their hands when they come in to partake of the banquet." Letters were accordingly sent to all the provinces in the kingdom, by means of messengers, commanding every person to come to the wedding of the king's daughter. They accordingly came from all sides and from every corner. The young man's father and mother were also among those who came, according to the command of the king. When his parents came, they remained behind the door, for they were naked and were ashamed. The young man then went and sought them on every side and in every corner, until he discovered them behind the door. He then said to them: "Come forward, ye blessed of the Lord; why do you stand there? Come inside the house with the others, and do not remain here." They replied: "If it please thee, let us remain here; for we are naked and dirty, and are therefore ashamed to enter with the others." The young man thereupon commanded the overseer of his house to bring this man and woman into the palace (house), to wash them, and anoint them, and to give them of the very best food and drink, and clothe them with garments of fine linen and lace. "Moreover do whatever seems proper to them, but say nothing to anybody. Thou shalt do for them whatever is in thy power for three days." He did so. On the fourth day the young man came to see his father and mother, and found them rejoicing and of good cheer. He then said to them: "Who are you, and in what place do you dwell? Have you any children, and if so what are their occupations?" They replied: "We dwell in such and such a place, and have only had one son. I used to be a very rich merchant, and was so until very recently. But now old age has crept over me, and I am in poverty as thou hast seen. Now, however, God has granted us the blessing of finding favour and kindness before thee. Blessed be He who exalts thee, who hast bestowed all these favours upon us, so that thou hast given us the wherewith to live and to maintain ourselves." "Where is this son of whom thou speakest? Tell me now whether he is dead or alive, and in which place he dwells?" They were no longer able to restrain themselves and began to cry. "Why do you weep?" said he, "do you lack anything or do you perhaps desire anything to eat or drink?" They replied: "No my lord. Nothing has been withheld from us." "What then is the

story of this son of yours?" Then they related to him everything about their son, and everything that had happened to them; they denied him nothing. They then raised their voices and wept bitterly, for they were longing to ease their hearts by crying. He also wept with them until it was late. He then commanded every man to go from his presence, so that nobody was with him when he made himself known to his parents, saying: "I am thy son whom thou didst cast into the sea, and this is my mother. Because I did not wish to tell thee why I laughed thou didst cast me into the sea. But God prepared a huge fish which swallowed me." And telling them everything that happened (the whole story) he said: "Now do not grieve nor be angry, for God has sent me before you to maintain you. I shall now be the son-in-law to the king. I shall do good to you, and you will be to me as a head." They were unable to reply for they were perplexed before him. It became soon known that his father and mother had come, and the thing was pleasing to the king and the princes. The king said to him: "Let thy parents come up to thee, and let them dwell on the best of the land." The young man then rose up and prostrated himself to the ground, saying: "Long live the king!" They then made a banquet, and performed the wedding ceremony; and ultimately he became king, thus fulfilling the word of scripture which says: "The stone which the builders have rejected has become a corner-stone." (*Psalms* cxviii., 22.)

Variant of No. IV.

There once lived an exceedingly meek and pious man whose wife was equally pious. They had no children, since his wife was barren. They therefore spent much money in trying to obtain a cure but without any avail. They grieved on this account even until old age. After a time this pious woman said to her husband: "Let us obtain a divorce and I shall get married to another man." When her husband heard this he wept, and after fasting for two days and three nights, clothed in his prayer-garments he went to the cemetery, and standing by the grave of a very pious and wise man he prayed and wept bitterly; when of a sudden the earth opened and there came forth a band of men clothed with their prayer-garments. "Why," said they, "dost thou weep and cry?" "Because I have no children," he replied. "Then do not weep," said they; "make a covenant with us that if thou beget a son thou wilt bring him here to be circumcised by us; and we shall grant thee a son." "I accept this arrangement, and as soon as my wife bears a son I shall bring him here to be circumcised by you." "Next year, then," said they, "shall thy wife bear a son, but do not tell anybody of this." Accordingly his wife did bear a son in the following year. His congregation asked: "When shall we circumcise the child?" And on the eighth day they said: "Why dost thou not circumcise thy son?" But he replied: "I shall not do so." And wrapping himself in his prayer-garments he took his son and whatever appertained to the circumcision, and went to the burial-ground, where he stood praying until the earth opened, and there came forth this band of men, who hastily took the child and they went away together with the father.

They played and sang until they arrived at their synagogue. Their rabbi then took the child and, circumcising it according to the law, they returned it to the father saying: "Go now in peace." After the father had gone a little way rejoicing he came to a place in which he could neither go forward nor return. He turned round and seeing nobody he was greatly troubled and cried aloud, until the same band appeared to him and said: "If thou wishest us to show thee the way safe to thy native place, give us thy son, and we shall teach him the Law until seven years have elapsed; after that time come and take thy son and go away in peace." "I am willing to do as you have said," he replied; and giving them his son; they showed him the way to his native town, and he returned home to his house. On his wife asking what had become of her son, he narrated all that had happened from the very time of the conception of the child until that time. After the pious man had waited seven years he enveloped himself with his prayer-garments, and, going to the same place, he prayed until the same band came forth and brought the child to the father. He looked like an angel of God, educated in Torah, Mishnah, Gemara, and in every science, so that the father was exceedingly glad and took the child to go away, when they said: "Give him to us for yet another year and we shall teach him the seventy languages of the birds and beasts; and after that time take him and go in peace." The pious man agreed, and entrusting his son to them he went to his house and told his wife all that had happened. When the year had elapsed he went to the same place and received his son full of wisdom and the Law, and knowing seventy languages.

On their way home they came to a brook of water where they wished to quench their thirst and to wash their hands and feet. At that moment two birds came before them crying very loud. The son, noticing this, laughed and cried. "Why dost thou laugh and cry?" said the father. The son replied: "I laughed because one bird told me that in the future I should become king, and I cried because it further told me that my father would afterwards wash my hands and feet, just as a slave." Then said his father: "I was in trouble until God granted thee to me, and even then I was in great trouble for eight years; and now am I to be a slave (to thee)? I will have neither son nor servitude; in accordance with Ben Sira's saying, viz., 'When a son does not behave like a son, leave him upon the water to swim.'" He then took him and threw him into the water, and returned home in distress. The lad swam until he came to a certain fuller, who took him out and brought him to his house, where he grew up as his own son.

Soon after these things, while the king of the Gentiles was sitting in his palace and various dainties were brought him, two birds used to come every day and after wallowing in the dust they shook themselves in the food of the king, after which they flew away. The king sent forth a herald in the town saying: "That the man who would explain the meaning of the action of these birds would be clothed in regal garments." The king sat on his throne awaiting a reply, but no one was able to explain this riddle. The princes of the king at length said: "No one is able to explain this thing except the Jews."

The king accordingly issued a decree that Jews of all countries should come to him. The king then said to the Jews: "If you are able to interpret the meaning of these things, well; but if not I shall slaughter all the Jews who are under my sway." At this they were much alarmed and obtained seven days' time in which to unravel the mystery. They immediately searched and investigated all the sciences, but could not find a cure for their wound, so that they instituted a fast for all the Jews, for days and nights, just as in the time of Mordecai and Esther, with sackcloth and ashes.

The fuller came home to his house very sad and grieved. On the lad asking the reason of his sadness and grief he told him all that had happened, and said: "To-morrow we shall all be killed." But the lad said in reply: "Eat and drink, and do not be troubled, for to-morrow I shall go to the king and explain the action of these birds." On the same night the fuller went to the rabbi of the place, and narrated what he had heard, and the rabbi rejoiced exceedingly. On the morrow they took the lad and, having clothed him in costly garments, brought him to the king, and said: "O our lord the king, this lad will tell thee the meaning of this mystery." The king accordingly ordered the dainties to be brought before him. The birds as usual came and sprinkled some dust upon the food and flying away sat on the top of a tree. The lad then asked the birds in their own language why they persisted in spoiling the food of the king and they replied: "Because this king possesses neither justice nor righteousness." "Why?" asked the lad. "Because," said they, "we are the souls of two Jews. We were once travelling in the wilderness with much money, and about to return to our house when two of the king's servants came against us, and, killing us, robbed us of all our money, and went on their way. Nobody inquired after this, and our wives remained mourning over us uncertain of our fate. On account of this we sprinkle dust into the food of the king in order to obtain justice, and to free our wives." The lad then related to the king all that he had heard, but the king said: "I do not know who these men are." The lad then asked the birds who they were, and they replied: "Let the king order all his servants to come before him, and those two upon whose heads we perch will be the murderers." The king accordingly issued a command that all his servants should come before him, and the birds perched upon the heads of two of them. The king then threatened them with such anger until the two murderers told the murder with their own lips. Their houses were spoiled and they themselves killed, before the birds, and hanged. The king then asked the birds what their respective names were, and whose sons they were. And they replied: "One is Samuel ben Jehonathan and the other Aaron ben Jehonathan of the city of so-and-so." The king wrote down the whole story and sent to them, to their city, all the money of the servants who were killed, which was paid n full to their heirs. The birds then returned to their place, and the king dismissed the Jews in peace.

He then appointed the lad vice-regent, just as Joseph was appointed to Pharaoh. He ruled with great justice, and explained and investigated all the laws, so that the report was soon spread that a new king was on the throne

who judged according to truth, that he investigated the law and explained it. The people therefore brought before him difficult cases for decision, and he decided them according to the truth of the cases. After a time the pious man's wife quarrelled with her husband, saying: "Where is my son which I gave thee to circumcise? What hast thou done with him?" "He is dead," he replied. "Where did he die?" said his wife. "Show me the place of his grave that I may go there and see it, and my heart will be at ease?" "I do not know," replied the husband, "where he was buried." . . .

He then went with his wife to the king to bring the case for judgment before they died. The king (recognising his parents) ordered all the people out so that he might be able to make himself known to them. His mother then approached him and said: "My lord the king, such and such is the case that has happened. Do thou ask this man, who stands before thee, where my son is." But the king replied: "I have been engaged from the early morning until now deciding cases, and they are just now bringing me some food." They also brought a vessel of gold for washing the hands before eating. He then hinted to his servants to go away so that there remained no one to wash his hands except this man (his father) and his wife. The king waited a little time so that the man might understand to bring the water to him for washing. The man rose and did so. And the king said: "Do thou also sit down and partake of the meal." He did so. While they were eating, the king asked: "Where is the son of this woman?" In reply, he told him all that had happened, and then said that he is now dead. "Why dost thou tell falsehoods?" said the king. "For I was standing at the door of the gate and saw thee throw him into a brook of water. Thou must pay the penalty with thy life." When his servants came to smite him, he said: "I entreat thee, O king, to spare me, thou sayest the truth; but I was afraid of telling it, for fear of the king." "Since thou hast confessed this, come to me." They came to him and he said: "I am thy son who was sitting by the brook of water when two birds came before us crying; I cried and laughed. Then, asking me what these two birds said, I told thee 'I laughed because they told me I should at some future time be king, and I cried because they said that thou wouldst bring me water just as a servant to wash my hands.' Then thou didst reply: 'After all the trouble I have had with thee, shall I be a slave to thee?' And thou didst forthwith cast me into the water." He told his father everything that had happened until he became king. "On account of this," said he, "I had these dainties and the water jug brought to fulfil what was prophesied." His parents then embraced him, saying: "Thou art certainly our son." They wept for joy until it reached the royal palace. The king also rejoiced, and the father was appointed chief governor of the city; so that his parents rejoiced exceedingly and begat sons and daughters. The Preacher says: "Whatever God does stands for ever; it can neither be added to nor diminished."

THE HISTORY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ROUND TABLE AS TOLD IN HEBREW IN THE YEAR 1279.

AMONGST the manuscripts in the Vatican (Urb. 48) there is a fragment of a Hebrew version of the history of King Arthur which might be called a *Morte d'Arthur*. Unfortunately the translator, or rather perhaps the copyist, has broken off in the middle, and the history itself is very brief. Practically it contains only two episodes of the Arthurian legends,—the history of Uther Pendragon and the birth of Arthur, and the history of Lancelot,—both much shortened. Prof. Berliner published the Hebrew text in his *Otsar Tob*, 1885, pp. 1-11, and refers briefly to it in his *Magazin f. d. Wissenschaft d. Judenthums*, 1885, p. 225. He states that there is no doubt about the date of the manuscript, which is supported by internal evidence. The manuscript mentions only the year -39, which according to Hebrew computation is equivalent to 1279. The full figures in Hebrew would be 5039, the thousands being omitted. The text is published from the copy made by Dr. Berliner from the unique original. There are various mistakes in the spelling of the names, and other orthographical inaccuracies, which may be due to errors either of the modern copyist or made by the former copyist owing to carelessness or difficulty of reading the lost original. It is a pity that the editor has not informed us

as to the character of the writing,—whether it was, as I assume, a second copy from the autograph or original hand, and whether it is in a French or Italian hand,—for it would have been of great importance in settling, not only orthographical difficulties, but the still greater difficulty of ascertaining the origin of this version. In the Introduction the Hebrew translator states merely that he translated it from the “vernacular” without indicating the language from which he made the translation,—whether it was French, or Provençal, or Italian. We shall have therefore to rely on internal evidence in the attempt which will be made, later on, to settle that problem.

Since its publication, Prof. Steinschneider has devoted a chapter to it in his *Hebräische Übersetzungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 967-969, § 578. He considers this book to be one of the greatest curiosities in Hebrew literature. Judging the book from its fragmentary character, Steinschneider maintains that the author has deliberately abbreviated it far beyond the few passages which he owns to have somewhat reduced, and which, according to his statement, did not amount to more than three small pages, so that the brief reference to the “Keste,” *i.e.* the Quest of the Grail, as well as that to other books of the Cycle, are not due to the original editor of the book from which the translation has been made, but to the translator. Steinschneider notices also the occurrence of a good number of Romance expressions which resemble Italian, and he therefore concludes that the original must have been an Italian version. But hitherto no such Italian text has been discovered.

Dr. M. Schüler has treated this version more fully in an article published in the *Archiv f. neuere Sprachen u. Literatur*, vol. cxxii. pp. 51-63. After giving briefly the history of this text, Dr. Schüler proceeds to give an analysis of its contents, and, comparing it with the French versions published by P. Paris, he comes to the conclusion

that the principal part, the Lancelot portion, runs parallel with the hitherto unpublished third part of the French Prose Romance of Lancelot in the *Mort d'Arthur*. It agrees in the main much more closely with that version than with Malory, and, according to Dr. Schüler, represents a more archaic phase of the legends than those hitherto known. The immediate original, however, from which the translation has been made, was an Italian version, and probably one hailing from Tuscany.

If we were quite sure of the exact reading of the Romance words found in the Hebrew text, and also that they had not been modified by the copyist, who may have lived in Italy, there would still be great difficulties, on linguistic as well as on literary grounds, in assuming the existence of so old an Italian translation of any of the Arthurian legends as to permit the present version to be based on an Italian original. The text is a combination of at least two or three legends, and reference is moreover made to others, such as a detailed history of the Quest, a history of Merlin, and another history of Lancelot. Out of these legends this "Morte d'Arthur," if I may call it so, has been compiled, and it agrees with the latter in its composition and partly in the contents. It presupposes an entire cycle of Arthurian prose romances, and that some at least had been joined together to form a *corpus* of such legends. The legends used may have been old, and therefore short, although the compiler has reduced them to a smaller compass. I am not aware, however, of any version of these legends so brief and succinct as the Hebrew, but, in spite of this, I do not believe that the translator had of his own accord abbreviated his original beyond the modest proportions mentioned by him and not exceeding more than a few pages in the whole book.

A problem is hereby raised for the students of these legends,—to find out whether such a short compilation already existed in the first half of the thirteenth century,

and, if so, in what language. That it must have existed this Hebrew version is the proof, but where and by whom was it made? There can also be but little doubt that the original was a prose romance, for the Hebrew translator would have mentioned the fact that he had rendered a metrical romance in prose, and the translation itself is so literal that one can see through it the older original. The translator has, in fact, invented new Hebrew words so as to approximate the translation as closely as possible to his original, and from the grammatical constructions and syntax, as well as from the flow of language, not the slightest doubt can be entertained that his original was a prose romance.

This original, in whichever form,—prose or rhyme,—it may have reached the translator, rests ultimately on a French text. But was it French or another Romance language which the translator mentions as the “vernacular”? If we were absolutely sure that the copyist had not tampered involuntarily with the non-Hebrew words found in this text, they would furnish some indication as to the character of that original. In all about fifteen Romance words have been retained in the Hebrew, exclusive of the names of the principal persons. The translator has been very careful in his transliteration, for we find that he evidently distinguishes between V and W; for the latter he uses the double װ (double V), and for the former the letter ך (B). For example, *Winchester* is written with װ, and *Vavassor* or *Valvassor* with ך (soft V). He also distinguishes between the sound *ç* in *Lancelot* and the *z* in *Borz*, and he must have found these names spelt accordingly in the Romance original. *S* is represented by a letter which may be read *S*h and *S* (ש), *e.g.* in *Winchester* and in *cosini*, and it is therefore not open to doubt that he pronounced the last word with *s* like French, and not with a sound resembling the Italian *gi*, as Dr. Schüler suggests. The translator does not seem to have known the latter sound, for he transcribes the

name of *Guenever Zinevra*, (which presupposes a *Ginevra*), and similarly *Izerna* for *Igern*. This can only be explained as a Venetian trait of the Romance language of the original, in which he already found them so spelt, or, what is much more likely, it is due to some South French dialect intermediate between those of Provence and the North of Italy, and not due to any liberty taken by the translator or by the second copyist of the Hebrew. Names like *Loto* and *Bano*, for *Lot* and *Ban*, and the form *Lançolot*,¹ may also be of non-Italian origin, and taken over in Italy in this form, for so they occur in the *Reali di Francia* and in other Italian versions of the ancient French romances of chivalry. They in fact show the route through which these romances have come to Italy. "Pennon" is undoubtedly French, and so are the forms "Messer," "scudier," and "Valvassor." The linguistic proof therefore points in the direction of the South of France for the version which served as the basis of the translation. The history of the literary transmission of this Cycle to Italy corroborates the conclusion to which I have come, for it was just about this date that Provençal poems began to penetrate into Italy and there to influence the nascent poetry of Italy. Collections of Provençal poems copied out in Italy are known to exist, and even Dante speaks of Provençal poetry as a school with which he was closely acquainted. Unfortunately the Hebrew version is only a fragment, but it is still full enough to enable us to penetrate through it to a more primitive phase of the Arthurian legends, as Dr. Schüler has rightly pointed out. It contains many an archaic trait, and, though agreeing in the main with Malory, it yet differs so much from the English version that it may fairly be taken to represent another and probably more ancient one.

I have endeavoured to be as faithful as I could in the

¹ The name *Lançolot* is written in full only a few times in the book, being generally abridged to *Lanç*.

following translation, and, for the sake of easier comparison, I have subdivided the text into small paragraphs.

Translation.

1. This is the book of the destruction of King Artus' Round Table. I translated it in the year (. . 39) (1279) from the vernacular (*La'az*) into Hebrew. In my translation I have left out some portions contained in the original book from which I translated. I did so because those passages were only dialogues and elegies or other accidents which happened to creep in without belonging to the body of the tale; I therefore passed them over. All together they would not be more than three small leaves. And I have undertaken this translation for two weighty reasons. First, I wished to preserve my bodily health. For through my sins have I met with troubles and sorrows and grief, and I am immersed in the sea of thoughts, marvelling and wondering constantly on the vicissitudes which have passed over me by days and nights; and I was afraid lest I fall a prey to melancholy, which is to lose my reason, than which death is better. Therefore have I translated those tales for my own pastime, and to drive away the thoughts which encompass me, and to soften my grief. Surely no one will take it amiss that I should have done so, for even our great sages, like R. Johannan ben Zakkai, cultivated also the study of the fox tales and the washerwomen's tales and the parables of the trees; for through such occupation men derive some comfort and peace of mind, notably those engrossed in the study of the Law or in pursuits of the world. And the prophet himself asked for one to play on the harp to him, and our sages have explained it as you are aware. One can moreover derive from these tales some moral lessons in manners, and the conduct of man towards himself and towards others. They are therefore not mere idle talk and wasteful occupations, for the best

proof lies in the fact that, if they were so, a man like R. Johannan would not have occupied himself with their pursuit, for of him it is stated that he never uttered an idle word all his life. You see therefrom that they did not consider those tales as mere idle talk. And similarly the stories which I have translated from this book are anything but idle talk, and they do not fall short of the washerwomen's tales; on the contrary, they are far superior to them and more noble. We find also that on the eve of the Day of Atonement they used to tell tales of ancient kings to the High Priest all through the night, in the event that the High Priest happened not to be a scholar. It is therefore right not to eschew them. Another and more important reason for my translation has been, that the sinners might learn from it the way of repentance and think of their end and return to the Lord, as you will see at the end of the story. To the man who admits the truth and has an open mind, who is not obstinate or refuses to learn, I think I have stated sufficiently the reason for my action.

2. This is the history of Messer Lançolot. Know that King Bano of Benook and King Borz of Gaunes were brothers. They married two sisters, descendants of the House of David. King Bano begat a son, and he called him Lançolot del Lac (or dellek). The reason why he has been called del Lac is written in his book, where you can find it also (told) when he got to know his own name. He had a brother who was a bastard, namely the son of King Bano and of a lady of noble birth; the name of the bastard was Estor de Mareis (Mates);² he was thus the brother of Messer Lançolot on his father's side.

3. King Borz begat also two sons, one called Borz after his father, and the second Lionel. Borz and Lionel were therefore, as we would call them, "cosini iermani" of Messer Lançolot and Estor.

² See footnote, p. (281) 951.

The History of King Artus.

4. In the time of the King Uter Pendragon there was in the Kingdom of Logris a mighty Duke, whose name was Melil Tomeil. He had a very beautiful wife, called Izerna. On a certain day the King Uter ordered a great tourney of all the knights of Logris to be held at the town of Camelot. At the same time he ordered the knights and dukes to bring their womenfolk with them, to encourage the men and to amuse the women. All the knights did so, and the Duke Melil Tomeil brought the Duchess with him. This Duke had four daughters by the Duchess, fair and beautiful as no other damsel was in the whole Kingdom.

5. The tournament was very great and fierce. After that the King prepared a great banquet for all the princes and all who had come. There he beheld fair Izerna, and the fire of love was kindled in his breast, so that he well-nigh became ill. As he could not hide his passion any longer, he sent her a golden cup through one of his servants, and charged him to tell her of his desire and of the burning love he felt for her, and so on. The end of the tale was that the Duchess told her husband the words of the King Uter Pendragon. When he heard of it, he was sore afraid for his wife's sake. He arose early in the morning, ordered his men to have his horses ready, and he rode away together with his knights, his friends, and his wife, without taking leave of the King.

6. It was told to the King that he had secretly gone away, and the King waxed wroth, and sent word to the Duke to return immediately to court with the Duchess, for otherwise he would be outlawed. The Duke laughed at these threats, and returned to his country. There he strengthened his fortresses and erected new towers, for he knew that the King would wage war against him. In three months the King gathered his whole army, and ordered it to march against the Duke. He beleaguered a fortress

into which the Duke had retired, whilst the Duchess was in another fortress together with her daughters and her maid-servants. With her were also valiant knights. The King pressed hard on the town wherein the Duke had taken refuge, and he fought against it for a long time without avail.

7. At last he called Merlin, and said to him,—“Oh brother, help me by thy art only this time, and advise me how to obtain the Duchess Izerna, for I shall certainly die of my love for her, if I get her not.” Merlin answered,—“I will do so, for I will give thee the form of the Duke, and his stature, so that the Duchess shall take thee for her husband. I will accompany thee under the form of a certain knight who is his friend. We two will ride to-night and call the porter of the fortress wherein the Duchess liveth. He will open the gate for us, and we shall enter the palace. Thou go afterwards into the inner room and disport thyself with the Duchess as thy heart desireth. Thou shalt afterwards get up, and we will depart and return to our army.” The King agreed to do so, and Merlin brought it about through his art. The King came to the Duchess, and she was left with child. He got up from the bed, and they saddled their horses and rode out of the town.

8. They had scarcely left the gate when a courier entered at full speed to tell the Duchess of the death of her husband, that he had been killed that same night. Such had verily been the case. The Duke namely had heard that Uter Pendragon had died in the camp; so he sallied forth from his fortress, to his own ill chance, and was killed in the battle. So, when the King returned, he found the Duke lying dead, and the fortress taken by the army; and he rejoiced very much.

9. The Duchess mourned over her husband, and her heart was exceeding troubled at that miraculous event, for she said to herself,—“How is it possible that the Duke could lie in my bed at precisely the same hour when, as I am told, he was killed in the battle? The courier came in to

my room also not long after he had gone only a bow-shot from the town,—how could he then be killed there? If he hath indeed been killed, then was the man who came to me in my room not the Duke.” These thoughts brought her near death, and she wailed and wept, but she could not get to the truth of the occurrence.

10. The King left the other town, and began to besiege this town wherein the Duchess was. The end of the thing was that the knights and the Duchess had to surrender. There were long discussions between him and her, which are too long to recite here. In the end they advised “that the King, for the sake of his honour, and in order to reconcile the Duchess and the princes and the people of the country, should marry the Duchess, and marry her four daughters to four kings or princes.” The King, hearing this advice tendered to him by his princes and councillors, rejoiced very much and accepted it. He married the Duchess. The eldest daughter he gave to the King Lot of Orcania, who begat four sons; the eldest Messer Galwan (Galwein);² the second Gaharias (Gadriat);² the third Agravan (Agraban);² and the fourth Gwidon. The second daughter he married to King Urans; he begat Messer Ivain (Ivan).² The third daughter he married to the Duke of Clarence (Klarensa).² The fourth did not wish to marry. She learned witchcraft (the art of the demons); she is Morgana.²

11. One night, when the King was with the Duchess in bed, he placed his hand upon her, and said to her,—“I see thou art with child; dost thou know by whom thou wert left with child?” She answered “I wot not. This time I was not left with child by the Duke; for he did not leave me with child when the castle was besieged; one night a man came to me looking exactly like the Duke, but it was certainly not the Duke: for, at precisely

² The Hebrew words in brackets may have been incorrectly read by the transcriber, and can easily be read as amended.

the same hour as that knight lay in my bed, the Duke was killed in battle, and so I do not know through whom it has happened and by whom I am with child." The King refrained from telling her that he was the man who had come to her, and he said,—“As thou dost not know whose child it is, we will give it immediately after its birth to Merlin, who is cunning in witchcraft (or, who knows the art of the demons), and we will call it *Artusen*, viz. “born through *art*.” The King said this because he had sworn to Merlin, on that night when he brought him to the Duchess, that, if the Duchess should be left with child, he would deliver the child unto him to do with it what he liked. He kept his oath, as you will see at the end of the book. So he begat Artusen, who is the mighty king called Artus.

In this way the brothers above mentioned, the sons of the eldest daughter of Izerna and King Lot, were the nephews of Artus on the mother's side, as they were the children of his sister. In the same way was Messer Ivain his nephew, and Morgana his sister. Modred (Mordnet)² the wicked, however, the traitor, was considered for many years to be a nephew. The King himself said so. But in the end it came out that he was his bastard, as you will see at the end of the history of the Destruction (*i.e.* of the Round Table).

12. When Borz returned to the Court in the town of Camelot, coming from as distant a country as, say, from Jerusalem, he was received at the Royal Court with great honours and with great uproar. When he told of the death of Galahad (Galaz)² and of Persival all grew very sad. King Arthur then gave orders to write down in a book for a memorial all the adventures that had befallen the knights who went after the quest of “The Dish” (Grael); and they did so. Such is the tale of the book of “The Dish” (Grael), which is called *Libro di la Kesta del Sangraal*.

² See footnote, p. (281) 951.

13. After that event the King said to his ministers,—“Look and see how many of the knights perished in that Quest.” They found that forty-two were missing, who had died in the war of the Quest, through the power of arms and knighthood. The king asked his nephew, Messer Galwan, on oath how many he had slain with his sword. Messer Galwan answered upon his oath that he had slain with his hand eighteen good, brave, and noble knights. The king asked him further if among the eighteen there had been also King Bano of Benook (?) (Magos). He answered,—“Yea, he was, but my heart has been grieving over it ever since; I did not recognize him in the battle.” The King said,—“I also am mourning for him, and I am very sad, for he was my friend and intimate companion.” When the King heard that so many of his knights of the Table had died in the war of “The Dish” (Graal), he ordered others to be elected in their stead, and so to fill up the number of the Table. Forty-two brave and noble knights were thereupon elected; they were all, however, youths who had not yet proved sufficiently their valour and strength. The king gave orders that a tournament be held in the field of Winçestre (Winchester) on a certain day, in order to teach the new knights the manner of warfare and the prowess of knighthood. The day of the battle approached.

14. Now I shall begin to tell about that famous knight, Messer Lançolot del Lac, son of the King Bano of Benook. It is necessary to know that, when the knights of the Table started on their errand in quest of “The Dish” (Graal), Lanç, who was at the head, had gone first to a monk who lived in a retreat, and confessed to him all his sins, and also that he had committed adultery with the Queen Zinevra. Then he went on the Quest, and, when he returned from the Quest, he again repaired to the confessor and confessed the sins of slaughter (murder) he had become guilty of in the battle of the Quest. The confessor gave him a severe penance with

fasting and praying for so many days; and Lanç lived there in that retreat for a long time to fulfil his penance.

15. Nobody wist during all that time what had become of him, for he had hidden his way from his companion knights and his second cousins, Borz and Lionel, and from his brother Estor, and from the King, and all were amazed at his disappearance. When the days of his penance were over, he came forth from the retreat; he put on his armour, mounted his steed, and went to the Royal Court. The day he entered the Court was a day of good tidings to the King; all the knights and the men at the Court, and the inhabitants of Camelot, rejoiced and made it a festival. Above all, however, was Queen Zinevra full of joy at his coming; for all the days of his seclusion in the retreat had been for her days of mourning, secret weeping, and discontent. No wonder, for she loved him with a love as strong as death, from the day she was united to him, persuaded thereto by Messer Galot, as another tale tells. Messer Lanç also loved her still, and even a thousand times more than before. And whereas in former times he used to embrace and to kiss her more under cover, now he openly showed his love to her more than was necessary, and to evil purpose. She did likewise, till all the courtiers in general, and Agravan (Agrabán) in particular, noticed it. She dressed and adorned herself most gorgeously out of love for him, so that she became a danger to all who beheld her, so beautiful was she. The people began to speak ill of them and of their being so deeply in love with one another, and of their evil desire. This evil desire was the cause of the destruction of the Table, of the death of King Artus, and of the fall of the whole empire, as you will see further on.

16. When Agravan, brother of Messer Galwan, noticed these things, he rejoiced very much. He hated Messer Lanç, and thought within himself,—“Now is the opportunity come to have my revenge on Messer Lanç.” When the

knights came together to the meadow of Winçestre, Lanç concealed his intention of going there, for he did not wish to deter the newcomers, the knights, from entering into the contest out of fear of him, for they dreaded his mighty power. He also wished to decide by himself whose side to espouse. He therefore hid his doings from everybody, and feigned to be ill, and he said to his companions that he was too ill to go to the tournament. He ordered his two cousins, Borz and Lionel, as well as his brother Estor, to join the company and to go to the tournament. They refused to go without him, but he pressed them to go with the King; at last they went.

17. When Agravan saw Borz and Lionel and Estor and all the companions of Lanç preparing themselves to go without him, leaving him behind, he bethought himself to calumniate Lanç before his uncle the King, and to discover to him the whole affair with the Queen. So he went to his uncle the King, and said to him,—“I wish to tell thee an important secret, for the sake of thy honour and thy welfare, and also to remove thy shame (dishonour) if I am allowed to speak.” The King answered,—“Is there in the court a man of such importance as to be able to think of bringing shame upon me?” Agravan answered,—“There is indeed, for the Queen and Lançolot are both deeply in love with each other, and have insane desires. As Lançolot cannot sport with the Queen to his heart’s content so long as thou art in the palace, he feigns illness, and refuses to go to the tournament, but he sends there all his companions. As soon then as thou departest he and the Queen will come together, and he will hide himself to enjoy her to his contentment.” When the King heard this he contradicted him, and did not believe him, but said,—“Nephew, do not speak to me any more about this thing, for I cannot believe thee. I know him for a right trustworthy friend, and it is impossible that he should play traitor to me in this respect. The thought of this desire

may have overpowered him, for the thought of love neither law nor reason can keep out, still less love for the Queen, whose beauty is so marvellous that even the saints (?)³ wonder at her. But I cannot believe that he has passed from thought to deed."

18. Agravan answered,—“This being so, I pray thee, uncle, do thou now dismiss this thing entirely from thee, and think no more about Lanç.” The King said,—“What is it now thy wish that I should do?” Agravan answered,—“I wish that we should try in every way possible to take them by surprise when they shall be in close intimacy, for then thou wilt know the truth, and thou wilt believe me another time.” The King said,—“I will do as thou desirest, only to fulfil thy wish, but I know that it will never happen as thou sayest.” Agravan answered,—“I am content with what thou hast said.” The King was musing the whole night over it, how far it might be true or not, inclining always to think it impossible, so much did he believe in the honour and chivalry of Lanç.

The next morning the King ordered his knights to start for Winçestre. The Queen entreated the King to be allowed to come with him to the tournament, for she wished to see the great gathering of knighthood. But the King did not listen to her, for he wished to prove what Agravan had said. The King and the knights started, and on their way they were speaking of Lanç's illness, and expressing their sorrow that he could not come to the tournament.

19. They had just left the town when Lanç rose from his bed, and got ready to leave privily for the tournament, so that he should not be recognized by anyone there. He went first to the Queen, and said to her, —“Dear lady, if it be agreeable unto thee, I will go to the tournament with thy permission.” The Queen answered,

³ The Hebrew word here is corrupt.

—"My beloved, why didst thou tarry, and didst not go with the King?" Lanç answered,—“I tarried, for I do not wish it to be known by anyone that I am going there or that I am there; and, when I arrive at the tournament, I will choose that side which shall bring me the more honour and better prove my power.” The Queen said,—“My dearly beloved, go in peace and in joy, accompanied by my love and pride. Do valiantly as thou art accustomed to do.” Lanç answered,—“Where is the knight who, though he have the heart of a hare, would not get that of a lion, and be filled with power and might, were he crowned with the love of my mistress, as I am to-day, the most happy among men, thanks to Heaven and to thee.” And he kissed her and embraced her and frolicked with her for an hour.

20. The next morning he started with his armour-bearer very early in the day, in order not to be recognized by anyone; they also turned off from the high-road, so as not to be met by anyone who would know him. The second morning, before dawn, they came to a village where the King had halted, and Lanç decided to enter it very early, so that he should not be recognized by any of the King's knights. The name of that place was Askalot, and it belonged to a prince whose name was Lanval, Vavassor de Askalot.

21. At daybreak the King got up to prepare himself for the journey, and he stood at the window of the palace and looked out, when he beheld the steed of Lanç, and he recognized it, for he had made it a present to Lanç, but he did not recognize Lanç, for he had covered his face with his helmet and with his armour. But, when he passed from place to place, Lanç did not beware of the King and he raised his head; at the same time he lifted his helmet a little from his face, and the King saw him and recognized him. He then showed him to Goflet, and said to him whispering,—“Hast thou seen Lançolot,

who only yesterday was laid up by illness, and now he is here in this place?" Goflet answered,—“I think he did it in order to hide himself so that nobody should recognize him, for such is his way.” The King answered,—“So it is indeed; cursed be the tale-bearers who slander faithful knights.”

22. Lanç did not know that he had been discovered by the King, but went and accepted hospitality in the house of the baron, who received him with great honour, because it was the custom of the baron of the place to honour every knight, and not because he knew him. The King ordered Goflet not to tell anyone that Lanç was coming to the tournament, as he wished to keep it secret, and he might be vexed.

The book now leaves the King and speaks only of Lanç, the lord of Askalot, his sons, and his daughter.

23. The lord of Askalot had two sons, shortly before knighted by the King. The name of one was Adelfot, and the name of the second Karavoç. Their armour was wholly of one colour, red, for such is the custom of a new knight,—not to wear any other armour during the first year of his knighthood. Such a knight was called the new knight. Lanç saw their armour and shields, and beheld they were red. He then said to the Vavassor,—“My lord, lend me one of these suits of armour and one of these shields, to wear them at the gathering, and also a carapace for my horse.” The Vavassor answered,—“Hast thou no shield?” Lanç answered,—“I have not such a shield as I should like to wear at the gathering, for I do not wish to be recognized. If thou, however, wilt agree, I will take one of these suits of armour and shields, and leave instead my armour and shield here till I return.” The lord of the palace answered,—“Take then the armour of Karavoç, who is ill and unable to go to the tournament. His brother Adelfot (or Adelfort) will go with thee, and you shall be companions to each other.” Lanç was very

pleased with the words of the baron, and he said,—“The company of Adelfot is a pleasure and delight unto me.” They both agreed to go together, and Adelfot asked Lanç,—“What is thy name?” He answered,—“I am a knight errant from the kingdom of Logris, going now to the tournament at Winçestre,” but his name he did not tell.

24. Lanç stopped there a day longer, to provide himself with everything necessary for a knight. The daughter of the baron was of beauty unrivalled in the whole kingdom, and wise and intelligent. She fell in love with the beauty of Lanç, and she pressed his armour-bearer the whole day to tell her who that knight was, and what was his name. At last he said,—“My lady, that is the most excellent, gallant knight in the world; more I cannot tell about him.” She answered,—“Blessed be thou, I am content with what thou hast told me, nor do I desire to know aught more from thee.” She immediately guessed from the words of the armour-bearer that he was Messer Lançolot del Lac, as he was universally called “the most gallant knight in the world,” and she could no longer repress the love kindled in her heart, so she went and knelt down before Lanç and said,—“Sir knight, I ask from thee one request, wilt thou grant it to me?” Lanç raised her up immediately, and said,—“My lady, I am grieved that thou didst kneel before me, and I grant thee any request, if it be only in my power to fulfil.” She said,—“Promise it in the name of her whom thou lovest most.” He answered,—“I promise,” and she answered,—“I request thee to wear this sleeve on the tuft of thy helmet in this tournament, for my love.”

25. When Lanç heard it, his heart grew heavy. But by reason of the oath he had taken, and the solemn promise, he could not refuse it. However he grieved over it, as all his heart and love were for the Queen, and he feared she might hear of it at some time, and scorn him and hate him. The damsel took her sleeve and fastened

it herself on his helmet, and commanded him to do valiantly at the tournament for the sake of her love, so that all those present should say "how favoured and blessed is that sleeve and the mistress of it." "Thou mayest also know, sir, that thou art the first knight with whom I have ever been in love ; nor would I love thee were it not for my knowledge of thee and thy valour." Lanç answered that he would do it all for the love of her, "so that none should be able to find fault with him."

26. When the sun went down Lanç took leave of the Vavassor and of his wife, the lady, and recommended them to the protection of God, and he bowed down before the maiden. He left his shield and armour in one room, and buckled on the red armour spoken of above. Both he and Adelfot rode away, and their servants after them. They rode the whole night, till early in the morning, in order not to be recognized by anybody. Coming within a mile from Winçestre before the dawn of the morning, Lanç asked Adelfot, his companion, if there was not any place of rest, for he said,—“I should not like, of my own accord, to enter the town now in daylight, if I can rest here outside somewhere.” Adelfot answered,—“Thou art quite right, we will go to a place which will please thee well.” So they went to a village near by the town, where an aunt of Adelfot was living. The lady was right pleased and received them with exceeding cordiality. They stopped there for a whole day, eating and feasting royally. The lady asked her nephew concerning his companion,—who he was. He said,—“I do not know anything about him, but he seems to be a very worthy knight, and I therefore chose him for a companion to go together to the tournament in Winçestre.”

27. Lanç sent his squire to the town to see how many knights had arrived and where they were lodging, inside and outside the town, and to see what the strength was of those inside and of those outside, and also where

Borz and Lionel his cousins and his brother Estor were placed. The squire went immediately, and saw the number and strength of the knights who were come to the tournament. He stopped in the town till the evening, and returned then, and said to Lanç,—“Sir, there is a large number of knights inside and outside, and thy cousins and thy brother are inside, and so it is meet, inasmuch as they belong to the knights of the Table, and they must always be with king Artus.” And Lançolot asked,—“Who are those outside?” The squire answered,—“Many people and plenty of knights, together with four kings,—King of Skocia (Scotland), King of Erlandi (Ireland), King of Galwes (Wales), and King of Kornwalis.⁴ But the knights of the King of Logris, who are with King Artus, seem to be more noble and more powerful, though those outside are greater in number.”

28. The next morning Lanç and his companions armed themselves, and went to the gathering. The squire remained in the village, for fear Lanç should be recognized through him. Coming to the field of Wincestre they found it full of tents (companies?) and arrays. King Artus did not allow the two brothers Messer Galwan and Gaherit (or Gaderit⁵) to arm themselves on that day, as he knew that Lanç was there and he dreaded their encounter, as some hatred might arise between them. The King ascended a tower to survey the tournament, and with him were Galwan and Gaherit and other knights. The tournament began to develop, and Lanç asked Adelfot whom they should join,—those inside or those outside. Adelfot answered,—“Whomsoever thou choosest.” Lanç said,—“It seems to me that those inside are more powerful and greater knights than those outside. It would therefore bring us scant honour if we should join the stronger party. Far greater honour on the other hand would it bring us if we were to join the weaker

⁴ Misspelt in Hebrew Truwalis.

⁵ In the Hebrew Gdrit.

party, those outside, and thus show our might and our valour."

29. Lanç thereupon strengthened himself in his saddle, and turned on a knight with his spear, and sent him rolling on the ground, horse and rider together, at one stroke, and his spear remained unbroken. He then turned on another knight, and did the same to him. He then entered the inner camp and attacked a third, whom he smote in the side and hurt him sore, so that he nearly died. When King Artus' knights beheld the mighty deeds of this knight they wondered at him, and praised him very highly, saying,—“how bravely the new knight had begun the fight.” For all thought the two were the brothers from Askalot, knighted only that year, for both wore the red armour mentioned above.

30. Then one party of knights held together out of fear of the blows which the red knight dealt. Adelfot, the companion of Lanç, encountered Estor de Mareis, brother of Messer Lanç, and smote him with his spear. Estor turned upon him with his whole strength, and smote him so mightily with his spear that he rolled on the ground, together with his horse. The King's knights exclaimed joyously that one of the red knights was now felled to the ground. Lanç, seeing his companion on the ground, was very wroth and angry, and he turned against Estor, and he dealt him such a fearful blow with his spear that he felled him down to the ground before Gallaorin of Galwes,⁶ so that he nearly brake in pieces. Lanç did not know that he was his brother Estor, as his face was covered by the helmet and visor(?), and he said to Adelfot his companion,—“Now I have avenged thee.” He then lifted him upon his horse, and brought him out of the place where the knights were jousting.

31. Galwan said to the King,—“I do not believe that the mighty blow which felled Estor to the ground came

⁶ Misspelt in Hebrew Galaodin of Gavlis.

from the arm of one of the new knights of Askalot, and I think that it is a foreign knight." Borz entered the battle and began to smite knights, and to throw them down right and left, as if they were all sheep; he went round cleaving heads and helmets with one stroke, and when his spear broke he drew his sword and did mighty deeds. At last he saw Lanç, and singled him out for his victim, for he did not recognize him. So he turned his heavy thick spear on Lanç, and struck him with great force, so that he split his shield and his coat of mail and pierced his side, inflicting on him a very grievous wound. And he pressed him so hard with the spear that he bore down the horse and its rider. The blood was flowing profusely, reddening his armour. The spear of Borz broke. Lanç as a valiant knight did not remain on the ground, nor did he care for his wound, but mounted his horse again, and, full of wrath and anger at his wound and fall, he exclaimed with a loud voice,—“The knight who has felled me to the ground is, by my head, no young man, for amongst thousands I have not yet found one man who has put me to shame, but this one has surely never done in his life anything for which he was so quickly punished as he will be now.”

32. He immediately snatched a strong spear from a *scudier*, and turned his steed to Borz. When the knights saw that the princes of knights were going to fight, they withdrew and left them a large space, the better to fight, and they said,—“We shall now behold the fight of the two greatest knights in the world, for both are doing mighty deeds, and the one who will win now will surely carry off the honour of being the first at this tournament.” Lanç sat himself firmly on his horse, and struck Borz with great force and with great anger and wrath; so powerful was the blow that he broke the saddle-straps, and Borz fell to the ground, whilst his horse ran into the field. Galwan said to the King,—“What dost thou

say to this?" The King answered,—“What dost thou say?” Galwan said,—“I do not consider Borz vanquished or as a knight felled to the ground, for the straps of his saddle broke and he fell down, for he had nothing to hold on. But the other knight is indeed powerful and mighty. Were it not that we have left Lanç ill in Camelot, I certainly would have thought it was Lanç.” The King laughed, and said,—“That knight began well, and I trust he will finish even better. It may be that, if the saddle-straps had not been broken till now, he would have brought him to the ground together with his horse, or he might have pierced him through and his armour would not have helped him.” As the spear was broken, Lanç drew his sword, and began to play about him right and left and to kill knights like lambs, and to cut the heads (necks) of the horses like pumpkins and to achieve acts of miraculous bravery in the field, so that all were astounded . . .

THE LEGEND OF MERLIN.

ONE of the central figures in the Arthurian cycle is that of the uncanny prophet and magician Merlin. His whole history is surrounded with so much mystery, and so many inexplicable incidents are interwoven in the relation of his birth and his further activity that they have baffled the ingenuity of many a scholar. I now endeavour to make a contribution towards the elucidation of some of the most prominent features of the romance. We must not forget that we are dealing with a written and not with an oral literature. The individuality of the author is more pronounced and the personal equation much easier to determine than in the anonymous remnants which have been retained by the memory of the folk. Each poem is a literary monument which must be critically examined, in the same way as we are now examining and dissecting every other literary remains of ancient times.

And here the personality of the author ought to occupy the first place. I may not have seen all that has been written on these mediæval romances, but as far as I know there is nowhere a critical study of the personality of their authors. We do not find any clear description of their lives and learning, of the circumstances under which they wrote, the influences to which they were

exposed and the range of knowledge at their disposal. What did they know and how did they know the things of the past, and what kind of knowledge was popular (*i.e.* acceptable to their readers and listeners)? The atmosphere of a society colours every product and moulds, consciously or unconsciously, the mental activity of the bard and of the poet.

Two or three points deserve our close attention. In the first place, what was the occupation of the authors, especially the authors of the prose romances which we may assume precede every romantic poem? (For the story is first written down, and afterwards taken up by the *trouvère* and versified, as it is to be sung before the barons at the festive board and later on, when it has become a popular tale or a shorter ballad, among the lower bourgeoisie.) The art of writing was in that early period known to but few. The little knowledge which the Middle Ages possessed was almost a monopoly of the clergy. The clerk, as the name denotes, was in most cases a *cleric*. The historiographers and chroniclers were as a rule monks and priests, and they wrote as often as not for the special edification of those readers and for the praise and honour of those places, with which they stood in close contact. Every clever writer would enhance and extol the virtues of his special saint and of the church devoted to the memory of that saint. His miracles would be retailed to a believing and loving public almost to the exclusion of any other saint, and the worship of the local shrine was thus continued from olden times in a new setting. The clerical authors drew their inspiration from the religious literature with which they lived in daily connection. They saw things only and solely through the glasses of ancient legendary lore and could not find greater praise for their own saints and heroes than to liken them to those that shone to them from the pages of the old books they so much revered

and whose personages seemed to them the acme of human and divine achievement.

The second point to which I must draw attention is that the records of olden times, of persons and places, were not understood by the people unless translated into their own surroundings, dressed in their garb, speaking their language, and behaving in the same manner as their contemporaries were behaving. The heroes of the Homeric poems, the exploits of Alexander, were viewed from a standpoint of the knight and the tournament. Unless Alexander, or say Ajax and Achilles, accommodated themselves to put on the armour of the knight and to act the way the people acted they would have been ignored. The whole ancient world became a living contemporary; the heroes obeyed the code of chivalry with all its complicated etiquette. One can scarcely recognise the old heroes under the new disguise, and it requires a whole system of reconstruction and re-arrangement in order to recognise old acquaintances in the knights of the mediæval romances. Yet the difference is one of detail and setting, not of incident or *motif*.¹

And thirdly, what were the literary methods of these authors? A close investigation of the whole romantic literature reveals, side by side with great poetical force, a surprising poverty of invention. The situations and incidents told of one hero are repeated *ad nauseam* by every subsequent poet. Nay, whole cycles of romances are bodily taken over and applied to other heroes than those of whom they were originally composed. Too well known to be emphasised again is the transfer of the whole Merovingian cycle to

¹ How the new chivalry came to life at that time is a problem with which I cannot deal here, nor is it an easy task to trace its origin to an indisputable source. Suffice it for us to note the fact that the refined form of chivalrous adventures, the beloved theme of the subsequent romantic literature, does not appear in Europe before the end of the eleventh century, and follows as it were in the wake of the Crusades and as a sequel to the exploits in the East and to the close contact with the new world which opened to the European knight.

the Carolingian. The old kings and knights gave way to new kings and knights, but only the names were changed, the rest remained almost unaltered. The same process of transfer from older and more or less forgotten heroes takes place continually; new names are substituted for the old, and local considerations play a decisive rôle in the transfer. The trouvère who sings the exploits of the ancestor of this baron will use the same language and ascribe the same exploits to the ancestor of another baron when he sings in his hall and at his banqueting feast. The same tendency prevails everywhere and at every time. We meet with it at almost every turn in the epical poetry of the East, and of the West. It is one of the constant factors in the development and evolution of the ballads. Sufficient attention has not been paid to this point. Here and there this transfer and change has been admitted, but not recognised as an universal law, only as an exceptional incident. I on the contrary find in this practice of constant substitution, the very key to the problem of the sources from which the ancient writers have drawn their inspiration. Their skill consisted in giving a thorough local character to a tale borrowed from elsewhere and in so changing the colouring as to impress their contemporaries and to win their applause.

This, then, is my starting-point in the investigation of the sources of the Merlin legend. Our earliest authority for it is the Chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth.¹ I therefore ask myself:—Given a monk at a local shrine, endowed with some poetical imagination, to what kind of literature could he have had access in England at the end of the eleventh or twelfth century? What mass of tradition could be floating about him, to be caught up and fixed in his writings? and for what kind of audience did he

¹ See my article on *Jewish Sources and Parallels to Early English Metrical Romances*, 1807.

write in the hope of appealing to their sentiments and winning their approval? How great was his naiveté and their credulity? As for the last there is no limit to either, but as for his learning we must take it as restricted within a very narrow compass. Primarily his mind must have been saturated with Christian religious literature largely composed of legendary matter; the innumerable lives of saints and holy anchorites, the vast apocryphal literature, were the great storehouse of his information and inspiration. The *Golden Legend* was not only the first book printed by Caxton, but also one of the earliest with which every cloister was familiar. It must also not be forgotten that the Apocrypha found their earliest home in England long before any other country in Europe. The oldest poems of Caedmon and the oldest Mysteries written here go back primarily to these apocryphal tales and legends. The very centre of the Graal legend rests ultimately on these uncanonical writings, modified, no doubt, to some extent by other motives and interpretations of a mystical nature, which again have their root in mediæval Christian mystical speculation upon transubstantiation and the spiritualisation of the Mass and Sacrament.

Can we then find anything in that religious literature which, if stripped of its modern accoutrement and changed into its more primitive form, could be considered as one of the sources for the legends clustering round the name of Merlin? which may briefly be related as follows:

Vortigern, king of Britain, determined to erect an impregnable castle, in which he might defy all attempts of his enemies. Having made this decision he pitched upon a spot on Salisbury Plain, traced out the plan of the fortifications, sent for artificers, carpenters, and stonemasons, and collected all the materials requisite to building; but the whole of these disappeared in one night, so that nothing remained of what had been pro-

vided for the construction of the citadel. Materials were, therefore, procured from all parts a second and a third time, and again vanished as before, leaving and rendering every effort ineffectual. Vortigern inquired of his wise men and astronomers the cause of this opposition to his undertaking, and of so much useless expense of labour. They replied: "You must find a child born without a father, put him to death, and sprinkle with his blood the ground on which the citadel is to be built, or you will never accomplish your purpose."

In consequence of this reply the king sent messengers throughout Britain to search for a child born without a father. After having inquired in all the provinces, three out of seven came to the field of Aelecti, in the district of Glevesing, where a party of boys were playing at ball. And two of them quarrelling, one said to the other, "O boy without a father, no good will ever happen to you." Upon this the messengers drew their swords, conceiving they had found what they sought. But Merlin—for he was the boy—after rebuking his companion for his indiscretion, ran to the messengers, and, to their great astonishment, told them the whole circumstances of their mission, assuring them at the same time that Vortigern's wise men were fools, and that all the blood in his veins would not in any way contribute to the solidity of the intended castle. He then conducted them to his mother, who told them the history of his miraculous birth, which is, in short, as follows:—She was one of three sisters, of whom the two first went astray, and she herself was deceived by a (devil) semi-demon in shape of a man. As soon as this was found out she was brought before the Judge to be condemned to death. But St. Blaise, her confessor, believed her, and interfered in her favour to postpone the judgment until two years after the birth of the child. When that event took place St. Blaise baptised it immediately, and counteracted the wicked purposes of

the devil. After a time, when the mother was bewailing her fate, the new-born child opened his mouth, and said to his mother, "Be not dismayed, for you shall never be judged to death for my cause."

When the two years were expired, she appeared in court with her child in her arms, when, to the astonishment of all, the infant undertook her defence. He then proceeded to tell that he was the son of a devil of great power, though fortunately rescued by an expeditious baptism from the vicious dispositions of his paternal relations; that he could prove his preternatural descent by revealing all things, past, present, or future. And at the same time he told the Judge some very unpleasant truths about his own descent, which convinced him of the prophetic power of Merlin and of the innocence of his mother. Five years after this, by the advice of Merlin, she assumed the veil of a nun, and spent the remainder of her life in acts of devotion.

Merlin was just seven years old when he was met by the messengers, who, at his entreaty not to shed his blood, promised to spare his life, and they decided to bring him alive to Vortigern.

The journey lasted three days, and each of these added to the admiration of the messengers for their young companion. I will mention here only one of his acts. They passed the first night in a market town, the streets of which were crowded by merchants; and here Merlin after a long silence, burst into a sudden and violent fit of laughter. On being questioned about the cause of his mirth, he pointed out to the messengers a young man who was bargaining for a pair of shoes with uncommon earnestness. And he said: "See you not that young man that has shoon bought, and strong leather to mend them? He thinks that he will live them to wear; but, by my soul, I dare well swear he will be dead before he enters his gate." The event immediately followed

the prediction. So also, in two other cases, his prophecies came true.

When he knew of Merlin's arrival, Vortigern rode forward to meet him in great magnificence. The following day Vortigern conducted the child to the site of his projected castle. Merlin, before answering, wished to be confronted with the astronomers who had thirsted for his blood, and asked them why they had counselled the King to slay him. At the same time he revealed to them that they dreaded him, and that they feared he might cause their death if he should live, and therefore they had devised to kill him. He then asked the permission of the King to question them as to the cause of the destruction of the castle, and why it could not be built; and requested that if they should not know it, whilst he did so, he might then do with them what they thought to do with him. The King consented to every thing he asked, and the astronomers felt abashed, and declared humbly that their art had certainly deceived them, but the signs seen in the heavens could not admit another interpretation. They also did not know the cause of the tumbling down of the walls. Merlin proceeded then to say that immediately below the soil were two deep pools of water; below the water two huge stones, and below the stones two enormous serpents, the one white as milk, the other red as fire; that they slept during the day, but regularly quarrelled every night, and by their efforts to destroy each other occasioned an earthquake which demolished the building. Merlin ordered the workmen to dig away the earth. The water was soon discovered, and, by sinking wells, was wholly drawn out. The two stones were found at the bottom, and being removed, exhibited the tremendous serpents, which looked like fiends of hell. The struggle between the two began, and ended with the victory of the white serpent, which, however, disappeared after the combat. Merlin explained

the symbolical meaning of this fight, and this forms his famous prophecy, composed or versified by Geoffrey of Monmouth, which forms now the eighth book of his History. It was delivered by a child, and remained obscure until to-day.

To start at once with the final result which it will be my duty to prove, Vortigern and Merlin are here the late and somewhat confused outcome of a more ancient Oriental tale which belongs to the cycle of King Solomon and Ashmedai or Asmodeus. The history of Jovinian in *Gesta Romanorum*,¹ compiled in the thirteenth century, offers us also one side of that same cycle and shows that the series of legends connected with Solomon had already reached Europe some time before and had become completely assimilated by the writers of the Middle Ages, following the principles of transformation I have sketched above. The differences between the oldest version of the Solomon story and that of Geoffrey show unmistakably that the form only reached Geoffrey after it had undergone many a change in the course of time, for only after the belief in the Incubus had taken deep root in the minds of the people could such an origin as that of Merlin be believed in. In a former stage another origin would be ascribed to the wonderful child. We find one of these intermediary stages in a remarkable book, in which is related the legendary history of Jesus ben Sira, the author of the collection of wise sayings which forms part of the biblical Apocrypha.² This legendary biography agrees in the main with the child history of Merlin. Almost every incident is found there, naturally differently set, but all the vital points are there. His mother is the daughter of the prophet Jeremia and the latter is his father in a miraculous manner. One can easily detect that either name is there of a late origin and has been

¹ *Ed.* Oesterley (Berlin, 1872); No. 59, p. 360.

² *Alphabetum Pseudo-Siracidicum*, ed. S. Seinschmeider (Berlin, 1858), f. 166, sq.

substituted for another now effaced. In the Slavonic version of the history of the Sibylla,¹ we find another parallel to this peculiar miraculous birth. She is the daughter of King David begotten in a supernatural way, and this origin explains in both cases the ulterior prophetic wisdom of the offspring. (Incidentally I remark here that the Sibylla has been identified with the Queen of Sheba.) In the latter case the child becomes the prophesying Sibylla, and in the former the history goes on to tell marvellous adventures which bring the Sira story in closer similarity still to the Merlin legend. For Sira or Sirach speaks to his mother immediately after birth and comforts her, protecting her against the abuse of the world, almost with the same words as used by Merlin, who also protects his mother and proves her innocence. Sira's wisdom spreads far and wide and excites the envy and animosity of the astrologers and magicians at the court of king Nebuchadnezzar. They decide therefore on his destruction, and induce the king to send armed messengers to bring him, and to put to him such questions as he would be unable to answer; and thus hope to compass his death. The messengers find him, and after some trouble bring him to the king. He is then just seven years old, exactly the same age as Merlin when he appears before King Vortigern. At the court he easily discomfits his adversaries and causes their death instead of his by means of clever riddles. After that a discussion arises between the king and the child, who answers all the questions put to him, as well as cures the daughter of the king who is suffering from a strange disease. He then remains as the trusted counsellor of the king. His further fate is left as mysterious as his birth, and no mention of his death occurs.

We have in this legend a late and modified version of a much older tale, in which the principal actors are on the

¹ V. Gaster, *Literatura populara romana* (Bucuresti), p. 338; L. Miletić, *Storniküre* (Sofia, 1893), vol. ix., pp. 177-180.

one side King Solomon, whose place has been taken here by Nebuchadnezzar, who is already turned to a kind of buffoon, and on the other a demon, whose place has been taken by a wonderful child with prophetic powers and of a half-human and half-demoniacal nature.¹ This version proves that at the end of the seventh century (for I place the date of the history of Sira at that period), the old legend had undergone sufficient change to approximate it to the legend of Merlin. But we must assume the existence of a fuller text of this form of the legend in which some of the older incidents had been preserved which have dropped out of the Sira version. In the old Solomon version we find the following incidents, which occur again in the Merlin version but not in the intermediate one of Sira. Solomon is anxious to build the Temple, but must not use any iron for cutting the stones. The only person that can help him is the king of the demons, Ashmedai, whom his general Benayah captures by a clever trick and who fastens a chain round him upon which the ineffable name of God had been engraved, so that he could not break it. On the way to the king the demon meets a bridal pair, and he weeps; he sees a wizard prophesying and promising to others riches, and he laughs; he sees a man bargaining for a pair of shoes and asking whether they would last him for seven years, and again he laughs; and so he does many strange things until brought before King Solomon, where he continues to act in a similar manner. When asked a few days later to explain the reason of his weeping at a bridal procession and his merriment at the man asking for a pair of shoes that would last a long time,

¹ It is not here the place to discuss a possible and very plausible connection between this version of the legend and other legends current at that and at earlier times, in Asia, about the virgin birth. Suffice it to remark that in the infant history of Jesus the son of Sirach we find surprising parallels to the apocryphal "Gospel of the Infancy," notably in the incidents of the precocious child and the teacher, which child instead of being taught takes the rôle of the teacher.

he replies that in the former case the bride would die soon, and that the buyer of shoes which are to last for seven years would not complete seven days.¹

I pass over other incidents which do not touch our question. It is only important to notice the strange behaviour of the demon and the dialogue which follows between him and the king. This later portion has been influenced afterwards by other legends of such witty dialogues and the putting of riddles to Solomon, or by Solomon to other reputed clever people, and is the ultimate source of the whole cycle of Solomon and Morolf, or Saturn and Marculph.² The legend related by Josephus³ of the riddles put by Solomon and King Hiram through *Abdemon* may have contributed to introduce a *demon* into the legend. The Queen of Sheba, who is the hero of other witty contests with King Solomon, according to widely spread Oriental legends, partakes also of the character of a demon or a genie. She has the feet of a demon, and is thus half human and half demoniacal, and she is also identified later on with the prophesying Sibylla. This form is then transplanted into the next development of the legend in Europe, of which we have the Romance of *Solomon and Morolf* in German and the still more important Slavonic version of *Solomon and Kitovras*, which Vesselofsky in his exhaustive study⁴ of this cycle of legends has proved to be a corruption from *Kentauros*, the half-human half-animal creature of Greek mythology. The contest then is between Solomon and a being which in consequence of the Christian colouring could no longer be a heathen Kentauros, but follows the lines of the Sirach version, and becomes a child in which the demoniacal half is represented by the father and not by the actual semi-human form.

¹ *Talmud; Treat. Gitten*, f. 68.

² Gaster, *Lit. pop.*, p. 79, ff.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.*, viii., 53.

⁴ A. N. Vesselofsky, *O Solomone i Kitovras* (St. Petersburg, 1872).

How did this old legend then come over to England? No doubt in one of those collections of religious legends and tales which formed the library of the cloister, and reveal clearly the atmosphere in which the writers of those times moved. Their scholarship could not be very extensive, and we must therefore try and find the sources of such legends in such books as could be within the reach of the writers of the age. I need not again emphasise the fact that in the so-called *Gesta Romanorum* (which, according to Oesterley, the greatest authority on the subject, were first collected in England), we find other stories of the Solomon cycle.¹

I will now give, in as faithful a translation as I can command, a legend which I have found in an old Rumanian manuscript, embedded among miracles of the Virgin Mary and of St. Nicholas. It will prove, I hope, the existence of the missing link between the Oriental tale and the Western Christian counterpart and indicate the way and the possibility how such legends could have become known to the monks in the West. The tale in itself I consider a gem from a purely poetical point of view, and were it not that I bring it forward in this connection I intended publishing it separately as one of the most beautiful tales I have found among the *Exempla* and *Gesta* of old.

The tale (in my MS. 71) is called: "How it came to pass that the Archangel Gavriil served an abbot for thirty years," and is as follows:

"Once upon a time it came to pass that the Lord sent the Archangel Gabriel to take away the soul of a widow woman, and, going there, he found her near death and two

¹ Such as the contest of Solomon with the demon Asmodeus and his obtaining the miraculous stone-cutting worm Tamir or Shamir (so already in Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* and in other writers, such as Vincent of Beauvais, etc.); the humbling of Solomon through this very demon, Solomon being changed into King Jovinian. To this cycle belongs also the "Angel and the Hermit," inculcating similar moral teaching.

twins were suckling at her breasts. The angel seeing it took pity upon them and returned without having carried out His command, not having taken the soul of the widow. This happening he was asked by the almighty power of God, why he had done so. He replied, 'For the sake of those two children I did not take the soul of their mother.' Then the Lord told him to plunge into the depths of the sea and to bring up a stone from the bottom. When he brought it up the Lord told him, 'Cleave it in twain.' And the Archangel cleft the stone and he found therein two little worms. 'Who feeds these worms inside the stone at the bottom of the sea?' asked the Lord. And Gabriel replied, 'Thine abundant mercies, O Lord!' And the Lord said, 'If mine abundant mercies feed these worms inside the hard rock, how much more would I feed the children of men whom I have saved with my own blood!' Whereupon He sent another angel to take the soul of the widow, and the Archangel he condemned to serve for thirty years as servant to an Abbot and to take care of him, and at the end of the thirty years he was to receive the soul of that Abbot and carry it up to the throne on high. And thus the Archangel became the servant of the Abbot, and during all the time he was very humble and meek and obedient, so that the Abbot marvelled at him and all through those thirty years no one saw him laugh. One day the Abbot said to him, 'My son, go and buy me a pair of shoes which are to last one year.' He then laughed. The Abbot, who did not know that the serving brother was an angel, wondered at it, and he sent another brother with him to watch whether he would laugh again. So the other followed him and they came to a place where a poor man sat who cried, 'Give alms, have pity on me,' and the angel laughed again. They met afterwards a carriage. In it sat the bishop and the governor of the town with great pomp and pride and many people following after them. And the angel turned aside

and laughed again. In the market place they saw a man stealing an earthenware pot and the angel laughed a fourth time. After they had finished their purchase they returned to the Abbot and the other brother told the Abbot that he had laughed three times more. Then the Abbot asked the angel and said, 'What can this be, what does this mean, my son? For thirty years thou hast been serving me and I have never seen thee laugh, and to-day thou hast laughed no less than four times.' And the angel replied, 'I am the Archangel Gabriel and I was once sent by the Lord to take the soul of a widow whom I found suckling two children at her breast; taking pity on them I spared her, and as punishment for this my doing have I been sent by the Lord over all to serve thee thirty years and to protect thee from all evil, and at the end of the thirty years I am to receive thy soul. Now the thirty years have come to an end and I will then tell thee the reason for my laughing. I laughed first when thou didst order me to buy thee a pair of shoes which were to last for a year, whilst thou hast barely three days more to live. I laughed a second time when I heard the beggar asking for alms whilst he was sitting on a rich treasure without knowing it. I laughed for a third time when I beheld the bishop and the governor riding about with so much pomp and pride, for these were the twins of the widow on whose behalf I had been punished, and for a fourth time did I laugh when I saw clay stealing clay. And this is the reason why I laughed. But do thou now prepare thyself, for the time of our journey has arrived.' The Abbot, hearing these words prepared himself and on the third day he gave up his soul to the Archangel who took it with him on high, where he joined his heavenly band rejoicing. Amen."

Thus far this wonderful tale, full of deep faith and moral beauty, with its impressive lesson of divine providence and not wanting in human pathos and poetry.

You will observe that one of the incidents which cause the angel to laugh is absolutely identical with the incident in the legend of Merlin, and as I have already pointed out forms part of the older version of the Solomon Ashmedai cycle. The Rumanian story goes back, as does all Rumanian religious literature, either directly, or indirectly through Slavonic intermediaries, to a Greek source, and from thence it could have reached England at an early period, sufficiently early to form part of the literary repertory of the church or cloister. By means of this religious literature the legends of the East travelled and found a ready home in the West.

But there are still incidents in the life of Merlin which require elucidation. He is forcibly summoned before the king because he is to explain the reason of the falling of the foundations of the new castle. The suggestion of the magicians to sprinkle the foundations with his blood reminds one forcibly of similar devices and legends in the East and in the West. They go back to the practice of human sacrifices which have been practised far and wide and have not yet entirely died out, though in modern times the shadow is immured in the foundation in the belief that the person whose shadow is laid in the foundation of a house is sure to die within the year of the erection, and he would then be the protecting genius of the house. I know this practice as a living one in Rumania, where the gipsies, who are the bricklayers, try to take the measure of the shadow of any person that passes by and build it into the foundation.

More important is the solution of the riddle by Merlin, who orders the builders to dig up the foundations, where they would find two dragons fighting one another, and sure when thus liberated to destroy another and thus remove the cause of the constant falling in of the walls. There is a curious old legend connected with the building of the Temple according to which when they dug for

the foundations they came upon the waters of the deep, which surged up and threatened to drown the world, until the advice was given to David (Solomon) to write the wonder-working name of God upon a stone and to place it upon the mouth of the waters of the deep. They would sink and the stone would close the orifice and thus save the world.¹ Yet another legend is current in Europe, due to the teaching of the *Elucidarium*, that curious handbook of the Middle Ages into which all the natural science of the period with all its fantastic embellishments flowed, and from which many a scholar of the time drew his information about the phenomena of nature. We are told there, in the cosmography of the world, that the earth rests upon water, the water upon a mighty rock, the rock upon two whales, and when these whales move there is an earthquake. There is yet another source, and this approaches the Merlin legend too closely not to be considered the true source of the history of the two fighting dragons. This also is found in a book with which every priest in olden and modern times might be expected to be quite familiar, for it is nothing else than the famous dream of Mordecai in the Apocryphal additions to the book of Esther. The passage in question runs as follows: I am giving here the rendering of the more elaborate Aramaic version (De Rossi),² corresponding to XI, 5-11 Greek. "Behold there was a great noise and tumult and the voice of terrible uproar upon the whole land and terror and fear seized all the inhabitants of the earth; and behold there appeared two mighty dragons and they came one against the other to fight and all the nations of the earth trembled at the noise of their fury. And there was a small nation between

¹ *Talmud*; *Treat. Succah*, f. 53 a, b.

² J. B. De Rossi, *Spec. Var. Cect. et Chald. Essteris addimenta*, ed. 2 (Tistering, 1783), p. 122 ff.

those two dragons and all the nations of the earth rose up against it to swallow it up. And there were clouds and darkness and obscurity upon the face of the earth . . . and the dragons fought one another with cruel fury and frenzy and no one separated them. And Mordecai beheld and lo! a fountain of living water sprang and flowed between the two fighting dragons and stopped their fight. And the small fountain swelled into a mighty river and overflowed like a mighty sea and swept everything off the face of the earth. And the sun rose up and the rays lighted up the whole earth."

Here we have the floods at the bottom of the castle and the two fighting dragons. The small nation may be represented by the small child. The interpretation by Mordecai of that symbolical dream, just as Merlin interprets afterwards the appearance of these two fighting dragons and their symbolical meaning for the future of the house of Vortigern, and the Sibylla, Sheba, prophesies the future when leaving King Solomon.

Let us now briefly sum up the results at which we have arrived. A king is engaged in the building of an important house (temple, castle). He cannot carry it out without the assistance of a being endowed with supernatural powers (a demon, a half-and-half human and demoniacal being, a child born under extraordinary circumstances and endowed with supernatural wisdom). This being helps the king in his undertakings and defeats the machinations of its enemies (the demon becomes the friend, wife, of the king); the cause of the trouble is found in unquenchable floods or in dragons shaking the foundation; the cause is laid bare and the event is invested with a symbolical meaning (a prophetic utterance), foretelling the future. On the way to the king the supernatural being acts in a curious and apparently unaccountable manner, but in the end his wisdom and foreknowledge is vindicated by subsequent events. All these elements the

Merlin legend has in common with the Oriental traditions which cluster originally round Solomon and which have been elaborated in the course of time and in many recensions, the latest of which stands nearest to the Merlin legend.

What then is more natural than to assume that these latest versions lie at the bottom of the legend as elaborated in England by Geoffrey or any of his immediate predecessors, who had, as we have seen, ready access to these masses of legends and tales. They are an essential and highly prized part of the vast religious legendary material, that formed the storehouse of information in those times. Given the practice of assimilating old legends to new surroundings and spelling the past in the letters and ideas of the present, of substituting better known names for less known ones and making a romance out of the ancient tales of Greece and Palestine, then this legend can only be the reflex of the oriental tales and motives, not even skilfully worked up. One can easily detect the seams in the coat. The latter part of the Merlin legend entirely belies the first. There is absolutely no connection between the later adventures of Merlin at the courts of Vortigern, Uter, and his son, and the incidents at the beginning of the tale.

The Lives of the Saints and the tales of pious anchorites, the Bible with its apocryphal additions, suffice completely to explain the origin of the legend and I therefore do not see why we should go outside the immediately possible and probable and venture upon hypothetical assumptions of Celtic or other tales, the existence and higher antiquity of which have still to be proved. Above all it must be shown how any religious writer came to know of such legends and mythical tales, which to his eyes must have appeared as heathen abominations, which he was bound to suppress and to banish, being the work of the Evil Spirit, and not to be supported by his religious zeal

and devotion. I do not wish to exclude the possibility of some lay *trouvère* introducing later on into the versified poem some other trait of a local origin, and embellishing his tale with elements drawn from different sources, but the proof for this must first be adduced and the premisses from which I started must not be lost sight of nor slightly pushed aside. Not only must we take cognizance of the atmosphere in which poets and romancers moved, but also recognise that the same forces which act in modern times operated also in those days. A man can only be the product of his time, he cannot soar far above the limitations of education and surroundings. If in order to understand a poet we must go to the poet's land, so also must we go to his library, to his spiritual armoury, to know whence he has taken his spiritual weapons. The genius of the poet does not shine so much in what he says as in how he says it, how he transfigures the elements with which he deals. He is the true alchemist who changes the base metals of spurious and wondrous tales into the gold of immortal poems. Out of simple apocalyptic visions of Heaven and Hell grew the immortal poem of Dante, and from very inferior Italian novels some of the most beautiful dramas of immortal Shakespeare. Lesser geniuses have transformed older Oriental tales into romances of chivalry, religious tales into phantastic compositions which delighted the masses of the mediæval public, prone to listen to everything supernatural and wondrous, not over-critical nor fastidious about the fare placed before them, and satisfied to get a glimpse of another world of men greater and braver and nobler than themselves, and of learning, indistinguishable at the time from witchcraft, by means of which the future could be read as easily as the past, and the dark powers that surrounded them could be subdued and made to serve the best and highest interests of kings and nations.

THE LETTER OF TOLEDO.

IN the year 1184 the world was startled by a letter purporting to come from the sages and astrologers of Toledo. It was sent to Pope Clement III. and to other men of weight, informing them of the impending doom. The world was to be destroyed in the year 1186 through wind and storms, drought and famine, pestilence and earthquake. The people were advised to forsake their houses and well-built mansions, and to try and find safety in mountains and caverns, to protect themselves against the storms of sand with which the inhabitants of the sea coasts would be visited; notably the towns of the East. The air (continued the letter) will be darkened and poisoned by that fearful wind and in the midst of it a voice or sound will be heard, which will destroy the hearts of men. All towns

close to the shore will be covered with sand and earth. All this is to happen through the conjunction of all the planets in the sign of the Scales and in the tail of the Dragon, and will take place in the month of September. The sun also will enter into the same conjunction. Such a rare occurrence can only occur by the will of God, in order to be as a wonderful sign of the change to which all mutable things are to be subjected. The premonitory sign will be an eclipse of the sun, immediately before the conjunction of the planets, obscuring the whole body of the sun; and the moon in the opposition will also be totally eclipsed. The sun will appear fiery red and distorted during the eclipse, which, moreover, signifies approaching bloodshed in the neighbourhood of a river in the East and similarly in the West. Doubt and ignorance will seize Jews and Muhammetans until they forsake their synagogues and "mahumeries." Their sect will then be utterly destroyed by the will of God. Know ye therefore to leave the land so soon as you see the eclipse.

This letter or message was sent in the first place in the name of the astrologers of Toledo, and especially in the name of the Magister Johannes Davidis Hispalensis. There are many variations of the letter, and it has a history of its own, which I intend discussing here. It may appear somewhat remote from the immediate object of our investigations. It has apparently nothing of the *folk* in it. It is neither a tale nor a custom, nor does it lend itself to any of the metaphysical speculations so much in favour in so many of the more recent researches in the field of folklore. The general inclination seems to be to go to the very remote and necessarily obscure origins of all the manifestations of spiritual folklore, and to attempt thereby to solve the manifold problems which the study of the folk presents. I do not undervalue the merit of these speculations, nor do I intend criticising the work accomplished hitherto; but each of us looks upon these problems in the

light of his own investigations or predilections, and takes a different path towards the ultimate goal.

Everything with which we come in contact or in which we move is the result of composite forces, and so also is what we call the mind of the people. It is not the simple unfolding in a direct and straight line of any embryonic mental force, but a highly composite product of centuries of development under the most varied influences. The warp and woof of the human mind and of the lore of the people is not woven of one strand or of one colour, it is a multicoloured design of many strands and of many origins. The more we try to unravel this composite design, the more we find that patient following up of each separate thread is the only safe plan, unless we choose to lose ourselves in the labyrinth of metaphysical speculation. We must follow the thread that leads to the skein left at the entrance, and not try to unite ends which are separated in time and history. The *historical* investigation of each custom, tale, superstition, or charm is the primary condition for the solution of some of the problems of folklore. We shall never solve the riddle of the human heart; and we dare not ignore (as is often done) all the intervening chains and links which bind nations and organizations together, nor content ourselves with finding sufficient ground for new elucidatory theories in a single casual parallel, or even in a number of parallels. Our Society, happily, is not wedded to one single dogmatic teaching, and I contend that in the variety of opinions and views there lies a better prospect of approaching the ultimate truth, than in following one single beaten track. Because of this, I have taken the Letter of Toledo as a typical subject for investigation. It appeared in the middle period of the Christian Era, and started from one of the most famous centres of mediæval learning. It will therefore be useful to study the question of this letter upwards and downwards; to follow its further spread from the twelfth century onwards, and to attempt to trace its origin back to older sources.

The principal questions which engage our attention are necessarily : in how far has this or any such letter contributed to enrich the stock of popular knowledge and belief? and inversely, how much in it is due to such belief? When we are asked to look upon every item found among the unlettered as a remnant of an old state of mind, independent of, and in some points contrary to, the modern state of the church and of what we call civilisation, it behoves us to make it perfectly clear that no other influences have been at work, and that it cannot be traced to more recent sources of tradition, either by word of mouth or by written literature (which last merely facilitates the spread of the elements of knowledge). One of the greatest delusions, to my mind, is the belief that any nation, nay, any hamlet, has ever lived in absolute isolation from the rest of the world. No such thing has existed, at least in Europe; and I am inclined to extend the possibilities of intercommunication also to other nations and countries. Each kingdom in the East has had a period of great culture and of powerful intercourse between one part of it and another. Whoever has studied, even cursorily, the wayfaring life of the Middle Ages, and the manifold means of carrying tales and news from one place to the other, will not, and in fact cannot, entertain for one moment the theory of isolation. And where is the influence of the Church? and of the Christian apocryphal literature, which is so full of legendary and miraculous matter, and so well fitted to win the heart of the hearer? All these sources of popular inspiration must first be laid bare, their influence examined, their changes followed up, and their multifarious combinations described, ere we are in a position to pronounce any specified element in folklore to be an old tradition derived from pre-scientific times, a "relic of an unrecorded past." In this process of sifting, time and patience are required, and however slow the process may be, it is, at any rate, sure and safe. How much can we not learn from studying our own life, our daily experience, especially

when unmistakable historical evidence fortifies our observations! From these we start as from a stable basis venture into more remote speculations upon metaphysical or psychical origins.

To turn now to the Letter. It presents itself as a message sent from the astrologers of Toledo to Pope Clement, informing him that the peculiar combination of the planets in their course prognosticates a serious catastrophe for the inhabited world. Let us note at once two facts. The Letter is sent from Toledo by astrologers. The echo of the Letter is heard almost in every chronicle of the time. Its fame and the dread it produced can be traced throughout Christendom, without limit of time or space. We meet with it in English Chronicles as well as in French, in German, and Italian, with some modifications, which, though slight, are yet of sufficient importance for my thesis.

The profound effect which this letter produced upon the people's imagination proves then, in the first place, how deeply the belief in the influence of the stars had penetrated into human thought in the Middle Ages, much more generally than in older times. An unexpected conjunction of the heavenly bodies was sufficient to terrify both the learned and the unlearned masses. The belief was universal and undisputed. How tempting it would be to discuss here the history of astrology and astrolatry throughout the world, lasting so many centuries! How strongly this belief has ruled over man and has influenced him in many important acts of his life! How many battles have been fought, how many political actions undertaken, under this influence only! And when we speak now of a man being born under a "lucky star," are we not standing under the shadow of the old astrological belief? Are we not still worshipping at the old shrine? One can follow the slow growth of this belief through the old systems of worship, and prove that astrology proper—that is, the science of nativities and of the systematic exposition of the influence which each star, by

itself and in conjunction with others, has upon man's career—is an artificial and “scientific” development from more primitive conceptions. Yet it is this *highly-developed and artificial belief* which was spread and accepted in Europe and still clings to the masses. Shall I mention Zadkiel and Moore, the modern reflex of similar mediæval calendars and almanacks with prognostications and nativities? Astrology was imported directly from the East in all its details, and yet we find it in every home and hamlet exercising a far deeper influence upon the unlettered than the prognostications of our modern weather-prophets and the teachings of our astronomers. It is found, I repeat, amongst the masses, and it is contrary to our modern science, yet it is not a “relic of an unrecorded past.” We can trace it to a special centre, Toledo—a great university, whither men flocked from all parts of the world desirous of being instructed in the higher branches of knowledge. There was no man who aspired to a high position, or who was eager to slake his thirst for knowledge, who did not repair to that centre of learning and tolerance. Alchemy and astrology were soon added to the curriculum of teaching. Necromancy became by popular etymology *nigromancy*, the Black Art, and scholars like Michael Scott and Albertus Magnus, who had to pass a course of education at that famous university, soon became identified with nigromancy in the eyes of the people. The teacher at that heathen school could then only be the devil *in persona*. Among the peculiar Virgil-legends of the Middle Ages, we find one which represents the Devil as the teacher of nigromancy in Toledo, obtaining as the price of his tuition one of twelve scholars who on a certain day had to sit on a flying wheel which turned rapidly, and the one who flew off was quickly snatched up by the teacher as his lawful fee. We can therefore understand the consternation which seized the world when from that centre of mysterious learning such a warning was sent to foretell the impending doom.

It may be of interest to ask how it came about that a belief of this kind should strike such deep roots in the mind of the nations? Why should people give credence to assertions not easily proved? A legitimate question to put, when once we have reached the starting-point of the belief. The credulity of the masses is no answer. Even credulity presupposes a mental disposition to accept a teaching in which there is no control possible, except it be the chance accomplishment of one or another prediction. When once the belief is established, the mass concludes, by a chain of loose reasoning, that what has proved true in one case may be true in other cases also.

I am not bold enough to deny the possibility of the stars and planets exercising a certain influence upon man and earthly beings. Sun and moon produce the great and stirring movements of the seas known as the tides, and why should they not exercise some similar influence upon the blood, causing it also to ebb and flow? The quick or slow movement of the blood stimulates or neutralises our activity, it makes us sluggish or enthusiastic, and thus determines our action. The whole electric power stored in the earth, of which we now begin to get a faint glimpse, is derived directly from the sun; the X rays, invisible to us, mould our life profoundly; and wireless telegraphy may be carried on in space with greater effect than we are as yet aware. There may be an elementary basis of rudimentary experience at the root of the vastly-developed science or pseudo-science of astrology. But between the premiss of a possible influence of the heavenly bodies, and the theory and practice of astrology with its systematised interpretation of that influence, yawns the gulf which modern science attempts to bridge. But the people had no clear conception of these truths, or apparent truths. To them sufficed the example of the great, of the kings and the aristocracy; and the authority of the masters stood in place of individual reasoning. Thus, therefore, the Letter spread consternation far and wide, and one of the

chroniclers, a shrewd observer of events, connects the stirring of the Third Crusade with the deep emotion produced by these forebodings, which in one version of the Letter are directly connected with the Holy Land and the attacks of Saladin on Jerusalem. No less a personage than Giraldus Cambrensis connects the Crusade with the emotion produced by this Letter. Roger of Wendover, in his Chronicle, under the year 1229, mentions not only this Letter but three similar letters, the oldest being the one under our immediate consideration. So does Gervasius (to mention only English chroniclers), and so also Benedict of Peterborough. All these ascribe the Letter to Magister Johannes Toletanus.

The period at which the Letter was circulated for the first time was favourable for the publication of such auguries of evil and of catastrophes threatening to destroy the world. The public spirit was then in a state of effervescence, half frightened and half disappointed. The dreaded time of the Second Advent of Christ was expected to take place at the end of the first thousand years; and the expected appearance of the Millennium was one of the factors which had often, especially in ancient times, produced ecclesiastical, social, and political convulsions. The year 1000 had been awaited by anxious multitudes, dreading the terrible signs and wonders which were to come upon the world. The year 1000 had just past, and neither had the terrible events come to pass, nor had the enthusiastic expectations been realised. A state of subdued excitement remained. Some of it spent itself in the Crusades, the rest in apocalyptic and mystical literature and in sectarian movements, on which I do not intend entering here. They belong to Church history proper, and are only mentioned here in connection with this astrological Letter.

Man must have something in which to trust, and on which to rely, to strengthen his failing courage and to lift for him, if possible, a corner of the veil that covers the future. Man is always anxious to know that which a wise Providence

hides from him: "the next day"! Here now stepped in the new science, which professed to be able to foretell not only what would happen on the morrow, but to give to the inquirer an answer as to what would happen to him in the course of his life, and even foretell the length of that life and the way in which he would spend it. Backed by the authority of science and by the magic of the great names of men acquainted with all hidden mysteries and possessed of all the knowledge which canny and uncanny wisdom could grant, the belief was accepted as a key to the future, and the utterances of the astrologers were implicitly believed. It so happened that these forebodings did not come to pass. This is the psychological moment which invests these Letters with a peculiar significance from the point of view of folklore. They shared the fate of all unfulfilled prophecies. The first stage is, that ingenious devices are invented in order to explain the non-fulfilment. The penitent mood of the people, the mercy of God, the intervention of other unforeseen causes obviated the threatened event, and thus the world was saved for the time being. In the case of the Letter of 1186, no doubt can exist of the truth of the remarkable conjunction of the planets in that particular part of the skies. Professor Grauert, who has studied the later history of this Letter, has been able to ascertain through the instrumentality of the Astronomer-Royal in Berlin that this really happened. Minor occurrences which otherwise would have passed unnoticed were magnified into great heavenly or earthly convulsions. Winds were transformed into raging storms, and slight skirmishes sanguinary battles. In spite of all these devices the world felt that the prophecy had not been fulfilled. They did not hear the crack of doom.

The second stage is the reappearance of the Letter soon afterwards, *i.e.* about thirty years later. But it has already undergone a slight alteration. It is still ascribed to the astrologers of Toledo, but the name of the eminent man

who forwards it is now the Cardinal Johannes Toletanus, and the date of the prophecy is now 1229. This Cardinal Johannes has been, if I may say so, rediscovered by Professor Grauert, who published quite recently a monograph on Meister Johannes von Toledo (Munich, 1901), and who studied this letter *in extenso* in connection with the Cardinal John. To this monograph I must refer for the bibliographical notes referring to the Letter. Curious to know who the author of this remarkable writing could be, Professor Grauert has succeeded in unearthing a large number of variants, but he has neither traced its origin nor perceived its bearing on other questions. He is forced to own that the first appearance of the Letter preceded by thirty or more years the life of the Cardinal. This Cardinal John was of English origin and had also studied in Toledo. We are not interested here to follow up his political activity, and to relate his fight against the Emperor in favour of the Pope. His dabbling in alchemy brought down upon him the suspicion of nigromancy and astrology, which went hand in hand in popular imagination. He is credited, therefore, with the authorship of this Letter, in which also a prophecy is inserted about the death of a mighty Emperor in the East, and the appearance of an "Emperor over the whole universe." His contemporary Michael Scott, of the same school, is credited with the authorship of another prophecy in favour of the Emperor Frederic II. against the Pope (about 1244). He is mentioned by Dante as a nigromancer (*Inferno*, cant. xx., v., 116 ff.). We see now what had happened to the old Letter. In spite of the fact that the planetary conjunction was no longer tenable, it is still repeated as a justification of the events which are foretold; merely the date of the occurrence is altered to suit changed circumstances; and instead of the old and forgotten name, a new one, very much like the old one, also Johannes Toletanus, is substituted. Whilst in the former case it was Johannes David Hispalensis, it is now another pretended Spaniard of the same name, but

a Cardinal! Roger of Wendover prints this Letter also under the year 1229, and takes it very seriously.

This time also the prophecy is doomed to failure. The Cardinal did not prove more reliable than the older astrologer. But what did it matter? No sooner do new occurrences again cause great excitement than the Letter reappears with almost mathematical regularity. The writer of the fresh Letter does not invent anything new, just as little as did the Apocalyptic writer in ancient times; but he applies old imagery to suit the new requirements. About one hundred years pass away, and in the years 1322-29, during the period of the great commotions in Italy and Central Europe, when great floods sweep the Continent and famine ravages many cities, the Letter is circulated again, still ascribed to Magister Johannes of Toledo. The great storm which raged in Naples in 1343, graphically described by Petrarch, had, according to the latter, been foretold by a bishop living close to Naples who was very much addicted to the study of astrology, who, however, had prophesied an earthquake, and not a storm. Grauert sees in this prophecy the reflex of the same Letter.

The year 1345 was considered by the astrologers as one full of evil portents. In it many conjunctions took place; notably one on the 8th of February, when Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, and Mercury were all standing in the same sign. Villani, in his Florentine Chronicle, testifies to the profound impression which these astrological conjunctions produced, and how much they were believed to have caused all the troubles which then visited Italy. The medical faculty of Paris declared these conjunctions to be one of the causes of the plague (the Black Death), and they repeat in their report almost the very words of the Toledo Letter, without mentioning it by name.

The centre of learning had meanwhile been shifted from Toledo to Paris. The old school of necromancers had disappeared, and new authorities occupied the place as-

signed to the men of those schools of old. Hence when the Letter reappears it is made to fit the new condition of things. In 1395, about two hundred years after its first appearance, it is found in a Codex at Eichstadt, from which Grauert has reprinted it in full. The main points are absolutely identical. The same events will occur in consequence of the conjunction of the planets in the Cauda Draconis in the month of September,—floods and storms will rage, buildings will be destroyed and valleys submerged. Terrible and long-lasting eclipses of the sun will darken the day, and fiery signs and the eclipse of the moon signify the destruction of nations. Sanguinary battles in the East and in the West, shedding of blood and earthquakes will happen. A mighty emperor will die. Few will survive. The Mohammedans will be seized with doubt and join the Christians. The only safeguard against the impending evils will be to hide in caves inside of rocky mountains provided with food for thirty days. In this prophecy joined the philosophers of Greece, Arabia, Hispania, and Francia. It was signed by twenty-one Magisters in Paris on the 1st of April. Professor Grauert asks whether the date of the “1st of April” does not point to the fact that this Letter may be the work of a wag who intended to play a practical joke. I do not think so. The people at that time were not much given to practical joking, and the year 1395 was anything but favourable for it. The world was too much distraught by internal strife and foreign wars, and minds were under the strong influence of mystical and apocalyptic literature.

I will pass over the other parallels found in the course of the fifteenth century, and will mention only one more variant of this letter, dated 1480, and published by Grauert from MSS. in the Florentine Library. This last version is of the utmost importance, for it helps us to recognise the elements out of which it had grown. It is not, as Professor Grauert suggests, a reflex of the Toledo Letter,

mixed up with other elements gathered from different sources. Before I give an abstract of this somewhat lengthy document, it will be of interest to notice that a German translation of the Letter exists of the same year, and if my memory does not entirely deceive me, I remember having seen a variant of it in an English chapbook. I have not been able to trace it now, but hope with the assistance of others to find it yet. This shows how long the Letter has been able to exist. In its latest form it has lost its name and does not mention any authority, but the principal features, the storm and the eclipse of the sun, the death of an emperor, and the terrible phenomena in heaven and upon earth, are faithfully reproduced. It is still an astrological message, though much toned down as far as the astrology is concerned. It is now a simple chapbook.

But to return to the Florentine variant. No Johannes and no David are any longer mentioned. Neither is Toledo or Paris referred to. Similarly, little is heard of philosophers and astrologers. The letter comes as a message from a pious hermit from behind Mount Sinai, and also from a certain Rasis of Antiochia, who have both got their information from Arabic writings. The chief points are as follows: "Great tribulations will begin with the year 1447 and will continue until 1510, growing steadily all the while. The land of the Christians will be filled with more anguish and pain than can be described. Wars and bloodshed in the East and West, famine, plague, dearth, and death. The Pope will cry in vain asking the kings to make war in the Holy Land. The kingdom of the Franks (*Francorum*) will be destroyed through their ignorance. Heresies will terrify the world, and not even three Cardinals will be left in Rome, the Pope himself fleeing from the city. Many clerics will deny their faith, and the altars of Paul and Peter will be defiled. Earthquakes will destroy many towns. The planets will produce much poison among the nations, and the air will be filled with exhalations which will cause human bodies to shrivel up.

Storms will raise the sand in sandy places and will cover men until they be suffocated. A total eclipse of the sun will envelop the whole world in darkness, and the moon will appear ruddy and dark. All the nations will be seized with ignorance and doubt. The Saracen will relinquish his synagogues and "mahummerries." A mighty emperor will die seven months after the eclipse. The sea will overflow its border, and the winds will blow so strongly that no ship will be able to withstand their force. Trees will be uprooted and houses overthrown. The only way to escape will be to go into the open plain and to build houses of wooden beams, covering them with earth, and taking care to be far away from trees, so that they should not fall upon these habitations and crush them. Daniel had already foreseen the coming forth of the Ishmaelites at the end of the sixth sign of the centuries (*sic*), who would cause widespread misery and confusion. Many Christian nations would be delivered into their hands, because of their sins. The Ishmaelites will conquer and subdue Greece, Gallia, Hispania, Germania, Aquitania, the Islands of the Sea, even Jerusalem and the Land of Promise. (The cruelties to be perpetrated by the Ishmaelites when they break forth from the desert are then minutely described.) Their power will be the greatest in Spain, and they will go about decked in silver and gold and covered with precious stones. The elect of the Christians will then appear, and will show by their sufferings and martyrdom their steadfast adherence to their faith. God will then remember His promise and free them from the yoke of the Saracens. A Roman emperor will then be raised anew, who will smite the Ishmaelites with the edge of the sword and drive them away. In Persia, Egypt, and Spain he will visit on them their iniquities sevenfold, and peace will reign in the lands of the Christians. Then will appear the two nations Gog and Magog, and divide Asia among themselves. The frightened inhabitants will hide in the crevices of the mountains and in caverns,

for the heathen eat also human flesh, and no one will be able to contend with them. The Roman emperor will then besiege Jerusalem for seven years, at the end of which the Son of Perdition will be born. Antichrist will be born in Babylon, brought up in "Denceaym (Grauert thinks Corozaim) Bethsaida," and will rule in Cafernaum. As soon as he makes his appearance the Roman emperor will go to Golgotha, and, taking off his crown, will place it upon the spot of the Crucifixion. He will pray and give up his soul in prayer. In 1516 Antichrist will proclaim himself king, and will do marvellous things and perform wonders and signs almost as God; fire will he cause to fall from heaven, the demons will obey him, the hidden treasures will be revealed to him. The sun will be darkened, and the moon will appear like blood, and he will deceive many. He will then kill two servants of Christ and leave their corpses unburied for three days, after which they will be quickened into life and ascend to heaven. But in the year 1520 Christ will kill Antichrist with the breath of his mouth on Mount Olivet, and the archangel Michael will destroy the heathen nations of Gog and Magog and burn them with fire in the eyes of all the nations, so that they be consumed. In 1540 there will be one flock and one shepherd.

Thus far the abstract of this curious Letter. Its full significance can only be gauged if we remember the time of its appearance. The Middle Ages are drawing to a close. The Reformation is beginning in the Church. Dissatisfaction is rife everywhere, and the Church of Rome is beginning to be identified with the Antichrist of the old Christian tradition. The approach of the Millennium is taught by many, and preparations are made for the Second Advent of Christ. I am leaving the dogmatic questions severely alone, and I point merely to such developments of Millennary hopes and inspirations as we meet with among the Anabaptists and the Rosicrucians; not to speak of many other similar movements elsewhere. Many sects with similar views appear

in England in the 17th century; notably through the efforts of Joseph Mede, and more so through Jane Leade, who established the well-known Philadelphic Society, a society of the elect to await the coming of the "Bridegroom." Dates are fixed for the reappearance of Christ; and, as a corollary, for that of Antichrist, in spite of the fact that he was identified with the Pope and the Church of Rome. This and similar letters were implicitly believed in, and taken to convey oracles and prophecies which confirmed the people in their expectation of impending events. The period is saturated with mystical and apocalyptic literature.

It is idle to assume that such writings have remained outside the sphere of the "people;" on the contrary, if anything, they were and are potent factors in moulding the spiritual life of the masses, for their influence has been deep and lasting. How deeply it has sunk into the mind of the people can easily be seen if we examine the popular belief in such premonitory Letters and in astrological predictions, and co-ordinate popular notions with the principles that are presupposed, or are expressly mentioned, in these mystical messages.

They were eagerly taken up and easily believed, because they chimed in with a large mass of similar tradition that had filtered down from ancient times. The Letter of Toledo became again merged in what I conceive to be the main stream of apocalyptic tradition, which permeated the ancient Christian world. It had formed for a short time a branch of the river. The non-fulfilment of the Millennium at the end of the year 1000, which had been so eagerly and faithfully awaited since the days of St. Augustine (who gave that interpretation to the classical passages in the Gospels and in the Apocalypse of St. John), had somewhat disconcerted the faithful. Now there arose another source of terror, based upon the new science of astrology. The people in moments of extreme fear remember the old

dark sayings of the past ; they turn to the old literature, discarded for a time. What was then more natural than to turn to the old formula of the Antichrist, with the signs and portents which were to announce the dread event to the terrified masses? The old imagery is revived under different circumstances, and thus a letter from the astrologers of Toledo is the form in which it now appears. The setting is somewhat different but the substance is the same. The old Antichrist legend had meanwhile become thoroughly assimilated. The nations of the West knew it. It was known to the old Eddaic writer of the *Völuspä*, as has been shown by recent investigations. The *Ragnarök* and the *Muspilli* are evidently derived directly from the Antichrist Saga. The Doomsday of the so-called Saxon mythology is the result of the Christian apocryphal teaching. The end of the world is introduced for the first time to the heathen nations. The Christian element is presented in a mythological form ; only the names are altered, not the substance. Instead of a mythical, there is an astrological background, and at once we have the letter evolved out of the Antichrist legend. Suppose for one moment that the chain of evidence had broken, and that we found ourselves face to face with modern chapbooks and astrological prognostications, so absolutely identical in form with the *Völuspä*, what would be more natural than to assume that these two belong to one and the same old mythical European tradition, and that the chapbook must be the remnant of the old form of belief, so contrary to the modern notions of astronomy and of a "Doomsday"?

For this Antichrist legend, with the signs and wonders in it, is of a very complex origin. It is the growth of centuries, during which many of the features with which we are familiar in its European shape have been slowly added. Bousset and others have described the history of this growth, and have attempted to trace the various elements which enriched it to their primary sources. Phrases from

the Sibylline Oracles as well as from the Bible and the Gospels, peculiar interpretations of the classical passage in the Revelation, crystallised slowly round a central idea, which may be even older than Christianity. Gunkel sees in it the reflex of old Babylonian myths, of the fight of the Dragon with God. But we are not now concerned with eschatological origins. The problem with which we are dealing is the question of the more recent growth and the spread of the developed form. It is therefore not devoid of interest to point out that Bede in the eighth century, one of the oldest chroniclers of the fifteen signs of the Antichrist, and of the Crack of Doom, presents a very complete system and theory of Antichrist. It is this very composite form, the result of hundreds of years of development, with which both the Northern writers and the authors of mediæval apocalypses were acquainted. They knew, not the single scattered elements, but the complete legend. They give the same imagery in almost the same sequence, as we find in the Letter of Toledo, both in its earliest and latest versions. In all these versions, as in the Antichrist Saga, the scattered elements are focussed into one sustained narrative. Each of the parallels and each single item can be traced to the writings of the Fathers of the Church. The different signs existed separately, and were only at a later period added one after another to the central figure of Antichrist. It is not necessary to quote the parallels to that passage in the Florentine version which gives a description of Antichrist, his rule over the world, the appearance of Gog and Magog, the slaying of God's two witnesses, for they speak for themselves and unmistakably betray their origin. Of greater interest it is to find the parallels to such portions in the Letter of Toledo in 1186 as are connected with Doomsday. Let us take the hurricane and storm. We find them in *Sibyll*, viii., 203. "And the sun shall appear darkling by night, and the stars quit the sky, and with great fury a hurricane shall lay waste the

earth, and (then) shall be the resurrection of the dead." (Bousset, 247). Lactantius quotes another Sibyl saying: "A trumpet shall send forth from heaven a sound of much wailing" (*ib.* 248). The conversion of the Jews and Saracens, a constant figure in the Letter, is clearly taken from a fairly developed form of the Antichrist legend (*v.* Bousset, p. 214, ff.). In the Letter the conversion has no meaning whatever, for that is intended as a warning to the people to beware of a catastrophe which is to overtake all without distinction of race or creed; but by tracing the incident to its source we see the true meaning of the reference.

To sum up. The legend of Antichrist, starting from one centre and from one spiritual medium, gathers strength and volume before it reaches Europe, when it is quickly taken up by the imaginative portion of the population. After a time it is thoroughly assimilated. The idea of the End of Days, which may or may not have previously existed among the European nations, obtains a definite shape under its influence. Other circumstances drive these newly-acquired conceptions into the background. Unfulfilled prophecies, expectations which have turned out vain, contribute to the partial obscuring of the legend in its original and complex form. Under other circumstances one part of it, however, is revived under a somewhat altered shape. The limitless dark future is replaced by immediate fixed dates. Instead of the end of the whole world, a partial impending destruction is described. Credulity is revived, spiritual forces are again at work, astrology joins hands with mysticism and apocalyptic visions, and thus secures a new lease of life for the old set of hopes and fears. The legend is circulated under changed names, adapted to new situations. Another political and religious change brings the old legend to life again, and gives it another interpretation, as happened to the Antichrist legend at the time of the Reformation. The intermediate form is then merged again into the older

and truer one, and both contribute to enrich popular fancy and poetry.

Only a careful first-hand investigation of documentary evidence will succeed in sifting the so-called ancient remnants existing in the minds of the people, and in determining whether they are to be looked upon as such "relics of an unrecorded past" or as fragments of recent origin. I have tried here to join link to link in the chain of tradition in order to show how deep the influence of this form of the Antichrist legend has been, and how far-reaching in its results upon the religious and political development of the nations of Europe during the last thousand years, in the course of which the Letter of Toledo has played an important part. Other investigations will doubtless show how much it has enriched the people's knowledge and has contributed to bring about that state of mind which strikes us as archaic and "folkloric."

TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF A CHARM AGAINST THE CHILD-STEALING WITCH.*

THE collection of Rumanian popular charms, made by Marian, begins with the following:—

AGAINST THE CATARACT: George got up early and got ready; left the house, left the table, went on the road, on the pathway, strong and beautiful, pink and cheerful; but when he was in the middle of the road, of the road of the pathway, he was met by the Windmaids and by the “Beautiful,” who smote him in the face and hurled him to the ground, made his countenance black, covered him with dust, put the Cataract into his eyes, and left him without sight. George began to cry, and with a loud voice to lament. The loud voice went up to Heaven and the tears dropped down to the earth, yet no one saw him, no one heard him, save the Holy Virgin (the Mother of God) from the gate of Heaven; only she saw him, only she heard him, and she called him by his name, and she asked him thus: “George, why do you cry? Why do you lament? Why do you raise your voice, a voice that reaches Heaven, whilst the tears are dropping down upon the earth?” “How should I not cry? And how should I not lament

* v. *M. Gaster*, *Li Leratura populara română* București 1883, pp. 394-416.; *B. P. Hasdeu*, *cuvente den Bătrăni II*. București 1879, pp. 263-291.; *A. N. Wesselofsky*, *Razyskaniya vŭ oblasti russkikhŭ Iuhovnyhŭ stihovŭ VI*. Ls. Phrobg 1883, pp. 40-53; and *S. Fl. Mariani*, *Descânhece poporane române*, cernăuți 1886, pp. 1-5, 77-80.

with a loud voice unto Heaven, and with tears dropping down upon the earth? For I got up early and got ready, left the house, left the table, went on the road, on the pathway, strong and beautiful, pink and cheerful; but when I was in the middle of the road, of the road of the pathway, I was met by the Windmaids and by the Beautiful, who smote me in the face, hurled me to the ground, made my countenance black, covered me with dust, put the Cataract into my eyes, and left me without sight." "Be silent George, and do not cry, with tears of blood. Do not lament, and do not raise your voice, for I will heal you." The Holy Virgin from the gates of Heaven let down a golden ladder and came down upon it. She stood before George, took him by the right hand, turned his face away from the sun, and started to walk on Adam's road, to the spring of the Jordan. She met three sisters of the Sun, with three brooms, with three rakes and three hoes, with three sleeves of white silk. And the Holy Virgin as she met them, as she beheld them, stretched out her skirts and stopped them in the road; thus she asked and thus she spake. "Where are ye going, ye three sisters of the Sun?" "We are going, we are travelling to the fountain of the Lord, to clean it from the reeds and from the mud." "Do not go and do not travel, ye three sisters of the Sun; for the fountain of the Lord is clean, is limpid, as when made by God, but go and travel to clean away the blindness and the mist from the eyes of George. Clean the white cataract, the black cataract, the red cataract, the cataract of ninety-nine forms, the cataract of ninety-nine ways. Look for it in the seams of the head, in the face of the visage, look for it in the lids, round the eyes, and in the lights (the apple) of the eyes. Quickly, very quickly rake it with your rakes, cut it with your scissors, sweep it away with your brooms, peel it off with your nails, drive it away from the eyes, wipe it away with the sleeves, gather it in your laps, carry it to the threshing-floor. The threshers shall quickly break it in a thousand pieces, shall throw it over the wall

into the dust, the oxen shall take it on their horns, when the oxen have taken it on their horns, they shall carry it to the sea. There it shall vanish and there it shall disappear. George shall remain clear as the shining silver and as the bright sun for ever and ever. Amen."

This charm is one of the longest and most complete in the whole range of Roumanian charms. It contains all the elements which do not occur in so complete a form in other charms; for either one incident or the other is omitted. Here the whole scenery is given. It is like a small epic poem, reciting the adventures of the man whom God afflicted with a cataract on the eyes, and the way the cure is going to be effected. The chief personage is the Holy Virgin; at her bidding some mysterious personages, here described as of a friendly character, are ordered to proceed to the patient and to drive away the illness from him. Before entering on a further examination of this charm and the conclusions to be drawn from it, I will mention two more. The first is against the "Evil Hour"; that means, according to the Roumanian belief, an evil occurrence which happens to a man unawares. The "Evil Hour" is an evil spirit which has taken possession of the man, causing contortions, spasms, and often unconsciousness. The woman who pronounces the charm does it on the fast days of the week, viz. on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, when the moon grows smaller. She then takes *Solanum dulcamara* (wood nightshade) and boils it in virgin water, and she puts into it a few drops of honey. After she has uttered the charm she gives the patient this water to drink three times a day, after which he is expected to recover. The charm is as follows:

"N. got up early, N. got ready, she left her house, left her table, strong and beautiful, well and cheerful. When she was in the middle of the road, in the middle of the pathway, there came to meet her, stopped the road for her, the Archangel Michael on a black charger, with nine bears, with nine dogs, all these born, grown up, and formed on the day of St. George; he held a weapon of thunder and a sword of

lightning, with which he was cutting, digging, the Evil Hour seeking, but however much he sought it was nowhere to be found but in the body of N. He found him there, he cut him up, he dug him out, and N. screamed violently, cried plaintively, but no one saw her, no one heard her, save the pure Mother, the very pure Mother. She saw her, she heard her, she came to meet her, and thus she spake to her: "Why do you scream and why do you lament?" "Oh, pure Mother, Mother very pure. Why should she not cry, why should she not lament, for when she got early ready, left her house, left her table, strong and beautiful, well and cheerful, when she was in the middle of the road, in the middle of the pathway, there came to meet her, there stopped the road for her, the Archangel Michael on a black charger with nine bears, with nine dogs, all of them born, grown up, formed on the day of St. George; he held a weapon of thunder and a sword of lightning, with which he was cutting, digging, the Evil Hour seeking, but however much he sought, it was nowhere to be found but in the body of N. He found him, he cut him, he dug him, and then . . . he cast him into the fiery furnace. He raked him out with an iron rake, he pounded him with an iron pestle, he took him out from the iron mortar, he threw him into an iron sieve, he sifted him in that sieve, he winnowed him in that iron sieve, so that nothing should remain of that Evil Hour, just as nothing remains of the dust in the road . . . N. shall remain clear, clear and shining as when her mother gave birth to her, as when God had made her; Amen, Amen, and as the bright sun. From me the charm, from God the cure."

In this charm the Holy Virgin is playing a subordinate *rôle* altogether, prominence is given to the Archangel Michael, who, according to this rather incomplete description, had been pursuing the Evil Spirit with a weapon of thunder and with a sword of lightning. Lastly, we have a third charm, which has also been recently collected from the mouth of the peasants in Roumania. The charm runs thus:

"The Archangel Michael descending on the Mount of

Olives met Avezuha, the wing of Satan, and she was dreadful to behold; the hair of her head was hanging down to the ground; her eyes were like stars, her hands of iron, the nails of her hands and feet were like sickles, and from her mouth came forth a flame of fire. The Archangel Michael, Lord over the Heavenly hosts, said unto her, 'Whence dost thou come, thou unclean Spirit, and whither art thou going?' 'I am going to Bethlehem in Judea, for I have heard that Jesus Christ is going to be born of His Virgin Mother Maria, and I am going to hurt her.' Whereupon the Archangel Michael took hold of the hair of her head, fastened an iron chain round her, stuck his sword into her side, and began to beat her terribly, in order to make her tell him all her secret arts. She began and said: 'I change myself into a dog, a cat, a fly, a spider, a raven, an evil-looking girl, and thus enter into the houses of the people and hurt the women and bring trouble upon the children, and I bring changelings, and I have nineteen names. One, Vestitza; second, Novadaria; third, Valnomia; fourth, Sina; fifth, Nicozda; sixth, Avezuha; seventh, Scorcoila; eighth, Tiha; ninth, Miha; tenth, Grompa; eleventh, Slalo; twelfth, Necausa; thirteenth, Hatav; fourteenth, Hulila; fifteenth, Huva; sixteenth, Ghiana; seventeenth, Gluviana; eighteenth, Prava; nineteenth, Samca; and wherever these names will be found written I shall not be able to approach that house a distance of three thousand steps.' And the Archangel Michael, the Lord over the Heavenly hosts said unto her: 'I tell thee, and I conjure thee, that thou shalt have neither the power to approach the house of X. the servant of the Lord, nor to hurt his property, his flocks, or anything that belongs to him. Thou shalt go to the desolate mountains where no one lives, there shalt thou abide. Amen.' "

In this charm we have the key to the preceding one. The Evil Spirit or the Evil Hour mentioned there is a substitution for the Evil Spirit, much more accurately described in the last charm, where we see that we are dealing with a child-stealing witch. All these charms have, as already

remarked, been collected from the mouth of the people. In every case they were illiterate persons, to whom these charms could only have come by word of mouth in the form of a sacred ancient tradition; for unless the charms are endowed with a certain amount of sanctity no one would believe in their efficacy, and they would soon disappear. This has been indeed the fate which has overtaken them wherever the faith in them had been weakened.

What is now the origin of these charms? If I should follow one school of folklorists I should lose myself at once in airy speculations and see in them traces of indigenous ancient mythology. Every figure that appears in these charms would be studied as a remnant of ancient local faith, and conclusions would be drawn as to that ancient form of belief thus preserved by these mythological fragments. It is time, however, that even in the study of folklore a certain system of classification should be introduced, and that we should learn to investigate the complex which makes up the intellectual property of the people, not upon one uniform plan. We must avoid not merely the danger of generalisation, but also that of applying principles which may hold good in the elucidation of one branch of our subject to all the other branches. I will limit myself to pointing out the profound difference which must be drawn between religious theory and religious practice. It is self-understood that I apply this word "religion" in connection with folklore in the widest acceptance of the meaning of the word, namely, as "faith and belief in the reality of the things worshipped." To the former, that is to the theory, belongs, according to my classification, the whole range of legend and tale, mythology proper; whilst to the latter, that is to the practice, belongs the outward form of worship, sometimes influenced by the legend, but just as often if not more, leading an independent life. The former, that is the legendary element, is constantly changing, the latter, being the religious custom or ceremony, is abiding. Magic

survives the myth, because however much the gods may change, the way to approach them, the means employed, the formulas used remain the same. The slightest change in an invocation or an incantation, that is, in a prayer recited either as prose or as poem with the accompaniment of chants, would destroy its efficacy. No portion of it, however much misunderstood, no name in it, however barbarous it may sound, but they will be preserved with the utmost fidelity. It is true they will be corrupted by oral transmission, but that will be an involuntary and unconscious act in the mouth of the charmer or conjurer, no such change being contemplated.

The religious background will shift from time to time whenever the nation changes its religious principles, or when the magical formula has been carried from a nation professing one form of religion to another professing a different one. The gods will thus either be eliminated entirely or others will be substituted for them, but the charm itself will survive that change. But it ceases then to be any longer considered part of religious worship, it is called "superstition"; which means that which has withstood, which is held over, a fragment, or the wreckage of the ancient religion, which has managed to float on the top of the wave of human sentiment, and has thus been rescued from complete annihilation.

The efficacy of the magical formula rests, as is well known, partly on the ceremony which accompanies it, and is often of a symbolical character, but mostly on the divine names which the charm contains. I am treading here on a somewhat dangerous ground, as it might lure me on to widen the scope of this investigation. For wherever we may look, the whole range of ancient religious mysteries stands under the ban of the mysterious ineffable Name of the Divinities worshipped in those countries. We can scarcely conceive Egyptain or Assyrian, or even later Buddhist and Jaina mysteries, without being confronted with hosts of such magical names. Even the ancient Greek Eleusinian

mysteries find their explanation, according to the recent investigations of Foucart, in the assumption that the very last and most potent secret revealed to the initiated in these and in the Orphic mysteries consisted in the communication of such Names, guaranteeing them unimpeded access to the bliss of the other world. The power assigned to such names, and that is all that I wish to say in connection with these names, is, that the name of the thing represents the invisible permanent sum-total of the whole being. It is the vital force not limited to any special part of the body, it is on the contrary the very essence of that being. To know it, means, to be in direct communication with the whole unbroken vital force, enabling the man who possesses that knowledge to assume that name for himself, to identify himself with that being, and to utilise it for his own purposes. The simple name is sometimes replaced by the recital of an act, a story, or a narrative of an evil occurrence similar to that which is happening again; for the repetition of that ancient incident, and of the efficacy of the ancient experiment, is considered sufficient to produce now the same effects.

It must also be stated that the formulas used in such conjurations are of a stationary character; they change very little, the only change which takes place is merely in the application which is made of the conjuration. One divinity or the evil cause of one illness is substituted for another; a charm against blindness will be applied against sores, simply by substituting the names of these sores for those of the spirits that are believed to be the cause of blindness. One other transformation takes place, namely, an invocation is changed into a conjuration. An invocation is a prayer addressed for protection and assistance to a friendly supernatural being; a conjuration is no longer a prayer, but a threat to the evil spirits which haunt man, either to prevent them from doing harm or to remove them from the place where they are actually harmful. In the latter case the symbolical and sympathetic element prevails.

If a charm is to be complete we have thus to expect, first the epical narrative, secondly the symbolical or sympathetic incident, and thirdly the mystical names. Wherever one of these elements is missing we have at once the proof that the charm is not complete, and that it is merely a late reduced form of the primitive more ample conjuration. That these three elements are interchangeable has already been remarked; we may find two belonging to one cycle, such as the narrative and the symbolism, whilst the Names belong to a totally different charm. The various conjurations are intimately connected one with the other in that way, for one which is efficacious against one set of illness will, as already stated, be applied to another, merely by modifying the name of the illness. These are the quicksands which we must avoid in our investigation. On the other hand, we must beware of being led astray by the tributaries which mingle their waters with the main stream, viz. the various elements borrowed from different sources and amalgamated in one conjuration or in one charm. We must follow the main stream if we are to retrace the history of the modern charm and to follow up the process of a slow change through a long period of transmission, the stream flowing through the centuries. Just as the proverb is often only the ethical conclusion, the moral of a fable or tale, so do I consider the charm to be the religious resumé, the practical moral of a mythical, legendary tale.

I revert now to the Roumanian charms. The last one mentioned by me contains all the three elements, though the first, the historical, is very much curtailed. The symbolical is clear, as the Evil Spirit says she is going to steal or to hurt the new-born babe of the Virgin Mary, and as she was protected, so is this young mother to be protected and saved. Her mystical names are also given. In the charm Number II. the names have dropped out, but the fight and the symbolical element has remained, but instead of stealing or hurting children, a special form of illness is represented by the Evil Spirit; whilst the description of the

illness has been retained in the first charm together with the epical narrative, and instead of mystical names, the names of the illnesses are given in full. We shall soon be able to understand how these illnesses have crept into the charm. The meaningless names, such as in the third charm, have in some versions a definite meaning, in others popular etymology has supplied a translation to these curious names, so that in a Russian version, where almost every incident is retained, the Evil Spirit, which has there nothing to do with children or women in child-bed, is the embodiment of fever, and each name represents a different stage of that illness. We would have thus at least two distinct types to be kept asunder carefully, the child-stealing type and the fever or other illness type. However attractive this last type may be, I cannot deal with it here adequately. I will only mention, just because there appear in it so many mysterious names, the old Latin conjuration published by Vassiliev in his *Anecdota Græco-Byzantina*, pp. lxvii.-viii., together with a Greek parallel of the fifteenth century. There are also other availing charms which read almost like a literal translation, and from which that element had been borrowed and amalgamated with the child-stealing type.

Passing on from the oral literature with which I have dealt hitherto to the written, we find the absolute counterpart of the last charm in manuscripts from the sixteenth century on almost to the time when it was printed for the first time in 1874. I possess no less than fourteen Rumanian manuscripts of this charm where the witch is regularly called *Avestitza*. The contents are almost identical with the last-mentioned oral charm; the names, however, differ very considerably, and in some they have a decidedly Slavonic form. In a few of these manuscripts we find now another name added to that of the Archangel Michael, namely, the holy Sisoe. The text begins with the words, "I, the servant of the Lord, the holy Sisoe, coming down from the Mount of

Olives, saw the Archangel Michael coming down from the Mount of Sion, which is the Mount of Olives. The Archangel Michael, lord of the heavenly hosts, stopped Avestitza the wing of Satan," &c. The rest is absolutely identical with the oral charm, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that the oral charm is derived *directly* from the written text. In these introductory few words a connection is hinted at between this charm and another more elaborate charm, in which the saint Sisoe plays a prominent rôle, also in connection with the child-stealing spirit. The relation between these two versions, of which one I call the *Avestitza type*, which is the shorter, and the other I call the *Sisoe type*, which is the longer, has not yet been definitely settled. I hold that the shorter is independent of the longer, whilst others who have studied the question believe it to have formed originally part of the longer tale, which has then been detached from it and lives as an independent legend. We shall see, however, that the short one is the only one for which parallels exist throughout the world, whilst it is very difficult to find many parallels for the longer recension. The text has been preserved in Roumanian and in Slavonic, the former being merely a translation of the latter. In a manuscript of the middle of the last century I have found the most complete form of this longer legend, and what is more important still the direct information that it had been used as an amulet against the child-stealing witch. The written charm had thus become a talisman, an amulet to which the same efficacy had been ascribed as to the spoken conjuration. The legend reads as follows :

"The prayer of the Holy Sisoe for the little children who are killed by the Devil."

"This is to be placed in the cradle of the child and then the Devil will not come near it."

"This Saint Sisoe, with Sidor and Fidor, had waged successful wars in the country of the Arabians. He had a

sister called Meletia; she had had five children, and the Devil had stolen all the five and had swallowed them; and when Meletia was to give birth to another child, Meletia, frightened of the Devil, run away until she came to the sea shore. There she found a leaden cave covered with lead and the doors of lead, wherein she placed food for a year sufficient to keep three women, as she had taken two servants with her to attend on her. When the sixth child was going to be born she was frightened of the Devil, but God, who hearkens unto all who pray unto Him with faith, when He saw how sorely grieved and frightened Meletia was on account of the Devil, listened unto her, and He sent His angel to her brother Sisoe, and he said unto him, 'Holy Sisoe, go with the fear of God against the Devil, for he has swallowed thy sister's children.' The holy Saint Sisoe went out hunting with a large number of people. When they were in the middle of the forest a terrible storm broke out and all his companions were scattered in the forest. Sisoe wandered about at the will of God until he came to the seashore to his sister Meletia. There he cried with a loud voice, 'Sister Meletia, open the door, open the door, or else I shall not be able to escape this terrible tempest.' Meletia replied, 'I will not open the door, for I am frightened of the Devil, lest he come in and steal my child, as forty days have not yet passed since its birth.' Saint Sisoe said, 'Sister Meletia, open the door, for God has sent me to hunt the Devil.' When Meletia heard these words she opened the door, and the saint entered into the cell, bringing his horse with him. The Devil, who stood by, changed himself into a millet-grain, and putting himself inside the shoe of the horse, thus entered. Thus the Devil entered the cell. Meletia kept the child in one arm and prepared food with the other. After they had eaten and gone to sleep, the Devil got up, ran to the cradle, snatched the child up, and ran away with it along the seashore through the forests. The child was screaming very loudly.

When the mother heard the child screaming she got up quickly and felt with her hand in the cradle. When she found the cradle empty she cried aloud, 'Wake up, my brother, for the Devil has stolen my child.' Hearing his sister cry bitterly, the saint rose quickly, mounted his horse, took the lance in his hand, and began to pursue the Devil. On the way he came to a willow-tree, and he asked, 'Hast thou, O willow of God, seen the Devil passing hereby with a child in his arms?' The willow had seen them, but it said, 'I have not seen.' Saint Sisoe then cursed the willow and said, 'O wicked willow! cursed thou shalt be, thou shalt only bloom and never bear fruit.' And he went on his way until he came to a briar, and Saint Sisoe said, 'O briar of God, hast thou seen the Devil running past with a little child in his arms?' The briar had seen them, but said, 'I have not.' Saint Sisoe cursed it, saying, 'Cursed shalt thou be, O briar! thy roots shall be where thy branches ought to be; thou shalt catch at all, and tear and be cursed by all.' And Saint Sisoe went further, following the traces of the Devil, until he came to a plane-tree. 'Hast thou, O plane-tree of God, seen the Devil running past with a child?' The plane-tree said, 'I have not seen them, but I have heard singing on the road.' The saint replied, 'Blessed shalt thou be, and thou shalt stand in front of the church [probably to be used as the knocking-board or plank still in use in the East instead of church bells] to call the people to service and the sinners to repentance.' Then he went on further after the Devil, until he came to an olive-tree standing by the seashore, and he said to it, 'Olive-tree of God, hast thou seen the Devil running past with the child in his arms?' And the olive-tree replied, 'Yes, I have seen him plunging into the sea, and he is playing with the fishes of the deep.' The saint replied, 'Blessed shalt thou be, from thee shall come the holy ointment, and no church shall be without thee.' The saint dismounted from his horse by the shore of the

sea and knelt down and prayed to God ; then he threw his hook into the sea and caught the Devil by the neck. Dragging him on to the land and beating him with a fiery sword, he said unto him, ' Give me back the children which thou hast stolen from my sister.' But the Devil replied, ' How can I return them after I have swallowed them ? ' And the saint replied, ' Thou must bring them up again.' The Devil said, ' Vomit thou first the milk which thou hast sucked from thy mother's breast.' And the saint prayed to God and he vomited the milk. The Devil, seeing this, got terribly frightened, and brought at once up all the six children hale and hearty, and not hurt in the least. But the saint said, ' I will not let thee free until thou swear no longer to harm man in future.' And the Devil swore by the Lord, who created heaven and earth, that wherever he would see the name or the book of the Holy Sisoë he would have no power to harm or to hurt the people. Saint Sisoë beat him fearfully and threw him into the sea ; then taking the six children he brought them to his sister, and said unto her, ' Sister ! here are the children which the Devil had swallowed.' She received them with great joy, rejoicing over and over again. And this is now the prayer : ' O Evil Spirit ! mayest thou be killed and cursed by the terrible and glorious name of the Trinity, and by the 360 holy fathers of the Council of Nicaea. May X. remain clear and shining through the dew of the Holy Spirit as on the day in which his mother bore him ; for ever and ever, Amen.' "

This is the Slavonic and Roumanian version of the complete legend of Sisin and the Evil Spirit, identified rather vaguely with the Devil. He merely steals the children without really hurting them. Slavonic and Roumanian texts, especially of a religious and legendary character, are as a rule based upon Greek texts, and similar Greek texts have really been found to exist. Leo Allatius has published in his *De templis Græcorum*, 1645, (pp. 126-129, 133-135 ; cf.

also E. Légrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire II.*, Paris, 1881, p. xviii.) two versions of an absolutely similar legend, of which one is fragmentary, inasmuch as the beginning is missing. In this occurs a peculiar child-stealing spirit, which goes by the name of *Gelu* or *Geloo*.

The book being extremely scarce and the Greek texts of great importance for the history of this charm, I publish here the translation in full.

I.

“ . . . that he (viz. the Evil Spirit) should not get into the tower and swallow my child as he has done not very long ago. But the saints of the Lord, Sisynios and Synidores, when they saw their sister crying, they wept bitterly, and they at once bent their knees and asked God to give them the power and the strength to catch the accursed Gylo. When they got this power from God they saddled their horses and began to follow Gylo and searched the road, asking whomever they met. Coming to the willow, they asked it whether it had seen the accursed Gylo passing that way? The tree denied having seen her, and the saints cursed it, saying, ‘Thou shalt never yield any fruit, and man shall never eat any coming from thee.’ The saints then again took up quickly their walk and found the bramble, and they asked it whether it had seen the accursed Gylo flying by it. The bramble (briar) denied also having seen her, and the saints cursed it similarly, saying, ‘Thy top shall be where the roots usually are, and the roots where the top is, and thy fruit shall be useless, and no man shall live by it.’ The saints again took up their way and came to the blessed olive-tree. They asked it whether it had seen the accursed Gylo flying by, and the tree replied, ‘Ye saints of the Lord, continue your journey, for it has gone to the shore of the sea.’ Then the Saints Sisynios and Synidores blessed it, and said, ‘May thy fruit be rich, saints be lit up by it, and kings and poor

rejoice through it.' When the saints came to the shore of the sea they saw the accursed Gylo flying before them. When she beheld them, she changed into a fish; the saints changed into fishermen, and fished her up and caught her. Then she at once changed into a swallow, and the saints into hawks, pursuing her. When she saw that she could not deceive the saints, she changed into a goat's hair, and hid herself in the king's beard so that they should not recognise her. The saints came to the king, and after having greeted him they said, 'O king, we only ask one favour from thy majesty, and one wish to be satisfied; if thy majesty is willing to grant it, inform us quickly, so that our hearts may rejoice.' " 'The king replied and said to the saints, 'Whatever you wish I will grant you, for I see that you are gentle and wise persons.' The saints said to the king, 'We do not ask anything in thy kingdom but that goat's hair which is in thy beard; give it to us, and thou shalt see and wonder.' He replied, 'Take it.' The saints stretched out their hand and with extreme care they drew it out from his beard. Gylo saw that she could no longer deceive the saints, and she at once changed into a woman. When the king beheld it he was greatly astounded, and he asked the saints about it. They explained to him all that had happened, and the king wondered still more at it. The saints caught Gylo by the hair of her head, threw her on the ground, and smote her terribly, saying, 'O accursed Gylo, an end be made with thy killing of the children of Christians and of the children of the servant of the Lord.' The accursed Gylo prayed and said, 'O ye saints of the Lord, do not beat me so cruelly and I will tell you all about it.' The saints of the Lord, Sisynios and Synidores, said, 'Unless thou promise us by an oath no more to touch the children of N., the servant of the Lord, and thou return us the children of our sister Melitena, whom thou hast killed, we will not grant thee life.' And the accursed Gylo answered and said, 'If you can return in the hollow of your hand the milk which you have sucked

from your mother's breast I will return the children of Melitena. The saints lifting their eyes to heaven prayed to the Lord, and they vomited at once into the hollow of their hand something like their mother's milk, and said to the accursed Gylo, 'Here we have brought up the milk for which thou hast asked, now return the children of Melitena whom thou hast stolen as thou hast promised; if not, we shall torture thee with terrible pains.' The accursed Gylo, seeing no way of escape, brought up those very children which she had killed in the tower. The saints of the Lord smiting her terribly, said, 'An end must be made with thy killing of the children of Christians, and of N. the servant of the Lord.' "

"Then Gylo prayed to the saints and said, 'Leave me, O saints of the Lord, and do not beat me any longer, and I will tell you what to do, so that I shall no longer be able to enter their houses, and be kept away from them seventy-five miles.' 'What shall we do then, O accursed Gylo?' She replied, 'If any one write down my twelve and a half names I will not enter his house nor the house of N. the servant of the Lord who keeps this prayer, nor the wife of N. nor his children, but I will keep seventy-five miles away from her.' And the saints said, 'Tell us then those most abominable names, before we kill thee in a terrible manner.' She said, 'My first name is Gylo, the second Morra, the third Byza, the fourth Marmaro, the fifth Betasia, the sixth Belagia, the seventh Bordona, the eighth Apleto, the ninth Chomodracaena, the tenth Anabardalea, the eleventh Psychoanaspastria, the twelfth Pae-dopnictria, the half Strigla.' Holy Sisynios and Synidores, help N. the servant of the Lord, his wife and their children, who hold this amulet, bind and tighten with leaden chains all earthly and airy spirits, and the accursed Gylo, so that she shall not have the power of coming near the house of N. the servant of the Lord, or his wife, or his children, either at night or at morning, either in the middle of the

night, or in the middle of the day, that every unclean spirit, every earthly and airy demon, and the abominable Gylo be kept 75 miles away from the house of N. the servant of the Lord, from his wife and his children." (Here follows a long list of saints that are invoked, whose protection is sought, and who are asked to drive away evil spirits and demons, and the charm finishes with a prayer to the Lord).

The second version is the more complete, though to a certain extent somewhat shorter; and the saints that are invoked at the end of it are totally different from those of the first version. The translation of it is as follows:—

"In the time of the Consulate of King Laurentius there lived in Ausitis or Arabia a woman called Melitena, who had seven children. They had all been snatched away by the accursed Geloo. When she found herself again with child, and the time of the birth had approached, she built a tower and fortified it from within and from without, she stored up in it food for five and twenty years (?), and she took two handmaids with her and shut herself up in that tower. The brothers of Melitena, the saints of the Lord Sisynnios and Sisynodoros, were then warring in Numeria, that is, Arabia. It so happened once, that becoming separated from their army they came to the tower in order to see their sister. When they came to the entrance, they asked with a loud voice for the gates to be opened, but Melitena refused to open the gates, saying, 'I cannot open the gates to you, as I have given birth to a child and I am frightened, I will therefore not open.' They replied and said, 'Open unto us, for we are the angels of the Lord and we carry the mysteries of the Lord.' She opened the door and the saints of the Lord entered. At the same time the Evil Spirit changed itself into a clod of earth, and fastened itself inside the hoof of one of the horses, and thus entered with them. In the middle of the night it stole the child. Melitena wept bitterly and said, 'O thou Sisynne and thou Sisynodore, what have you done unto me? For this

very reason did I not like to open the door.' The saints, lifting their hands to heaven, cried and prayed that power be granted to them over that evil demon. When they had prayed for a while, the Lord sent his angel, who said unto them, 'The Lord has heard your prayer, and has granted you power over that accursed demon.' They went out of the tower, saddled their horses, and flying as on wings, they searched and looked into every corner and nook of the Liban. Meeting a pine-tree, they asked whether it had seen the accursed one passing by? The pine-tree answered that it had not seen her. The saints replied, 'Why hast thou hidden the truth from us, and protected the accursed one? May thy stem be without roots and thy fruit dried up!' They met then the olive-tree, and said unto it, 'Hast thou seen the accursed one passing this way?' The tree replied, 'My lords, I have seen her going by this way to the sea (and she is lying?) under twenty bushes, under the heads of Fasces (?) under the marrow of children, there she is now resting.' The saints said, 'May thy fruit be blessed and used in the temples of the Lord.' They then found the accursed one at the sea-shore, and said unto her, 'The Lord commands thee through us to stay.' As soon as she beheld the saints, she ran swiftly to the sea, but they overtook her and laid hands on her. The accursed one said, 'O Sisynne and thou Sisynodore, why do you pursue me?' And the holy Sisynnios replied, 'Give us back the seven children of Melitena and we will no further molest thee.' She replied, 'If you will be able to bring up the milk which you sucked from your mother's breast, I will return you the children of Melitena.' Whereupon the saint prayed to God and said, 'O Lord, thou hast said there is nothing impossible before God, show now thy goodness also to me, so that all shall see it, and recognise that there is no God beside thee.' The holy Sisynnios at once brought up his mother's milk in his mouth, and he said to the accursed one, 'Here is my

mother's milk, return thou unto me now the seven children of Melitena.' She at once brought up the seven children of Melitena, and said, 'Ye saints of the Lord, I pray of you that ye no further molest me, and I promise that wherever this amulet (Phylacterium) be found I will not go, and wherever this will be read I will not enter, but run away a distance of sixty miles. Whoever will write down my twelve names, his house will I not hurt, nor will I enter his abode, nor harm his cattle, nor have power over his household.' The holy Sisynnios then adjured her, saying, 'I adjure thee by the name of the Lord, which the stone heard and split, by the holy Mamantios, the holy Polycarp, &c. (Here follows a long list of saints whose name is invoked, finishing with the Holy Virgin, all the saints, Amen.)'

In this shorter recension the names of the Gelu are missing and the legend is much curtailed, but in the general outlines the two represent one and the same legend.

Whatever the original meaning of "Gelu" may be, mentioned already by Hesychius, and translated as "bugbear," it is undoubtedly a female spirit killing children immediately after their birth. I connect it with the Arabic-Persian "ghoul." In the first Greek text we have thus now the real counterpart of Avestitza, the female child-stealing demon, with the mysterious names. These names are very transparent in their Greek form and easily understood. (B. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugriechen*, 139-40, and especially note 4.) The composite character of the first version makes me believe that the portion with the names has been introduced from the Avestitza type. Of this latter, which is of special interest to us in connection with the charm, there are a number of parallels in other literatures much older than the Slavonic and even the Greek versions. In the Hebrew literature we have at least two distinct forms. In both the demon that kills the children is the same, viz. "Lilith" the first wife of Adam and the

mother of all the evil spirits, "Shiddim," in the world. In the book called *The Mystery of the Lord* and borrowed thence on "broadsides," which are till now used as an amulet in the room where the child is born, hanging round the walls, we find the following conjuration :—

"The prophet Elijah travelled once on his way and he met Lilith and her host, so he said to her, 'O thou wicked Lilith, where art thou going with thine unclean host?' And she replied, 'My Lord Elijah, I am going to that woman who has given birth to a child, to give her the sleep of death, to take her new-born child, to drink its blood, to suck the marrow of its bones, but to leave its flesh untouched.' Elijah replied and said, 'I conjure thee with a great excommunication that thou be changed into a dumb stone by the will of God.' And Lilith said, 'My Lord, for God's sake remove the excommunication, that I may be able to flee, and I swear by the name of God that I will avoid the roads leading to a woman with a new-born child, and whenever I hear or see my names I will at once depart. And I will tell thee my names, for whenever thou utterest them, neither I nor my host have any power to enter the house of a lying-in woman to harm her. I swear to reveal to thee my names, so that thou shalt be able to write them down and to hang them up in the room where a new-born child is. And these are my names, Satrina, Lilith, Abito, Amizo, Izorpo, Kokos, Odam, Ita, Podo, Eilo, Patrota, Abeko, Kea, Kali, Batna, Talto, and Partasah. Whoever knows these my names and writes them down causes me to run away from the new-born child. Hang, therefore, this amulet up in the room of a lying-in woman.'"

This amulet is absolutely identical with the Roumanian and Russian versions of the Avestitza type; only Elijah the prophet has taken the place of the saint or saints, and of the angel Michael. The deterrent element which frightens the Evil Spirit away are the mysterious names of the Evil Spirit, which stand revealed. On the other hand, we miss here

the allusion to the changes and transformations by means of which the demon gains access to the new-born child. This proves that the Hebrew legend in this form belongs also to a comparatively modern recension.

A much older, and in some essentials different, version, appears in a book composed not later than about the tenth century. The difference is profound; the names by which the Evil Spirit is prevented from doing any harm to the new-born child are no longer her own names, but the more powerful names of the angels who subdue the Evil Spirit. The sight of their names terrifies her away, and protects those who invoke their aid against the attacks of the child-stealing witch. We are approaching to the more ancient form of conjurations, where the conjurer identifies himself with the superior powers, becomes for the time being the living representative of Osiris or of Serapis, or of Baal or of Buddha, in order to strike terror into the heart of the demons and to drive them away from human habitation.

Before reaching that stage of our investigation, I mention here the Syriac version, which also belongs to the Avestitza type. But curiously enough the saint who is persecuting and banishing the Evil Spirit got the name of the spirit shifted on to him, for I see in "Ebedishu" the parallel to "Avediasa," the form which comes nearest to the Roumanian Avestitza. The framework is up to a certain point the same, only the sympathetic or symbolical part has dropped out, namely, that the Evil Spirit has been intercepted on her way to the new-born child, and also no mention is made of the means she employs to gain access by changing her outward form. On the other hand, we have here a list of mystical names twice repeated, each time numbering twelve, as in the shorter Greek version. The manuscript from which this charm is taken, published by the Rev. Dr. H. Gollancz belongs to the fifteenth century, but the charm is certainly copied from much older texts. I reproduce it here in full :

THE ANATHEMA OF MAR EBEDISHU, THE MONK AND HERMIT.

The prayer, request, petition, and supplication of Mar Ebedishu, the Monk and Hermit of God, who was among the dumb beasts on the Friday, which is the Passion (*sc.* day) of our Lord and Redeemer, at the time when the Evil Spirit in the likeness of a hateful woman of dark appearance was coming down from the Mount of Eden, and she appeared unto him and called him by name, Ebedishu; and he said unto her, "Who art thou?" She replied and said, "I am a woman and will be your partner." Thereupon the saintly Mar Ebedishu, as soon as he perceived that she was a wicked and unclean spirit, bound her and cursed her and tied her up, saying, "You are not empowered to show your might and strength and craft over the men-servants and women-servants of God who carry these formulæ. And, furthermore, I conjure thee by Him at whom angels and men tremble, that if thou hast any other names reveal them to me, and show me, and hide it not." She said unto him, "I will reveal it unto thee, though I desire it not. I have twelve other names. Whosoever will write them and hang them upon himself, or place them in his house, his house will I not enter, nor (approach) his children. First Miduch, second Edilta, third Mouelta, the fourth they call Lilitha and Malvitha and the strangling-mother of children (*lit. boys*)." Thereupon the saintly Mar Ebedishu, as soon as he perceived that she was an evil and unclean spirit, bound her and cursed her and tied her up, and said unto her, "You are not empowered to show your might and strength and craft over the servant of the Living God who carries these writs; and, furthermore, I conjure thee by the One at whom angels and men tremble, that if you have any other names, reveal them to me, and show me, and hide nothing from me." She replied unto him, "I will reveal it unto thee, though I desire it not. I have twelve other names. Whosoever will write them and hang them upon himself, his house will I not enter, nor do harm unto his wife, nor unto his children, nor unto anything which he hath or will have; my first name (is) Geos, second Edilta, third Lambros, fourth Martlos, fifth Yamnos, sixth Samyos, seventh Domos, eighth Dirba, ninth Apiton, tenth Pegogha, eleventh Zardvech, Lilitha, Malvitha, and the strangling-mother of children." Then the saintly Mar Ebedishu said unto her, "I will bind you off him

who carries these writs in the name of the God of Gods and the the Lord of Lords, and in the name of the Being who is from everlasting; may there be bound, doomed, and expelled all accursed and rebellious demons, and all evil and envious persons, and all calamities from off him who carries these writs!"

Though somewhat changed, this Syriac form has preserved the old character of the charm without limiting it absolutely to the protection against the child-stealing demon. Among the names we find also the "Lilith" of the Hebrew or better oriental tradition. To this we must revert now. As I have pointed out, the scenery has been shifted in this tradition. In lieu of the names of the demon, which, when known, afford protection to the person which possesses that knowledge, we find the names of the divine powers invoked which afford a much stronger protection. This is the true form of the old worship. Moreover the conjuration becomes a sort of invocation, a supplicatory prayer to the protecting powers, to which man, in his weakness and in his faith, turns for help against the insidious attacks of those demons against which he alone would be absolutely powerless. Even in the Greek versions of the Sisin legend we find a string of names of saints added at the end of the amulet, who are invoked to assist in the protection which the bearing of it alone should apparently suffice to secure. But double is better, and although the people have sufficient confidence in that amulet, they still strengthen its efficacy by the list of saints appended to it. In the Canonical Exorcisms used by the Catholic Church, we find also as a rule a list of holy names by virtue of which the demon is forced to obey the injunctions of the Exorcist.

In a book which goes by the name of the angel "Raziel," who is said to have revealed to Adam immediately after he left Paradise, but which in reality is a compilation made in the tenth century from much older materials, we find then the following conjuration, preceded by (ed. Amsterdam, fol. 43*b*) a list of seventy names of angels. "I conjure

thee, primitive Eve, by the name of the one who created thee, and by the names of the three angels which the Lord sent after thee, and who found thee in the islands of the sea, to whom thou didst swear, that wherever thou shalt find their names neither thou nor thine host shall do any harm, also not to those who carry those names with them. I therefore conjure thee by their names and by their seals, which are written down here, that thou do no harm, neither thou, nor thy host, nor thy servants, to this woman or to the young babe to which she has given birth; neither during day-time nor during the night; neither in their food nor in their drink; neither in their head nor in their heart; nor in their 208 members, nor in their 305 veins. I conjure thee, thy host and thy servants, with the power of these names and these seals." Under the "Primitive or Primary Eve," Lilith is understood.

We have thus the child-stealing demon living in the islands of the sea, conjured by mystical names. This conjuration is accompanied by the rudimentary reproduction of the image of three angels, whose sight is considered to be efficacious enough to drive the child-stealing demon away. Their names are given as Snoi, Snsnoi, and Smnglf. I reproduce the Hebrew spelling exactly as it stands, without the addition of any vowels. These names occur also in an ancient MS. of the twelfth century in the British Museum, filled with cabalistic texts and amulets, and in two instances invocations to these three angels are mentioned for healing in certain diseases. I see in Snoi and Snsnoi the very names of the brothers of Melitie in the European versions, viz. Sisynie and Sisyno-dores, taken over at a very early period from the East, and applied in these charms to saints instead of angels, just as the prophet Elijah becomes the Archangel Michael. We can almost fit the time of this change. Sisynie, the patriarch of the Orthodox Church in Constantinople, found it necessary in the eleventh century to explain to his people that he was not the false Sisynios of

whom the mad priest Jeremiah had written. This Jeremiah was the famous founder of the new Manichæan sect in Bulgaria, known as that of the Bogomils, from whom all the European heretical sects took their origin, such as the Albigenses, the Kathars, and others. He is specially credited with the authorship of such a conjuration in which Sisynios, the archangel Michael, and some demons are concerned. I have no doubt that it refers to this conjuration against the female child-stealing demon and to those charms which have grown out of it, such as the old charm against fever in Russia. As some of the primitive elements have been retained in that charm, I translate it here as given by Maikov, who enumerates sundry variants from various parts of Russia. "Close to the Red Sea stands a marble column, on it sits the holy Sisynie, and he sees the waters of the sea mount, lifted up to the Heavens; from the midst of the waters came out twelve women with long plaits, who say, 'We are the fevers, the daughters of Herod.' And the saint asked, 'Accursed devils, why do you come out?' They replied, 'We have come to torture mankind; those who do not rise up early and say their prayers, who do not keep the festivals, and who indulge in eating and drinking very early in the mornings.' Saint Sisynie prayed to God and said, 'Send, O Lord (thy messengers?), and save the world from these accursed devils.' And God sent two angels, Sihail and Anas, and the four Evangelists. They took hold of the fever-demons and beat them with fiery rods, and inflicted on them daily four thousand wounds. So they began to cry and to say, 'Do not torture us any longer, for wherever we shall see your holy names, or wherever they will hold your holy names in veneration, we will not approach them a distance of three miles.' And the holy Sisynie asked, 'What are your names?' The first replied, 'My name is the "Trembler."' The second said, 'My name is "Heating," as I cause the human body to burn as with fire.' The third said, 'My name is "Icy," for I cause the human body to be freezing, &c.'"

In this conjuration the demons are banished by virtue of the names of those two angels, who together with the saint make up the Trias of sacred names in the Hebrew version. Whilst the names of the demons have been fully translated, the other names did not fare so well. Sihail and Anas are undoubtedly Mihail and Satanas, written St. Anas, and are later popular corruptions of the older forms better preserved in the much older Hebrew counterpart. I see in the Hebrew Snsnoi Saint Sisynie and in Snoi, Syno-doros or Sisyno-odoros, whilst Smng has in every probability become Satanael. The Hebrew script favours the theory of such a change, as these letters and those of the word Stne are very much alike one another, and can easily be substituted one for the other. This name of Satan, as the lord of the lower world, is the very name so much in vogue among the New Manichaeans or Bogomils. The founder of this sect had only to take the Oriental form over, and change the names slightly, to make them identical with such as were known to the people, and to make them popular and efficacious. The sectarians recognised in this charm the names of a prominent saint, Sisymos, and of Satanael the primitive creator of the lower world.

Of the Oriental origin of this charm there can be no doubt. The assumption, if ever put forward, that we are dealing with a charm of old European heathen origin adopted by Jews and Christians alike, and adapted to the teachings and tenets of the followers of these religions, is contrary to facts. For we find the same charm with slight modifications in a book called the *Alphabet of Sirach*, which dates in every probability from the seventh century. Here we find the same old legend in the very form in which we expect it to appear if it is to be the older version, viz. three angels coming to the rescue of the woman with the child, and granting her immunity against the child-stealing demon, only by the mention of their names. This is the text as found in *Alphabetum Siracidis* (ed. Steinschneider, Berlin, 1858, fol. 23a):

“The son of King Nebuchadnezzar was taken suddenly ill. The king thereupon said to Sirach, ‘Heal my son, for if thou dost not cure him, I will kill thee.’ Sirach wrote out an amulet in perfect purity, and wrote therein the names and forms of the angels appointed over the cure, with their wings, their hands, and their feet. When the king saw that amulet, he asked, ‘Who are these?’ Sirach replied, ‘These are the angels who are appointed over the cure of man, and their names are Snoi, Snsnoi, Smnglf.’ (This is their history.) When God created Adam, He said it is not good for man to be alone, and He created an helpmate for him also from the earth, and called her Lilith. No sooner was she created than she commenced quarrelling with Adam and saying, ‘I am just as good as you as we have both been created from the earth.’ When Lilith saw that she could not overcome Adam, she uttered the ineffable name of God and flew up in the air. Adam stood up in prayer and said, ‘O Lord of the Universe, the wife which thou hast given me has run away from me.’ Whereupon the Lord sent these three angels after her to bring her back, and they said unto her, ‘The Lord has decreed that if thou art willing to return, it be well with thee, but if not, thou must take upon thyself as punishment that each day 100 of thy children should die.’ The angels went after her and found her in the midst of roaring waters, and the very same waters where the Egyptians later on were destined to be drowned [evidently the waters of the Red Sea]. They told her God’s command, but she refused to return. So they said unto her, ‘We must drown thee in these waters.’ But she begged of them, and said, ‘Leave me, for I have been created for the purpose of weakening [destroying] little babes, if it be a boy, eight days from the day of his birth, and if it be a girl, that I should have power over her up to twenty days.’ When they heard her words, they urged more strongly upon her to obey, and she then said, ‘I swear unto you by the name of the living and great God, that whenever I shall see

either you or your names or your images on an amulet I will not hurt that child.' And she took upon herself to lose every day a hundred of her children by death, therefore every day 100 Shiddim die. If we now write those names on an amulet for little children, and she sees those names, she remembers her oath and the child gets cured."

In this version we have the oldest form, containing first the historical part, then the epical element giving a minute description of the way how Lilith acquired the power to hurt children, that is, how she became a child-stealing and strangling demon, and the reason why the invocation of those mysterious three names has the effect of driving her away and of saving the patient. But even in this older form the charm is already curtailed, and proves therefore to be of far greater antiquity than even the composition of the book in which it is merely incidentally quoted. One thing at any rate is certain, viz., that it is of an Oriental origin.

It remains, however, to be seen from what source it is originally derived. The name "Lilith" points unmistakably to Babylon, and we have in these charms and conjurations the reflex of such old Babylonian charms, but hitherto no identical legend or conjuration is found among the Assyrian tablets as yet published. The figure of the child-stealing witch occurs, however, in another extremely ancient apocryphal book which goes under the name of *The Testament of Solomon*, and dates probably from the first or second century of the Christian Era. In it there are blended different currents of thought; astrological and mystical beliefs have been combined together in such a manner that it would be very difficult to fix with any precision the immediate direct source for this compilation. It represents that peculiar fusion known as Gnosticism, resting upon a Jewish basis influenced by Egyptian, Assyrian, and Greek, more especially Orphic, teachings. In chapter 57, we find now the following legend.

"And I adored the Lord God of Israel and bade another

demon present himself. And there came before me a spirit in woman's form that had a head without any limbs, and her hair was dishevelled. And I said to her, 'Who art thou?' But she answered, 'Nay, who art thou? And why dost thou want to hear concerning me? But as thou wouldst learn, here I stand bound before thy face. Go then into thy royal storehouses and wash thy hands. Then sit down afresh before thy tribunal and ask me questions, and thou shalt learn, O king, who I am.'

"And I, Solomon, did as she enjoined me, and restrained myself because of the wisdom dwelling in me, in order that I might hear of her deeds and apprehend them and manifest them to men. And I sat down and said to the demon, 'Who art thou?' And she said, 'I am called among men Obizuth, and by night I sleep not, but go my rounds over all the world and visit women in childbirth. And divining the hour I take my stand, and if I am lucky I strangle the child. But if not, I retire to another place, for I cannot a single night retire unsuccessful. For I am a fierce spirit of myriad names and many shapes. And now hither, now thither, I roam. And to westering parts I go my rounds. But as it now is, though thou hast sealed me round with the ring of God, thou hast done nothing. I am not standing before thee, and thou wilt not be able to command me. For I have no work other than the destruction of children and the making their ears to be deaf, and the working of evil to their eyes, and the binding their mouths with a bond, and the ruin of their minds, and paining of their bodies.'

"When I, Solomon, heard this, I marvelled at her appearance, for I beheld all her body to be in darkness. But her glance was altogether bright and cheery, and her hair was tossed wildly like a dragon's, and the whole of her limbs were invisible. And her voice was very clear as it came to me. And I cunningly said, 'Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated, O Evil Spirit?' But she

answered me, 'By the angel of God called Afarof, which is interpreted Raphael, by whom I am frustrated now and for all time. His name, if any man know it, and write the same on a woman in childbirth, then I shall not be able to enter her. Of this name the number is 640.' And I, Solomon, having heard this, and having glorified the Lord, ordered her hair to be bound and that she should be hung up in front of the Temple of God, that all the children of Israel as they passed might see it and glorify the Lord God of Israel, who had given me this authority with wisdom and power from God by means of this signet."

We see at once the absolute identity between this demon that visits women in childbirth and strangles the child and whose power is frustrated by the name of the angels even if only written on a woman at childbirth, with the legend of the child-stealing witch. Although in *The Testament of Solomon* we have a reflex of the Medusa legend connected with it, yet all the rest, all the principal elements that recur, either in the written or in the oral charm and conjuration, are all found here, even the allusion to the many shapes assumed by that demon. If we had a more perfect text of this old apocryphal book, the identity would be closer still if possible; for the text is undoubtedly somewhat corrupt, and can only be clearly understood if brought in connection with our cycle of legends.

Having been embodied at that time into *The Testament of Solomon*, this legend must have existed previously in an independent and fuller form. In how far the Proserpina-myth had anything to do with it I do not care to investigate, for this would merely be one of the elements. My intention in this study has been not so much to trace this idea of the child-stealing witch who strangles the children and hurts the mothers at the birth, as to follow up by means of literary tradition one of the charms that exist in modern times in the mouth of illiterate people; to show how entirely this oral charm, of absolutely popular origin in our modern col-

lections, agrees with written texts of great antiquity, and to follow this written conjuration through various literatures up to the remotest parallel to which it can be traced. My investigation has fully borne out the fact that such charms and conjurations, though forming part of modern oral folklore, had a direct literary origin, which has been in the main little impaired by the distances it has had to traverse, and which has retained the essential features of the very form in which it appeared centuries ago in books. Changes have occurred, and they assist us in the historical investigations; substitutions of one incident for another have taken place; but the whole central figure, the epical narrative, the historical background, the mysterious powerful names by which the demon is bound, nay, even the identical name occurring in *The Testament of Solomon* as "Obizuth" reminding one strongly of the Slavonic-Roumanian "Avestitza," Syriac "Ebedisha," show how little the time has changed this charm.

If this can be proved for that element in folklore which partakes of the heathen portion, and which scholars have hitherto been inclined to consider autochthonous and pre-Christian, and whose literary origin no one believed possible, but which upon a careful examination turns out to be in every detail dependent upon that literary ancient form, a similar investigation imposes itself necessarily upon the other elements, and forces us to pause before committing ourselves to any rash conclusions concerning the origin of modern folklore.

Magic and medicine have gone in ancient times, and even in modern times, hand in hand; the next step of our investigations would be to apply a similar test to some of the popular medicines, and I have not the slightest doubt that the result will be the same. Old herbals will form the intermediary link in the chain of literary tradition, the first ring of which may have been forged in Egypt or in Greece, and the last of which is represented by the

medicine that still lives as an active factor in the life of the "folk." They will be found to have continued with surprising vitality the old results obtained by the medicine man of ancient times, and to have been handed on, not so much by word of mouth, but by the more effective and more lasting written word. Our charm is in fact merely one part of the medical operation performed for the purpose of curing the patient or preserving him from the attack of the unseen but dreaded demon. It is not for us to inquire how often the demon has been scared away. Modern science is scaring our folklore much more efficaciously away.

Some might suggest that this legend and charm existed independently in the mouth of the people for many centuries, and that the texts which appear in the written literature are simply borrowed from the mouth of the people and are not interdependent upon one another. This would mean that every author has simply collected and borrowed material existing in the mouth of the people in whose midst it had originated independently; but those very minute changes which I have been able to show, and which follow one upon another in historical succession, the change of the names of angels to mysterious names of the demon, the slow change from the old to the new, and the identity of late written versions with recent oral forms, prove conclusively that they are all due to that literary tradition which some like to deny. Facts are stronger than fiction; they show that one writer is dependent upon the other writer, and that the charm has been disseminated from the East to the West by means of the written word. Whatever the primitive origin of the charm may have been, whether it rests on an ancient popular conjuration—by the way, a word much abused, as everything must commence with individuals, and not with a people—or whether it was an artificial composition by one of the learned scribes in Assyria or Egypt, I am satisfied for my part, to have followed this charm against

the child-stealing witch from the heights of the Carpathian Mountains, through Roumania, the south of Russia, the Plains of the Balkans, as far as Old Byzantium, thence to the cloisters of Syria, through Palestine, and on to the Valley of the Nile. A far-travelled charm indeed, and who knows how far it will travel still?

THE MODERN ORIGIN OF FAIRY-TALES.



FROM the moment in which the general attention of scholars was directed to the treasures of the lore living among the people, theories were not wanting to explain the origin and importance thereof.

The fault inherent in every new undertaking, viz., of mixing the elements promiscuously, and attributing to every branch of the new study the same origin, was conspicuously felt in the new study of folk-lore. Once a theory was adopted, say for customs or myths, it was immediately applied to superstitions, tales, or charms, as if these were all of the same age, and derived from the same source. This *general* explanation is still in force, although, as I think each branch of folk-lore should be studied separately, endeavouring to prove the origin of each independently from the other; afterwards we may try to ascertain the relationship which exists between each. Thus a theory which holds good for *superstition*, is by no means fit for fairy-tales, &c. Just as *our* knowledge is a knowledge formed by many *strata*, one upon the other, so also the knowledge of the *illiterate* is not a homogenous element, but one which has been acquired during centuries, and it only appears to us to form one indivisible unity. There may be elements in folk-lore of hoar antiquity, and there may be on the other hand other elements relatively modern, which we can trace even to our own time, growing, so to say, under our own eyes, as, for instance, all the *popular etymologies* and the stories invented *afterwards* to explain them.

I thus entirely separate the inquiry into the origin of fairy-tales from all the other parts of folk-lore; the more so, as there is no more striking instance of quite opposite views and opinions, than those concerning their origin.

There is first, the *mythological* theory; then the theory of

migration; thirdly, the *prehistoric*, and I could add as many theories more as there are collectors of fairy-tales, each of whom has his own explanation and view of the matter.

In order to decide *this controversial point*, I will for once adopt the methods of chemistry, and ask: *Can we now-a-days make a fairy-tale?* Or, as the result obtained in this way might appear doubtful to some who would detect its artificial nature, I will put the question thus: *Can we watch the rise and growth of a fairy or popular tale in modern times, and pursue it from the time when it was no popular tale through all the vicissitudes and changes it underwent, till it became a genuine popular tale, gathered afterwards from the lips of the illiterate?* If we are able to do this, then I think we may well attempt to explain in a similar way all, or nearly all, other fairy-tales, especially when the conditions are the same as those of the tale studied.

The next step would be to ascertain how this change was effected? what parts were eliminated in this process, and what elements were introduced? The last question would then be: Is the story a genuine, national, aboriginal, or a foreign story, one introduced in historical times? and further, whence are the elements derived? Are they genuine, or do they owe their existence also to some other influence, which can be traced back to its origin and cradle?

Before I enter upon the fuller development of this my view, I will first meet the other now prevailing mythological or prehistoric one, which sees in the fairy tales chips from old mythology, preserved under this disguise, and thus helping us to reconstruct the forgotten faith of—of whom? Here begins the real difficulty, for nearly all the European fairy tales and some of their counterparts in different countries and amongst different races of mankind bear such a striking similarity that we must admit an absolute *mythological unity* for all mankind,—a thing which nobody can take seriously, seeing that the older an element is, the more it differs from primitive elements, in another country or at any distance of time. I take as a best example *language*, which, even in the different branches of the Indo-European race, offers such variety that the primitive unity passed *unobserved* for centuries, and only the philologist is able

to trace the European languages back to the same root. The fairy tales are, more or less, entirely the same, the changes being relatively slight, when compared with those which differentiate one language from another.

Unless we admit a remarkable stability for tales and mythology alone (amidst the great and sweeping revolutions the nations of Europe underwent in the course of centuries), and unless this unity of mythology is accounted for, the similarity, or, better, identity of fairy tales remains a puzzle.

But even admitting the unity of mythology, this could only serve to explain the fairy tales of the ancients, if we had any, which is not the case; whilst new nations arose in Europe out of the mixture and amalgamation during the great migration period and throughout the Middle Ages.

How could these new nations quite different in creed, as also in race (Turadians and Aryans) come by amalgamation to just the same mythological results and to the same system of mythology possessed by their predecessors?

To say again, as some do, that fairy tales are the primitive property of mankind is now impossible, since apart from the undeniable fact that, except two or three *Asiatic* tales (as Amor and Psyche, &c.), no old tale is mentioned in classical literature. I do not now speak of the Egyptian, as I am confining myself to the origin of European tales, which perhaps, when the mechanism of their development is shown, may throw some light also upon oriental tales. As I have said, we have no trace of ancient tales in Europe; on the other hand, the great similarity between the tales compels us to dismiss theories as to their primitive origin; and, instead of seeing in fairy tales remnants of old, forgotten mythology, I see in them the *last and modern* development of folk-lore. The modern origin explains why they are so much like each other, as in the case with the *fabliaux*, novels, and jests, current in Europe from a fixed date, and now common property of all nations, although brought to Europe at a well ascertained period and dispersed only during the last five or six centuries.

In fairy tales we not seldom come across supernatural personages,

such as dwarfs, hobgoblins, &c. These are the last refuge for the follower of the mythological theory, as these figures are said to be the old gods and goddesses dethroned and changed into satanical personages. As will be shown hereafter in my analysis of the constituent elements of the tales, far from being old or even aboriginal, nearly all are of foreign *Christian*, and thus also of modern, origin. Perhaps some traits may be older, but these are insignificant, and only a special inquiry made in the line of thought I shall indicate will help us to rescue them out of the surrounding sea of foreign elements.

The next system of explaining the origin of fairy-tales is that known under the name of *migration*, which attempts to derive *all* fairy tales from India *only*, where they originated, and whence they wandered unchanged from land to land till they reached the westernmost shores of Europe. The time of this migration is supposed to be about the tenth century. The foremost representative of this theory, the late Prof. Benfey, carried it out in his famous introduction to the German translation of the "Pantchatantra." Although I incline so far to the theory of *migration* as to believe that popular lore is in constant interchange between nations, I cannot accept the wide principle laid down by Benfey and his successors, that *everything* is imported, and that our European fairy-tales came as *such* and all of them, entirely developed, from India to Europe.

Benfey fell into the same fault of generalization, as the followers of the above-mentioned theory, of applying, namely, to the whole body of folk-lore the results true only of one branch; here novels and *fabliaux* can be traced back in historical and literary continuity to the Orient. But what may be true for these is not necessarily true also of tales, customs, superstitions, games of children, or nursery rhymes. For if we compare our fairy-tales with those of the *ancient* Indian literature, the alleged identity or similarity is far from being so clear as one would assume, accepting what was put forward by the followers of the migration theory. Such identity as exists is only with the *modern* collections of Indian tales, a fact which has hitherto been overlooked to the great damage of this study.

There might be found two or three old stories which can be compared with our tales; and if we limit the importation to this

number we shall be nearer the truth than by postulating the introduction of tales whose existence at that period and in the form they actually have is not proved.

Nobody will compare fairy-tales such as, say the Sleeping Beauty or Cinderella, with any story in the "Pantchatantra." No resemblance whatsoever can be traced; in vain do we squeeze all the European tales in Indian moulds, it is a fruitless attempt.

I do not hereby deny all Indian Oriental influence; the history of Lyndipa and Pantchatantra in the European vernacular would easily discomfit me; but we must accept many more influences besides this Indian one to explain the origin of fairy-tales, a question I am now approaching.

In the study of tales I make a decided difference between the *plot*, or story, and the *incidents*, or means by which the plot is carried out. The former is the skeleton, the latter the surrounding flesh, blended, not *born* together, that is, the tale is composed of *two* elements, one *stable*, ancient, and unchanged, to a great extent, at least, throughout the migration period, the other changeable, derived from various sources, and national. This element the former acquires in its journeyings in various countries and under various circumstances.

Let us now study the first element, the *plot*. When we compare different fairy-tales throughout the world, their similarity consists in the identity of this element. I make abstraction of the slight differences, omissions, interchanges, combinations of two, or three, to one, only too natural if one considers how these tales are propagated before they are fixed by a literary form. Is this *plot* ancient or modern? When speaking of the mythological theory, I proved that mythology could not be an ancient possession of mankind, seeing that it is the same in nations who are themselves modern, and that it could not possibly resist the influence of time and place, and remain unchanged amidst the great changes the world has passed through. But it is not even necessary to essay a psychological refutation of such an assertion, as closer inquiry into the nature of this element gives us a satisfactory answer, with but few exceptions; chiefly of the animal fable class, it is a *regular story*, *novel*, or *fabliau*. Indeed,

these alone show when comparing those of one nation with those of another nation, a similar identity, the want of any radical change.

Once the plot of a tale is reduced to a *novel*, we have gained firm ground for further inquiry; we know, more or less, the epoch of its introduction into the lore of European nations, and can fix therefore the date of *tales* as *posterior* to the time when fable and *novel* were brought from the Orient, mostly in a literary form, *i.e.* as a book which was translated and widely circulated, and thus became in time common property of the nations.

Along with these novels there are immense stores of *tales* of far deeper influence and far greater popularity, but curiously enough not at all taken hitherto into consideration, whence popular fancy has drawn the richest materials, the best-known figures of fairy-tales and romance: I mean the great *hagiologic* literature of the Middle Ages, the lives and legends of the saints. Many of these offer most interesting material, and were indeed eagerly seized and worked up, the saints thereby becoming changed into heroes of tales from heroes of religion.

It is not difficult to recognize them under their disguise, once our attention is directed to this well-spring of folk-lore.

It is out of place here to enter into a detailed inquiry (which I hope to undertake somewhere else) to show further the enormous influence exercised by the canonical and uncanonical writings by the bible as we have it and by the apocalyptical and pseudo-epigraphical literature joined with the bible in the Middle Ages, full of wondrous and remarkable feats and adventures of the holy personages, be they patriarchs, apostles, or Christ himself, which entered into the soul and mind of the people, enriched their knowledge, and furnished them with the best means for further spinning out the tale.

To better understand how this literature could hold sway over the people, we must remember that for centuries the only instruction was that given by the clergy in the church, and that the books they had access to were religious books: the bible, the spurious writings already mentioned, and the legends of the saints; the same story or the same legend was thus read to the people from the pulpit year

after year, and century after century. Add to this the feasts on the *day* of the saint, the performances or drawings bearing on his life and death, and it is only to be wondered at that until now this influence could have been so totally overlooked; and that instead of searching for the right explanation through the medium of the literature and spirit which ruled Europe with such a lasting influence, it was rather sought in mythological or similarly airy speculations.

I find a third source of information, but more confused and not likely to have exercised any great influence in this direction, in the vague knowledge of the scattered remnants of classical antiquity, seen and acquired in those times merely through polluted channels and imperfect renderings. What penetrated even more was the romantic tale, tinged and changed by the medium it passed through; nevertheless it cannot be totally excluded from the summary of the multifarious elements which contributed, among other result, to the originating of fairy-tales.

None of these, however, make the origin of fairy-tales older, because they began to influence only *after* they were translated into the *vernacular*, and the homilies of the saints, as well as the tales of Greek or Roman mythology were understood by the masses, whether they were communicated to them from the pulpit or by the *troubadour* or *minstrel* singing the exploits of ancient and modern heroes in the popular tongue.

These are the manifold materials from which the elements of the tales are drawn, and yet the number of the latter is so small that we can reduce the whole extent of fairy-tales to some *eighty* formulæ, very much akin to the primitive elements of chemistry, which also form innumerable combinations, and produce new and unexpected results.

These tales, containing only the simple plot, are carried from land to land by many ways, especially by soldiers and caravans of travelling merchants; and whosoever has had the opportunity of seeing the life of the Orient, not through the mist of distance, but on the spot, will be astounded to notice how quickly news spread through Asia and Africa—how any great event which occurs in Europe, for instance, is immediately talked of in the bazaars of Kurdistan, as well as in

the interior of Africa. He will also see how these events grow till they reach a gigantic development, and how the garment in which they are wrapped changes from place to place, and from mouth to mouth. It is *active* folk-lore which can be thus pursued through the different shapes the story of a *historical* event assumes in a short time if spread over a wide surface. The soldiers who fought at Tel-el-Kebir or in Burmah, when returning home, will be also *authors* of wondrous tales, relating the adventures, the customs of the nations they fought, and they will always have a great and obliged number of listeners gathered around them.

Under these circumstances, if there is anything to wonder at, it is that that the number of *formulæ* is only such a small one, which, on the other hand, explains also their wandering so far. The stock being small, they were often repeated.

But for a novel or a story to become a fairy-tale one essential character had to be added, the *supernatural* element, something which is *extraordinary*, either such an object to be acquired, as water of youth, descent to hell, or the hero is helped by the interference of an unexpected and unaccounted-for assistance, coming from a part whence he never suspected it, thankful animals, saints, &c., or the hero fights a supernatural enemy (dragons, giants, ghosts, who haunt deserted houses) intermixed with various similar incidents.

This is the part I consider to be of a totally independent origin, and only later on blended together with the simple novel, or story or jest, changing it into a fairy tale (*conte*). This exists *previously* in the mind of the men who tell fairy-tales, and is derived from different sources, at different epochs, representing the *residuum* of the knowledge acquired by the upper classes, and which in time penetrates into the lower regions of society and imbues it with vague ideas and some outlines of real knowledge. This mixture is therefore different in different countries, and represents, when studied separately, the *national* and *local colour* assumed by the tale when accepted by the people.

To borrow a figure from the fairy tales, I should like to compare it with the mantle of the witch composed of thousands of patches, which when the charm is broken represent each a ground, or a house, or a

garden. So is it also with this *accidental* element, composed of thousands of patches, of which some may be older, others more modern; some taken from religious literature, others from romantic, and again others from classical literature.

Much more difficult is the study and investigation of this *composed* element; each part or parcel belong to a totally different origin than the next one, clustered only here by popular fancy round an equally different centre.

The most conspicuous amongst these elements are the fairies, and all that belongs to this aërial kingdom. They were and are almost generally considered to be of great antiquity, and in them the mythological school recognised the darkened reflex of the old goddesses dislodged from their Olympia or Walhalla, and changed to spirits of evil under influence of Christianity.

It would carry me now too far to enter here into any detailed research as to the origin of these beliefs among the peoples of Europe suffice it to say that in the form they appear in the tales and in the superstitions they are not older than the tenth or eleventh century, and can easily be traced back to their *oriental* and *Christian* sources. Not only they were not banished, but even they were actually introduced into Europe through religious movements, which however were not always in accordance with the ruling Church, and therefore persecuted. Whosoever has compared the northern elves with the Slavonic vilas, the neo-Greek *καλὰι ἀρχοντισαί*, that is, the beautiful adies (the right translation of *faye*, hence fairie), and has followed out their connection with the legend of Herodias and her daughters, will see that they are of modern origin.

The zoological notions of miraculous animals together with other strange stories about curious dwarfish peoples (hence dwarfs and pigmées, &c.), are mostly due to the romantical history of Alexander the Great, and other similar works, as the *Letter of the priest John* and the *Image du monde*, together with the legends about St. Andreas in India and St. Macarius in his travel to the gates of Paradise. Of no less importance was the *Physiologus* with its tales of the peculiarities of animals, now-a-days the common property of all nations of Europe. Astrological and other superstitious creeds, as well

as medical cures and charms and amulets come on the crest of a mighty cultural wave, and the study of the decisions of the various *councils* in Orient and afterwards in Occident show us clearly their steady spread over the vast area occupied now by them, and the means employed to eradicate them, the lecturing and prohibiting from the pulpit have done more to propagate them, as they were thus brought continually to the knowledge of the masses.

I could easily increase the number of sources for the second and accidental element which enters in the composition of a fairy tale, showing clearly that it is independent of the former and is only *afterwards* used, when the change from *tale* (*conte*) to fairy-tale is undertaken.

This reveals to us the mechanism of how the construction is performed, and enables us now to study and pursue the origin of the fairy-tales from a point of view totally different to those accepted hitherto.

The proof of this historical *theory* as I term it would be to show that the *facts* correspond entirely with the *hypothetical* and *theoretical* statement.

We have at hand not only the positive, but also the negative proof, viz., that whenever the fairy-tale is divested of its array, it turns back to its original plot. I begin with this as it is, it does not want an elaborate development, and it gives us the clue for the assertion uttered now very often and not explained, that the fairy-tales are fast vanishing. Do they vanish indeed, or are they undergoing a change which can be detected only by an exact comparison between fairy-tales gathered from less cultured countries, with those gathered in countries where modern critical knowledge and better judgment as to the causes of natural phenomena is much more general? The difference to be observed between the two is, that we witness just the change noticed above. The accessorial element based upon medieval knowledge and vague poetical ideas gives way to more accurate and less fanciful descriptions. The fairy-tale loses its supernatural character and becomes again the fable it has been before. We need only compare the *Contes Lorraines* with Russian or Albanian fairy-tales to mark this decided and distinct difference.

Another proof lays in the fact that we very often cannot exactly draw the line which excludes a simple, witty tale from a fairy-tale, and there is *no* collection where apologues and fables are not published together with fairy-tales under the same heading. They are often enough invisibly passing from one into the other, and vice versâ.

The positive undoubted proof is lastly given by the fact I put at the beginning in form of a question, viz. that we can actually follow step by step the change from a tale or apologue or religious legend into a well-known and far-famed fairy-tale.

Some examples may now be adduced for it, and I confess that I feel rather the difficulty of a choice, as there are examples innumerable. If we read the *Laïs* of Marie de France with the annotations of R. Köhler, or the *Gesta Romanorum* in the edition of Oesterley, or any of the great collections of the early romances, or the *History of Fiction* of Dunlop, in the German translation of Liebrecht, my views are then fully confirmed. I confine myself only to few of them, being ready to extend this investigation over the whole extant materials.

One of the very famous legends of the Middle Ages was the legend of *Amys* and *Amylion*, where two friends help each other to the utmost of their power, when one falls ill of leprosy, and as the angel says to Sir Amys in a vision: If Sir Amys, on the festival of the Nativity, would cut the throats of his two children, and anoint the leprous sores with their blood, the disease, which was incurable by all other means, would instantly disappear. Sir Amys follows the advice given to him, and cures his friend, but this act is rewarded by a heavenly miracle, for the slain children are revived. This story is based upon the old medical superstition as to the symbolical influence of blood; and the legend tells of a similar cure proposed to Constantine the Great, who, however, at the admonition of Pope Sylvester, refrains from this wicked deed, and is cured from leprosy through a bath in holy water instead of blood. Very numerous are the other parallel stories and legends current in the Middle Ages, till they are crystalized in the above-mentioned romance. From the romance it passed into the fairy-tale, where we meet regularly *two* friends, and not only *one*, as in the old legend. So we find it in Germany (Grimm, 6), Greece (Hahn, 22), Italy (Pentamerne, 39), Russia

(Affanasiev), Roumania (Ispirescu 10), cf. Benfey, 'Pantchatantra,' i. 415-418.) Comparing the fairy-tale with the story or romance, we easily detect the characteristic embellishments which produced that change. The exploits of one friend are now of a different fantastical character. The way how the other learns the fate to which he is doomed is not by means of an angel's voice, but he hears a bird (or something else) predicting it to him, and through a dream the cure is announced to the survivor; for the friend is not leprous, but transformed into stone. Closer inquiry shows further that the parallels in different countries are at variance just in the choice of the exploits or the prophetic bird, viz. the accessorial element is local and national.

Another example is the history of "Rhampsimit's Treasure," told by Herodotus, but unknown in Europe before the thirteenth century, when it became incorporated into the Syntipas, and thence spread over Europe, and became a richly developed fairy-tale. We can here positively ascertain the date of its first mentioning, and pursue it till it became a popular tale.

The whole group of persecuted mothers, whose children were substituted at their birth for animals, and afterwards restored, can easily be connected with the *Crescentia*, *Hildegarde*, and *Genevefa* group, and thus with the miracles of the Holy Virgin.

Another similar group is that where the children are lost immediately after their birth or in their youth; the mother is separated from the father until after manifold adventures they meet marvelously again.

Here we can trace the literary source back so far as to the first century A.C., for the biography of *Clement*, first (legendary) bishop of Rome and friend of St. Peter, is such a romantic story, preserved in his "Recognitiones," book vii. *seq.* The same story is afterwards attributed to another saint, Eustache Placidus, and as well in the Orient as in the Occident parallels to it are innumerable.

Comparing now these tales with each other, the same result will *always* be obtained, viz. that the literature of romance and novel, be it a religious romance or one of chivalry, has passed now-a-days to a great extent into the literature of fairy tales, and that, far from being the basis, the fairy tales are the top of the pyramid formed by the lore

of the people. They are the outcome of a long *literary* influence, as well as an oral one, which was exercised upon the mind and soul of the people during centuries.

The story of *Fortunatus* is the source for a great number of tales, where wonderful objects and the vicissitudes their possessors pass through are the chief contents.

To the Descent to Hell of the apocryphal writings (the Gospel of Nicodemus, the Apocalypse of St. Paul, &c.) nearly all the tales can be reduced, where the hero goes to the other world to bring something back and sees while journeying many puzzling things, to which answer is given there.

The biblical history of Samson, of Jephthah and his vow, and other recitals served also as a model for some tales.

At the head of numerous tales stands further *Belphegor*, ascribed to Macchiavelli and Brevio, the prototype for "the Doctor and Death."

The travels of the Prophet Elijah with a Rabbi, or an angel with a hermit, repeated in the theological literature over and over again, gave the idea to similar travels of saints or God himself in various tales.

Not a few of the novels even of Boccaccio or Cinthio were changed into tales, as, for instance, *Griseldis*, whose change into a Russian tale was followed out by R. Köhler, step by step, and so on. The examples can be infinitely multiplied.

GULLIVER AMONG THE LILLIPUTIANS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY,
AND THE TALE OF THE DOG-HEADED MEN.

A Karaite writer, Judah Hadasi, who lived in Constantinople in the first half of the twelfth century, tells the following story very briefly in a polemical work composed by him in the year 1148, called *Eshkol Kakofer*, printed in Gozolow (Eupatoria) in 1836.

When describing the various miraculous beings created by God he comes to the story of the Pitikos (the Greek name for the dwarfs and pigmies), and he says:

“In a certain country far away, near Kushand Hairlahby, a great lake where aromatic plants and trees are growing, there lives a people known as the Pitikos. Their height is only of

two cubits and a half. They are very numerous. They have their kingdoms and their countries. They have their families, and herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, and round the lake there swarm many kinds of birds. Once a year there is a fight between the birds and these Pitikos. The wise men among the latter know the day in the year when the battle is to take place. Shortly before the day comes they take their families, their cattle, their flocks, and hide them under the ground, and then they arm themselves with swords and lances, with bows and arrows, with spears and clubs, and they prepare for the fight. The sky gets darkened with the multitude of birds that are coming to attack these dwarfs with their claws and their beaks. On both sides many are slain before the sun sets. From the day after there is again peace in the land. The survivors bring their women and children, their cattle and their flocks, from the hiding places, and the birds withdraw. Once upon a time it happened that a big and burly man, who had left Constantinople on board a merchant ship, came to grief not far from that place. The ship foundered, and he was able to save himself by swimming until he reached that land. Arrived there, he was greatly astonished to behold these dwarfs and their ways and their habits. They greatly rejoiced in seeing such a big man, as they had never seen any before. They felt confident that he would help them in their battle, and save them from the slaughter by the wild birds. When he saw them rejoicing he asked them the cause of it, and they told him that they had never seen a man so big as he was, and that they felt that he would now help them in their great battle. He reassured them, and he promised to fight the birds for them. So he armed himself, for the day was fast approaching. He went forth with the army of the dwarfs that had gathered ready for the fray. When he saw the multitude of birds that darkened the sky his heart well-nigh sank, but he picked up courage and fought valiantly, and helped the dwarfs to drive off their enemies victoriously. The man did not stop long among these people, and after a time he found the road which led him out of their country to the country of other human beings. On reaching Constantinople he told his friends what had happened to him."

Here we have more or less an exact parallel of the story of Gulliver among the Lilliputians, mixed up with the famous story of the battle between the dwarfs and the storks known already from the time of Herodot. It formed then part of the well-known romance of Alexander the Great, but nowhere except here is there any mention of a big man coming among these little people. It is, at any rate, a curious fact that a story of this kind should be known in Constantinople and as far back as the middle of the twelfth century.

I am not aware that any one has endeavoured to trace the direct source for Swift's tale of Gulliver and the Lilliputians. It may have been a sailor's yarn brought to the West from the East, for we find it as a well-known tale in Constantinople, that is, in the Levant, in the twelfth century. The version recorded by Hadasi leads now almost directly to Swift's Gulliver and the Lilliputians. I must leave it to others to trace the immediate stages of transmission from Byzance to the West. Was it brought by the Crusaders, by word of mouth as a sailor's yarn, or was it carried in a written form from East to West? In any case, it is a very curious parallel which seems to have been hitherto unknown.

II. *The Story of the Dog-headed Men.*

I might now mention also here the story of the Dog-men (*Kynokephaloi*) recorded by the same author, for it belongs to the same cycle of the Romance of Alexander as the previous story, and has undergone a similar change and localization as the former. From being a purely mythical tale, it becomes now almost a concrete fact. This story is told by the person himself who experienced these adventures, and yet it is not at all improbable that this story of an "eye-witness" is a story of fanciful imagination. The belief in dog-men was so strong that the Eastern Church counts among its saints one of these dog-men, Christopher; and I possess in my library an old Rumanian chap-book, the "Life" of St. Christopher, where he is depicted with a dog's head. This booklet was printed in the monastery of Neamitz by a monk under the blessing of the then Metropolitan of Moldavia. In the

book of Hadasi we find first a description of these curious dog-men, and then the tale of the adventures of a contemporary of his who said he had been among them, and also the manner how he has been saved.

It makes him the precursor of the Sinbad stories in the *Arabian Nights*, and also brings us back to the story of Polyphemus, no doubt a Greek story circulating in Byzance at that time, although it is vouched for by the author as one heard by him from the man who was so miraculously saved.

Now his description is as follows : There are men who from the head to the waist are like dogs, and from the waist downwards are like human beings. They talk with a human voice, and they also bark like dogs. Their feet are sponge-like webs, so that they cannot go in the water. They have three eyes, two in front and one at the back of their heads. They are cannibals, and they live in a land where pepper grows, and they trade in that commodity with the merchants who come thither. When they catch a man singly they throw him into a pit, and there they fatten him. They give him first, however, a drink by which he loses his senses, and then they give him to eat honey and other sweet food, so that after a time he gets very fat, and then these dog-men eat the captive. When they think him ready to be eaten they try the captives first by slicing off a portion of his little finger to satisfy themselves that he has reached already the last degree of fattening. If they find him ready for eating they impale him on a spit, and then putting him on the fire, they roast him and eat him. If they think that the man is not fat enough they cut his flesh up in slices and salt it and eat it in that state.

Once upon a time two travellers were caught by these dog-men, and they were thrown into the pit. One of them took what they gave him and drank of that narcotic beverage, and got so fat that they took him out and roasted him and ate it. But his companion, who saw what was in store for him, refused to eat and to drink what was given to him, and fasted and prayed, and so in consequence he was very lean and withered, so they left him alone. One night he managed to climb out of the pit and to enter the house of his captor. There he found a sword, and as they were all sleeping soundly, he killed the inhabitants of the house and ran

to the river to save himself. When the people heard what had happened they ran after him trying to catch him, but no sooner did they get into the water than they could not move, for the water had filled the sponge-like web. He waded through the water till he reached the mouth of the river, where he found the trunk of a wonderful cedar tree in the water. He mounted it, and he was carried by the waves until he came to Egypt. There he sold that log for a large sum of money, and with that money he was able to reach safely his own country, where he related to his friends the adventures which had befallen him, and the miraculous way in which he had been saved by God. We have here thus a combination of the story of Polyphemus, with the difference that the cannibals are half human and half dog. They have not one eye but three eyes, and their sponge-like feet also differentiated them from the captors of Ulysses. The story resembles, on the other hand, more closely that of Sinbad in the *Arabian Nights*. A similar story—another sailor's yarn—had also been brought from East to West already some centuries before by the mysterious Eldad the Danite, an old counterpart of Sir Robert Mandeville. He pretended to have come from the lost ten tribes and from the descendants of Moses, and told that story to his hearers in Kalruan in North Africa in the ninth century.

Here we have an example of how these tales have travelled by way of mouth, for Judah Hadasi, the author of the book, states that he heard these stories from the men themselves, the one who had been among the pigmies and the other who had escaped from the dog-men. As already remarked before, they were in sooth popular tales current among sailors of the Levant, and probably carried by them westwards to Venice, Spain, and the northern parts of Europe, and in this manner the story of "Gulliver and the Lilliputians" may have reached England in one form or another either by the sailors or by the Crusaders, and Swift got hold of it and wrote his classical book.

PARALLELS TO THE LEGENDS OF CANDRAHASA

The European literature is full of parallels to the history of Candrahāsa (No. 31). Not only is it found in many modern collections of fairy tales, as will be seen later on, but it appears already in mediaeval tales and legends, nay, is one of the German epic tales. As told by ancient chroniclers the history of the Emperor Henry III, of the eleventh century, is almost a copy of that of Candrahāsa. It occurs in the *Gesta Romanorum*, No. 20 (ed. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872, p. 315), *De miseria et tribulatione*, and in the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus à Voragine, Latin edition by Greasse, No. 181 (not 171 as given by Oesterley), pp. 840-1, in the history of the Pope Pelagius. In the annotations to No. 20 (pp. 715-16) Oesterley has given a long list of parallels in the mediaeval literature, notably in Latin and German chronicles, most of them identical with the list in the *Kaiserchronik* (ed. H. F. Massman, Quedlinburg, 1854), vol. iii, pp. 1094-5, and in note 2, the full bibliography, supplied by Felix Liebrecht, a fact not so well known as it ought to be. The history, then (*Gesta Rom.*, 20), is briefly as follows: In the reign of the Emperor Conrad there lived a certain Count Leopold, who, for some reason or other, fled from the Court and hid himself with his wife in a hovel in the woods. By chance the emperor hunting there lost his way and came to the hovel to spend the night. The same night the hostess was delivered of a son. Suddenly the emperor heard a voice saying: "Take, take, take." Then again: "Restore, restore, restore." A third time the voice said: "Fly, fly, fly; for the child that is now born shall become thy son-in-law." The emperor, terrified, ordered in the

morning two of his squires to take the child forcibly away and to kill it. Moved by pity through its great beauty they placed it upon the branch of a tree, so as to save it from wild beasts, and killing a hare they brought its heart to the emperor. Soon after a duke, travelling in the forest, discovered the child, took it in the fold of his mantle, and brought it to his wife to nourish it as their own, and he gave it the name of Henry. The boy grew handsome and eloquent, and became a general favourite. The emperor, learning of the quickness of the youth, desired his foster-father to send him to Court, where he resided for some time, and was held in great esteem by many people. (Some versions of the legend then tell that the emperor having learned that the child was not the son of the Duke Henry of Suabia, but a foundling, recognized him to be the child whose death he had encompassed in consequence of the prophecy he had heard on the occasion of his birth.) According to the *Gesta*, the emperor, afraid lest he be the child he had commanded to destroy, now wanted to make sure of his death. So he wrote a letter with his own hand to the queen to the following purport: "I command thee on pain of death, as soon as this letter reaches thee, to put this young man to death." The young man who was to bear this letter to the queen by chance passed a church, and setting himself upon a bench fell asleep. The letter was enclosed in his purse. The priest of the place, impelled by curiosity, opened the letter and read the contents. Horrified, he cunningly erased the writing, and wrote instead: "Give him our daughter in marriage." The queen, seeing the emperor's writing and the impress of his signet, called together the princes of the empire and celebrated the nuptials with great pomp. The emperor hearing of it was first greatly afflicted, but on hearing afterwards all the miraculous circumstances from the esquires, the duke, and the priest, acquiesced in it and resigned himself to the dispositions of God. So he

confirmed the marriage, and appointed the young man heir to the throne.

This mediaeval legend, or cycle of legends, agrees almost in every detail with the first part of the story of Candrahāsa. All goes well so far up to the marriage, to which the father is finally reconciled in the history of Henry and in its numerous parallels in European chronicles. But the Indian story has a sequel. The father, far from resigning himself to the inexorable destiny of fate or to the dispensations of God, still harbours evil feelings and plots the final destruction of his son-in-law. In the end he falls a victim to the very plan which he had invented for the death of the innocent. In some modern fairy tales we find now the whole story, with a similar ending: the death of the scheming father-in-law who would defy destiny. In each of the parallels it is always a foundling. The child, whose future greatness had been overheard by the man on the night of its birth, is therefore exposed by him or by the murderers he had hired, and is found by some one else, who brings it up as his own child. He is therefore known as the Foundling. I start with "Naïdis the Foundling" in the most recent collection of tales from Macedonia (G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 129-34). After the wedding the man, whose daughter he had married through the change of the wording in the letter by the miraculous intervention of an old man, instructs his wife to call Naïdis the next morning early and to send him with another letter to the shepherds tending his flocks. In that letter he writes to the shepherds to cut the bearer in pieces and to fling him into the well. The mother-in-law seeing him sleep sweetly in her daughter's arms was sorry to wake him and went instead and woke her son, whom she thus sent to the doom prepared by his father for Naïdis. Hearing of it the distracted father runs after the son, but is too late; he had been cut in pieces according to his instructions, and the body thrown into the well. Full of

despair he kills himself, and thus the prophecy comes true, the youth becomes his heir.

Almost identical with this Macedonian version is the Greek tale No. 20 in Hahn's collection. Here, however, it is the father-in-law himself who is killed in accordance with the instructions he had sent through the young man. For he writes to the guardian of the vineyard to shoot the man who would come into the place at such and such a time. The young man, eager to fulfil his master's wish, runs very fast and reaches the vineyard long before the fatal hour. Then he lingers a little on the way back. The father-in-law, impatient to know what had happened to the young man, whether he had at last succeeded in destroying him, goes to the vineyard to be killed by the guardian. The same occurs in the Albanian tale of the Foundling (Dozon, No. 13, "L'enfant vendu, ou la Destinée"). Here it is the pasha who overhears the prophecy. After the marriage he orders the smith to kill the young man with his hammer. In this tale it is again a son (that of the pasha) who is anxious to go first, and the young man then brings back what the pasha had wished, viz. the head of his own son. Finally, the pasha himself is killed, for he is impatient and goes first to the coachman to see whether his instructions have been carried out. Among the South Slavonian tales published by Jagić (*Archiv f. Slav. Philologie*, vol. i, etc.) Nos. 14 and 56 belong to our cycle. Reinhold Koehler, than whom there was no greater authority in the comparative study of fairy tales, has added there a large number of parallels from the world's literature. His remarks and references have been reprinted in his *Kleinere Schriften zur Maerchenforschung* (ed. Bolte, Weimar, 1898), pp. 417, 466. In the latter cycle of tales the young man, instead of being sent straight to be killed by means of a letter or a peculiar message, is sent on perilous errands, from which he is not expected to return safely, but he succeeds in overcoming all difficulties

and slays his enemies. The Rumanian parallels have been studied by L. Sainénu, *Basmele române* (Bucuresti, 1895), pp. 142-3.

The second episode then branches off, and at an early period becomes an independent tale. The first, or Henry, cycle starts with a prophecy at birth, or at some early period in the life of the youth, and finishes, as a rule, with his marriage; the second cycle, which I will mention now as briefly as possible—though there is nothing in it of “predestination” and it lacks the changed letter—has, none the less, some traits in common with the Indian story, and must be an old variant. It is also found in one of the legends of the *Gesta Romanorum* among the “additional” tales published by Oesterley, but found already in the English version: the story of Fulgentius. The motive for sending the young man to what looks a positive death, is envy on the part of a steward, or some other courtier, who wishes to get rid of his rival in the favour of the king. He resorts to a stratagem which is the same in most of the parallels. He tells the emperor that the youth had told the people that his, the king’s breath, was foul (either through leprosy or through some other fell disease), and that it was death to him to serve the cup. Then the emperor asks the steward first whether it is true, and on his denying that there was anything amiss with the breath of the emperor he is asked how he, the emperor, might bring this thing to good proof. The steward answers: “To-morrow next when he serveth the cup the young man will turn his face away from the emperor.” He then goes to the young man, and tells him that the emperor feels very sore on account of his stinking breath, which makes his drink to do him no good. Fulgentius (this is the name of the youth) asks the steward to counsel him what to do, and he advises him to turn his face away from the emperor whenever serving him with the cup. He does so and is turned out of Court. The emperor then decides

to punish him, and again, upon the advice of the steward, orders him to go to the brickmakers at the emperor's limekiln, whither he should send the order to cast into the furnace whoever came and asked whether they had fulfilled the king's will. Fulgentius, on his way, passing a church, hears the bell tolling for service. So he goes in, attends service, and falls into a profound sleep. Meanwhile, the steward, impatient to know the fate of Fulgentius, proceeds to the limekiln, asks the fatal question, and is forthwith bound hand and foot and thrown into the furnace, just before Fulgentius arrives, who hears the news and is told of the command of the emperor. He returns, to the great surprise of the emperor, who, by questioning, finds out the truth, and recognizes in Fulgentius' salvation divine intervention and the triumph of truth. To this story (No. 283) Oesterley gives a full parallel literature (p. 749), without noticing the connexion with No. 20 (and pp. 715-16). From that list it will be seen how widespread this version of the legend had been in the Middle Ages, and also that it had entered into the literature of fairy tales and ballads, the best known being Schiller's *Gang nach dem Eisenhammer*. It is also found in the East in the *Persian Mesnewi*, in the *Forty Viziers* (German, by Bernauer), in the *Somadeva*, and partly also in some additions to the *Pancha-Tantra* (Benfey, i, 321). To these parallels I will add now only two more, hitherto unknown. They are found in Hebrew MSS. The first, in a MS. of the xiii-xiv cent. (Bodl. 1466, ed. Gaster, *Exempla of the Rabbis*, No. 308, pp. 207-8); and the other in my possession, Cod. 130, No. 38a f., 100a ff. In the former it is a young man to whom the father leaves on his death-bed the wish never to pass the synagogue when service is held without going in and taking part in it.

The young man went to Court and served as cup-bearer and page to the king and queen. Being favoured by

them he roused the envy of the steward, who, taking advantage of the fact that favour was shown to him by the queen, told the king that she was bestowing her love on the young man. The king would not believe it, until at last he allowed himself to be persuaded, and decided to destroy the page. So he commanded the brickmaker to throw into the limekiln the first man who would come to him and ask whether he had fulfilled the king's command. And he ordered the young man to go early next morning to the limekiln. On the way he passes a synagogue, and hearing the service going on, he dismounts from his horse, goes into the synagogue, and tarries there until the end. The king, after waiting for a while, sends the steward to the kiln to inquire what has happened. He is thrown into the burning furnace. Meanwhile the young man comes to the place, and seeing them throwing the steward into the burning furnace remonstrates with them, but they answer: "Such was the command of the king, and he (the steward) was the first who came." The young man returns to the king and asks him why he has ordered them to burn the steward. The king, being greatly surprised at the turn of events, tells him all that the steward had spoken against him, and adds that he is now fully convinced of his innocence. And the "Moralizatio", quite in the style of the *Gesta*, is: "This shows how necessary and beneficial it is not to pass divine service."

• The point to be noted in this variant, and in the subsequent, is the importance attached to the synagogue or church, and the "Moralizatio" that the salvation of the young man is due to his tarrying at that place for devotional purposes. This point has become obscured in the first cycle of legends, the Henry cycle, though a remnant of it is found in Henry resting in the church where the inquisitive priest changes the writing of the letter. The significance of the stopping at the church for religious

purposes, which is obliterated in the other variants, appears prominently in this second cycle of legends. It occurs also in the story of Maimonides, who is the hero of a tale found in my MS. 130 (of the sixteenth to seventeenth century). He was a favourite at the Court of the King of Spain, and became the object of envy to the other courtiers. The oldest among them then decides to bring about his destruction by the scheme of insinuating an evil smell of the breath of the king, and of Maimonides, advising the latter to cover his mouth with his hand when addressing the king. Greatly incensed at this public insult, the king orders the baker to heat his furnace and to throw into it the first man who would ask for the king's message. Maimonides, of course, is sent. On his way to the furnace Maimonides is stopped three times to take part in a religious ceremony, once by being asked to be present at a circumcision, the second time at a wedding, and the third time at a funeral. The king's counsellor, impatient to know of the result, reaches the furnace first and is thrown in, and Maimonides is thus saved by having been stopped on his way in the performance of religious duties. The king then learns the truth, and he recognizes that a just punishment has overtaken the wicked counsellor.

It would be easy to increase the number of parallels; they are mostly mentioned in the books of Liebrecht, Koehler, and Oesterley. To this large number now the history of Candrahāsa is a most welcome and important addition, for it furnishes the missing Indian link, and closes the chain.

*The Nigrodha-miga-Jātaka and the Life of
St. Eustathius Placidus.*

IN connection with the story of Paṭācārā I had occasion to refer (J.R.A.S. 1893, pp. 869–871) to a series of parallels in Eastern and Western literature, one of which was the life of St. Eustathius Placidus. The second half of this Vita contained those incidents which made me connect it with the cycle of which Paṭācārā seemed to be the prototype. The first half, however, was totally different, and must have been added to the other portion by the compiler of the Life. That "Life" was worthy of being put up as an example to the pious, which contained a greater number of temptations successfully withstood, of sufferings meekly borne, of miracles wondrously wrought. Therefore the miraculous and pathetic portions were enlarged and specially dwelt upon.

In the Life of St. *Placidus* we find thus two distinct tales, one of his conversion, and the other of his sufferings and ultimate martyrdom, which last portion may have been added still later in order to round off the whole tale.

In consequence of the miraculous elements in it this Life has become very popular. Not only is it to be found in Voragine's "Golden Legend," Caxton's translation included, and in the collections of "Lives" of Surius, the Bollandists, etc., but it was also incorporated into the "Gesta Romanorum," the great storehouse of mediæval tales and legends. It figures there as a moral tale, and has as heading the words, "Of the miraculous recall of sinners, and of the consolations which piety offers to the distressed." ¹

¹ *Gesta Romanorum*. Translated from the Latin by the Rev. Ch. Swan, revised by W. Hooper, London, 1877, No. cx. p. 191 ff. Cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872, No. 110, p. 444 ff. and the important bibliographical notes, p. 730.

The first portion of this legend contains the miraculous conversion brought about by a *deer*. It is very elaborate, and, as most of these "Lives," amplified by numberless details.

I give it in a somewhat abridged form, omitting repetitions and details, summing up the more important incidents.

"In the reign of Trajan there lived a king named Placidus, who was commander-in-chief of the Emperor's armies. He was of a very merciful disposition, but a worshipper of idols. His wife also participated in the same feelings, and adhered to the same religious rites. They had two sons, educated in all the magnificence of their age and station; and from the general kindness and goodness of their hearts they merited a revelation of the way of truth. As he was one day following the chase, he discovered a herd of deer, amongst which was one remarkable for the beauty and magnificence of its form. Separating itself from the rest, it plunged into the thicker part of the brake. Placidus separated himself from his companions and followed the course it had taken with all the celerity in his power. While he was giving all his strength to the pursuit, the stag at length scaled a lofty precipice, and Placidus approaching to it as near as he could, considered how to secure it. But, as he regarded it with fixed attention, there appeared, impressed upon the centre of the brow, the form of a cross, which glittered with greater splendour than a meridian sun. Upon this cross there was an image of Christ suspended; and, as formerly happened to the ass of Balaam, utterance was supplied to the stag, which thus addressed the hunter: 'Why dost thou persecute me, Placidus? For thy sake have I assumed the shape of this animal: I am Christ, whom thou ignorantly worshippest.' Some assert that the image said these things. Placidus, filled with terror, fell from his horse, and said: 'Declare what Thou sayest, that I may believe in Thee.' Christ explains his divinity, and Placidus said: 'I believe, O Lord, that Thou art He that made all things; and that Thou art He who bringest back the wanderer.' The Lord

answered: 'Go into the city and be baptized; return on the morrow hither, where I will appear again.' Placidus departed to his home and communicated all that had passed to his wife. That very night they were all baptized by the Bishop of Rome." So far the first portion of the history of St. Eustathius Placidus. His martyrdom is placed in the year 120, in the reign of Adrian, Trajan's successor. This is, however, independent of the time when the Life was written. The oldest texts seem to belong to the ninth century. A Syriac version of it exists in a MS. of the twelfth century (1197) (Brit. Mus. Add. 12,174, No. 53).¹

The principal incidents may be summed up in the following manner:—(1) Placidus, a keen hunter; (2) Placidus, of a merciful disposition, but has not yet obtained access to the way of truth; (3) A magnificent, beautiful stag draws his attention away from the rest; (4) Exposes itself to the danger of being killed, in order to speak to Placidus; (5) Christ assumes the form of that stag; (6) Placidus converted.

Without going into many details, it cannot be disputed that some of the ancient "Lives" owe their origin to Buddhist Jātakas. One need only refer to Barlaam and Joasaph. A thorough examination of those Jātakas will further reveal unexpected parallels to some of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles—I think more especially of the Acts of the Apostle *Thomas*, which Gutschmid considers to be based upon a Buddhist Jātaka,² and some incidents in those of Bartholomeus and John. There is no doubt that the publication of all the Jātakas in existence, and their being made accessible through translation, will give a powerful impetus to investigations directed towards the history of ancient hagiology.

As one portion of the legend of St. Placidus had its parallel in an Indian tale, I surmised that the other

¹ v. *W. Wright*, Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, iii, 1872, p. 1132 f.

² v. *R. A. Lipsius*, Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden, i. Braunschweig, 1883, p. 281.

would also have its origin there. It is well known that legends have often been made up of two or three independent tales, tacked one on to the other to make the legend more interesting and more attractive.

Through the kindness of Mr. R. Chalmers I have been able to see a proof sheet of his translation of the Jātakas (vol. i.), which is published by the Pitt Press under the editorship of Prof. Cowell, of Cambridge. In one of these Jātakas I found, indeed, the original for the history of Placidus' conversion. In comparing the two one must take into account the *rifacimento* to which those Indian tales have been subjected in order to suit them entirely to their new purposes. Only the framework, the leading incidents and the miraculous elements, are retained, the rest is fitted up with rhetorics and arguments borrowed from a different source.

The Jātaka to which I refer is the Nigrodha-miga-Jātaka, of which the following is an abstract¹: "Once upon a time, when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares, the Bodhisatta was born a deer. At his birth he was golden of hue; his eyes were like round jewels; the sheen of his horns was of silver; his mouth was like a bunch of scarlet cloth; his four hoofs were as though lacquered; his tail was like the yak's; and he was as big as a young foal. Attended by five hundred deer he dwelt in the forest under the name of King Banyan Deer. And hard by him dwelt another deer also with an attendant herd of five hundred deer, who was named Branch Deer, and was as golden of hue as the Bodhisatta.

"In those days the king of Benares was passionately fond of hunting, and always had meat at every meal. Every day he mustered the whole of his subjects and went hunting. Thought his people, 'Suppose we were to sow food and supply water for the deer in his own pleasure; and, having driven in a number of deer, to bar them in and deliver them over to the king.' So they did. Henceforth the king betook himself to the pleasure, and in looking once

¹ It is also translated in full in Prof. Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' No. 12, p. 205 ff.

over the herd, saw among them two golden deer, to whom he granted immunity. Sometimes he would go of his own accord and shoot a deer to bring home; sometimes his cook would go and shoot one. At first sight of the bow the deer would dash off trembling for their lives; but after receiving two or three wounds, they grew weary and faint, and were slain. The herd of deer told this to the Bodhisatta, who sent for Branch, and said, 'Friend, the deer are being destroyed in great numbers; and, though they cannot escape death, at least let them not be needlessly wounded. Let the deer on whom the lot falls go to the block by turns, one day one from my herd, and next day one from yours.' The other agreed. Now one day the lot fell on a pregnant doe of the herd of Branch, and she went to Branch and said, 'Lord, I am with young; order me to be passed over this turn.' 'No, I cannot make your turn another's,' said he. Finding no favour with him, the doe went to the Bodhisatta, and told him her story. And he answered, 'Very well; you go away, and I will see that the turn passes over you.' And therewithal he went himself to the place of execution, and lay down with his head on the block. Cried the cook on seeing him, 'Why! here is the king of the deer, who was granted immunity! What does this mean?' And off he ran to tell the king, who, on hearing it, mounted his chariot and came with a large following.

"'My friend, the king of the deer, how comes it that you are lying here?'

"'Sire, there came to me a doe big with young, who prayed me to let her turn fall on another; and, as I could not pass the doom of one to another, I, laying down my life for her, and taking her doom on myself, have laid me down here.'

"'My lord, the golden king of the deer, said the king, never yet saw I, even among men, one so abounding in charity, love, and pity as you. Therefore am I pleased with you. Arise! I spare the lives of both you and her.'

"The Bodhisatta interceded then with the king for the

lives of all creatures, and obtained from him the promise that they would henceforth be spared. After thus interceding, the Great Being arose, established the king in the Five commandments, saying, 'Walk in righteousness, great king. Walk in righteousness and justice towards parents, children, townsmen, and country-folk, so that when this earthly body is dissolved, you may enter the bliss of heaven. Thus, with the grace and charm that marks a Buddha, did he teach the Truth to the king.'"

So far the Jātaka, as much as it concerns us here. The principal points are absolutely identical with those of the story of Placidus. (1) The king, a mighty hunter. (2) Of a merciful disposition, but has not yet obtained access to the way of truth. (3) The marvellous deer, characterized by specially brilliant horns. (4) Exposes itself to the danger of being killed in order to speak to the king. (5) The Bodhisatta impersonated by that deer, and (6) The successful conversion of the king by the deer.

The specific Buddhist argument, viz. the self-sacrifice, looses its force in the change from Buddhism to Christianity, and is therefore omitted in the story of Placidus.

The date of the Jātaka is not a matter of conjecture. As the central incident is to be found represented among the sculptured medallions of the Stupa of Bharhut (No. 1 in Plate xxv. and No. 2 in Plate xliii. of Cunningham's publication), it must therefore belong to the second or third century B.C., and is thus close upon a thousand years older than the oldest written record of the story of Placidus. The "Divine Deer" alone would suffice to prove the Buddhist origin of the latter, as Buddha, in several previous births, had been "King of the Deer." I know not of any other example of Christ appearing under the form of a deer or any other animal. It is a thoroughly Buddhist conception, which sees in the animal one of the forms of existence and impersonations of Buddha, and has been taken over bodily from the Jātaka to be incorporated into the Life of Placidus, the other half of which is also of the same Buddhist origin.

ZUR QUELLENKUNDE DEUTSCHER SAGEN UND MÄRCHEN.

VIII. Der dankbare Todte.

Zu den zahlreichen Parallelen, die Simrock im „Guten Gerhard“ p. 46 ff.—113 und R. Köhler in der Germ. III, 199 ff., XII, 55 ff. und Orient u. Occident II, 324—329 und zu J. F. Campbells gälische Märchen XXXII: Der dankbare Todte; III, 33—103 beigebracht, will ich hier noch eine jüdische, im Orient heimische mittheilen. Im vorigen Jahre

hat ein gewisser Reischer, ein geborener Jerusalemitaner in Lemberg ein hebr. Werk über Palästina veröffentlicht unter dem Titel: „Schaare Jeruschalajim“, worin er p. 86—99 (die Paginatur rührt von mir her, da das ganze Buch unpaginirt ist) 16 palästinensische Sagen mittheilt. Einige derselben hat L. A. Frankl im 2. Bande seiner Reisebeschreibung: Nach Palästina, p. 268—283 als jerusalemitanische Sagen veröffentlicht, darunter p. 281—283 eine höchst interessante Parallele zu „den geworfenen Steinen“, bei Liebrecht: Zur Volkskunde, p. 267 ff.; vgl. hierzu noch: Kern, Schlesische Sagen. Breslau 1867, S. 176: von der Sau am Zobtenberge, wo jeder Vorübergehende ein Steinchen nach ihr warf mit den Worten: „Sau, da hast du ein Ferkel“; vgl. V. Hugo, Notre-Dame de Paris, Buch VII, c. 4, der erzählt, daß jeder Vorübergehende einen Stein auf die Säule des Perinet le Clerc warf, der zur Zeit Karl VI. Paris den Engländern geöffnet hatte.

Unter jenen 16 Sagen bildet die uns hier beschäftigende die vierte, p. 88—90, und lautet wörtlich folgendermaßen:

Eine Erzählung aus Jerusalem. In vordenklichen Zeiten lebte einst daselbst ein seines Reichthumes wegen sehr berühmter Mann. Im hohen Alter wurde ihm nun ein Sohn geboren. Als der Sohn ungefähr sechs Jahre alt geworden war und zwischen Gutem und Bösem schon selbst unterscheiden konnte, beschloß der Vater, der sah, daß das Kind sehr verständig war, es von dem nichtigen Treiben dieser Welt, das wie ein Schatten vergeht, zu entfernen, und so nur in der Lehre Gottes zu erziehen, zu seinem eigenen Heile und damit es ihm zur Ehre gereiche. Der Vater bestimmte ihm darauf ein eigenes Zimmer und einen tüchtigen Lehrer, damit sie Tag und Nacht lernen sollten. Das Kind durfte das Zimmer nicht verlassen, aber alle seine und seines Lehrers Wünsche wurden gleich erfüllt.

So verlebten sie ungefähr zehn Jahre. Unterdessen hatte der zum Jüngling herangereifte Knabe alles gelernt, was sein Lehrer und die Literatur ihm bieten konnten. Sein Vater war inzwischen auch alt geworden. Da überlegte sich dieser und sagte: Mein Sohn ist jetzt herangewachsen, er weiß aber nichts was Handel und Geschäft, und all mein schwer erworbenes Vermögen wird er durch seine Unkenntniß allzuleicht verlieren, so daß er noch an den Bettelstab wird kommen können. Um diesem vorzubeugen, führte er den Sohn in die mannigfachen Geschäftsmanipulationen ein und lehrte ihn die Art des Handels. In Kurzem hatte der Sohn zur Freude seines Vaters auch dieses begriffen. Nicht lange nachher starb der Vater und hinterließ sein ganzes Vermögen seinem Sohne.

Der junge Mann machte sich nun auf und zog von einer Stadt zur anderen, um die Welt und ihr Treiben kennen zu lernen. So gelangte er auch nach Stambul und schlenderte dort in den Straßen herum. Als er nun in eine Straße einbog, bemerkte er einen großen eisernen Kasten, der an Ketten hing, und einen bewaffneten Mann, der den Kasten bewachte. Neugierig gemacht, fragte er den Wächter, was denn das bedeuten solle. Zuerst wies ihn der Wächter schroff ab, dann aber, durch einige Münzen begütigt, erzählte er ihm folgende Geschichte:

„Der Sultan hatte einen jüdischen Wechsler, dem er sehr zugethan war und den er sehr in Ehren hielt. Darum beneideten ihn die Türken und verleumdeten ihn beim Sultan, daß er sein ganzes Vermögen auf unrechte Weise erworben hätte, indem er den Sultan betrogen habe. Dieser schickte nach dem Wechsler und sagte zu ihm: lege mir Rechnung ab vom Anbeginne ab bis auf den heutigen Tag. Der Wechsler entsetzte sich ob dieser Forderung, denn wie konnte er Rechnung ablegen über einen Zeitraum von mehr als zwanzig Jahren, seitdem er die Geldangelegenheiten des Sultans besorgte? Da ließ der Sultan Andere diese Rechnung machen, und Jene rechneten so, daß sie eine große Summe als fehlend herausbrachten, die der Wechsler natürlich unterschlagen haben mußte. Darob erzürnt, ließ ihn der Sultan tödten und in diesen Kasten legen, wo er so lange unbeerdigt bleiben mußte, bis die Juden die fehlende Summe ersetzt haben werden.“

Der junge Mann fragte gleich, nachdem er die Geschichte gehört hatte, nach dem Betrage jener Schuld, und sobald er sie von dem Wächter erfahren hatte, ging er gleich in den Palast und bat um eine Audienz beim Sultan, die ihm auch gewährt wurde. Vor dem Sultan angelangt, fragte ihn dieser nach seinem Wunsche. Der junge Mann antwortete: „Ich will den Getödteten zur Erde bestatten und die ganze Summe dem Sultan bezahlen“. Dieser ging darauf ein und der junge Mann brachte die bestimmte Summe. Bei dieser Gelegenheit bat er den Sultan einen Befehl ergehen zu lassen, daß alle Einwohner von Stambul an dem Leichenbegängnisse theilnehmen sollten, und so blieb denn nicht einmal ein Kind in der Wiege, das nicht mit dabei gewesen, als der Mann zu Grabe gebracht wurde. Nach einiger Zeit ließ der Sultan den jungen Mann zu sich kommen und sagte zu ihm: „Ich habe eine Bitte an dich, du darfst dich aber nicht dagegen sperren, sondern mußt sie mir erfüllen. Ich bitte dich nämlich mir den Lohn abzutreten, den du dir durch diese fromme That eben erworben hast“. Der junge Mann aber antwortete: „Alles will ich dir gern erfüllen, nur dieses Einzige nicht, denn was ist der Mensch und wie groß ist

seine ganze Lebensdauer? Ich habe nun während meiner ganzen Lebenszeit um eine solche Gelegenheit gebeten, um eine fromme That zu begehen, wer weiß ob sich mir eine solche Gelegenheit noch einmal treffen wird und wenn ich auch mein ganzes Vermögen daran setzen wollte?“ Diese Worte gefielen dem Sultan und den anwesenden Großen und der Sultan führte ihn durch alle Räume seines Palastes, um ihm seinen Reichthum und seine Macht zu zeigen, und entließ ihn darauf in Frieden.

Von dort zog der junge Mann weiter von Stadt zu Stadt, so mehrere Jahre lang; endlich bestieg er einmal ein Schiff, um nach Hause zurückzukehren. Als sie auf hoher See waren, erhob sich plötzlich ein gewaltiger Sturm, der das Schiff zum Sinken brachte. Alle Passagiere, unter ihnen auch der junge Mann, fielen ins Waßer. Diesem aber schien es plötzlich, als ob er auf einem großen Stein stünde, der sich mit ihm bewegte — und wirklich gelangte er so ans Ufer. Kaum hatte er es betreten und angefangen über seine trostlose Lage nachzudenken, als sich ein großer weißer Adler neben ihm niederließ und zu ihm that, als ob er zu ihm redete. Aufmerksam gemacht durch dies sonderbare Betragen des Adlers, bestieg er ihn, im festen Vertrauen, daß der Adler von Gott gesendet sei. Dieser erhob sich auch mit seiner Last und brachte ihn in einigen Augenblicken nach Jerusalem, wo er ihn in seinem Hofe absetzte, sich erhob und verschwand. Inzwischen war es Abend geworden; wie groß war nun der Schreck des jungen Mannes, als er die Augen erhebend einen weiß gekleideten Mann vor sich stehen sah. Dieser beruhigte ihn aber und sagte: „Fürchte dich nicht! Ich bin der Wechsler, den du in Stambul erlöst hast, darum habe ich auch dich vom Tode errettet; ich war der Stein, der dich im Meere getragen und ich war der Adler, auf dem du geritten. Heil dir in diesem Leben, und ein großer Lohn erwartet dich im zukünftigen Leben“. Mit diesen Worten verschwand der Mann. Der junge Mann erreichte, mit allen Glücksgütern gesegnet, ein hohes Alter, und sah Enkel, die er ebenfalls in der Lehre unterrichten ließ und zu frommen Werken anleitete.

So weit die jüdische in Jerusalem localisirte Sage, die alle wesentlichen Züge der anderen Parallelen enthält, aber in kürzerer Faßung. Hier ist noch zur besonderen Hervorhebung der Zug hinzugetreten, daß der Sultan von dem jungen Manne fordert, ihm den zukünftigen Lohn für diese fromme That abzutreten, was Jener aber zu thun sich weigert. Wenn ich nicht irre, ist es neben Haxthausens Erzählung aus Armenien nur noch die einzige bis jetzt nachgewiesene orientalische

Parallele zu der in Europa so weit verbreiteten Erzählung von „des Todten Dank“. Nichtsdestoweniger glaube ich doch nicht, daß wir es hier vielleicht mit einer Rückwanderung von Europa nach Asien zu thun haben. Wenn auch erst vor kurzer Zeit veröffentlicht, wird diese Sage bei der sonstigen Unveränderlichkeit der Verhältnisse im Orient ebenso unverändert lange Zeit hindurch im Munde der Jerusalemitaner sich erhalten haben. Vgl. nachträglich: Archiv für slav. Philologie V, p. 40—44, südslav. Parallele und Anmerkung von Köhler.

IX. Die zweiundsiebzig Namen Gottes.

In zwei Liedern von St. Johannis Minne aus dem 14. Jahrhundert, die Umland (Alte hoch- und niederdeutsche Volkslieder I, 2, Stuttgart 1845, S. 816, Nr. 4, und S. 821, Nr. 12) herausgegeben hat, kehrt eine eigenthümliche Wendung wieder, die weder Umland selbst noch der Herausgeber der gesammelten Schriften Uhlands Bd. III bemerkt haben, die aber von nicht geringem culturhistorischen Interesse ist, da sie schon so früh einen Einfluß jüdischer Kabbala auf das deutsche Volksleben und die deutsche Volksliteratur erkennen läßt. Die erste Stelle lautet:

„Bewar und beschirme uns also
vor schaden der uns mag geschehen
.
.
.
in dem namen der da ist:
süsser Vater Jesu Christ,
und in den zwen und sibenzig namen
des almahtigen Godes, amen!“

Wenig davon verschieden ist Nr. 12:

„sanct Icori, hilf uns des,
und evangelista Johannes
und der kütchen megde kint
des ewig alle riche sint,
und die zwen und sibenzig namen
des almehtigen gots, amen!“

Diese zweiundsiebzig Namen des allmächtigen Gottes sind nun nichts anderes als der zweiundsiebzigbuchstabige Name Gottes, der in der Kabbala eine solch große Rolle spielt. Im Talmud ist bloß das Tetragrammaton, dann der zweiundzwanzig- und der zweiundvierzigbuchstabige Name bekannt. In der Kabbala und in den ältesten Schriften derselben tritt nun auch dieser auf, der in die deutsche Literatur gedrungen ist. Das älteste Beispiel ist im Sepher Raziel (ed. Amsterdam 1701, fol. 40^b). Ibn Ezra (lebte von 1093—1163) citirt schon

zu Exod. 14, 19 dieses Buch als Quelle für den zweiundsiezigbuchstabigen Namen Gottes. Das Sepher Raziel gehört also spätestens dem 10. Jahrh. an. Vielleicht älter ist das andere kabbalistische Werk Sepher ha-Bahir, das Jom Tob Lippmann Heller (1579—1654) zur Mischna Succah IV, 5 citirt, wo ebenfalls dieser Name Gottes kabbalistisch gedeutet sein soll. An derselben Stelle in der Mischna erwähnt auch Raschi (1040—1105) dieses Namens, der von da ab in der jüdischen Literatur sehr häufig wiederkehrt; so im Zeror-hamor fol. 37^a; Tikkune ha-Sohar, ed. Amsterd. 1719, fol. 8^a u. s. w. Von allen diesen Werken haben wir aber nur im Seph. Raziel die Quelle für die deutsche Parallele zu erkennen; denn nur dieses, durch seinen Inhalt, als praktische Kabbala, hat noch ein anderes Werk beeinflusst, welches in der alchemistischen und magischen deutschen Literatur eine große Rolle spielt, ich meine den „Höllenzwang“. Auch hier kehren die zweiundsiezig Namen Gottes wieder und werden sogar alle genannt; ed. Scheible 1849, S. 19 f. Auf den ersten Blick erkennt man in den meisten derselben die Namen, die auch im Sepher Raziel genannt werden, natürlich auch häufig dort corrumpt und verballhornt. Ich begnüge mich hier mit dieser kurzen Andeutung, da es mich zu weit führen würde, wollte ich den Einfluß der jüdischen Kabbala auf die deutsche kabbalistische Literatur genauer erörtern. Gelegentlich werde ich öfter darauf zurückkommen, namentlich beim Aberglauben.

X. Naglfar.

In der deutschen Mythologie erscheint bekanntlich ein aus den Nägeln todter Menschen gefertigtes Schiff, worauf Loki zum Kampfe gegen die Götter zieht und so das Weltende herbeiführt. Grimm (D. Myth.⁴ S. 679) erklärt diese Sage eigentlich nicht, wenn er bemerkt, es werden deßhalb Nägel zum Baue des Schiffes verwendet, um damit gleichsam die weite Ferne dieses Ereignisses anzudeuten. S. auch Nachtrag Bd. III, p. 241. Ich glaube der Ursprung dieser Sage muß ganz anders erklärt werden, da sie mir zur nachträglichen Erklärung eines älteren Brauches gedichtet zu sein scheint, des Brauches nämlich, die Nägel, die abgeschnitten werden, zu vernichten. Liebrecht, z. Volkskunde, p. 319 enthält folgenden norwegischen Aberglauben, Nr. 48. „Abgeschnittene Fingernägel verbrennt man, sonst muß man sie am jüngsten Gerichte wieder sammelsammeln“. S. 330, Nr. 152 heißt es ferner: „Abgeschnittene Nägel muß man verbrennen oder vergraben, denn sonst machen die Finnen (oder das Huldrevolk, die Elben) daraus Kugeln, womit sie das Vieh schießen“.

Ähnlich ist auch der isländische Aberglaube, Nr. 2, *ibid.* p. 367: „Wenn man sich die Nägel abschneidet oder abschnippst, so soll man jeden Nagel in drei Stücken abschneiden, abschnippen oder abbeißen, denn sonst macht der Böse aus den Nägeln den ganzen Bord eines Leichenschiffes“.

Es knüpfen sich auch sonst im deutschen Volke abergläubische Sitten und Gebräuche an das Nägelabschneiden, z. B. Wuttke: *deutscher Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, ed. 2. s. v. *Fingernägel abschneiden im Register*. Besonders hervorzuheben ist §. 141, p. 104: „Abgeschnittene Haare und Nägel vergräbt man unter den Hollunderbusch“, und §. 418, p. 266 f.: „Da die Hexen über Jemand Gewalt bekommen, wenn sie etwas von seinem Körper oder Eigenthum erlangen, so muß man Haare, Nägel, ausgefallene Zähne sorgfältig verstecken, vergraben oder verbrennen und an fremde Personen nichts verleihen“.

Hier und beim isländ. Aberglauben ist der Grund für eine Sitte angegeben, die schon uralt ist, wie ich eben nachweisen werde. Der Fortgang von der ältesten Form bis zu der, wie sie uns im isländ. Abergl. entgegentritt, der offenbar im Zusammenhang steht mit dem „Naglfar“ der nordischen Mythologie, wird uns unzweideutig entgegentreten. Vorausschicken will ich nur noch, daß auch hier in Rumänien ein ähnlicher Brauch existirt. „Die abgeschnittenen Fingernägel werden sorgfältig zusammengelesen und von der Handfläche zur Hinterthür hinausgeblasen; sie dürfen aber nie verbrannt werden.“

Eine arabische Sage bei Weil, *bibl. Legend. d. Muselm.* erzählt: „Adam sei mit einer glänzenden Haut erschaffen worden, nachdem er aber gestündigt hatte, fiel diese Haut ab und nur Spuren derselben haben sich in den Nägeln der Hände und Füße erhalten“. Dieselbe Sage kehrt auch etwas verändert in der jüdischen Literatur wieder, wo sie wahrscheinlich älter ist, denn sie dient dazu v. 21 aus Genes. 3 zu erklären. So heißt es Genes. rab. sect. 20: „die ersten Kleider des Adam waren . . . glatt wie Nägel und glänzend wie Perlen“. Ebenso an den Pirke de R. Eliezer c. 14, wo es geradezu heißt: Adam hatte eine Hornhaut. Vgl. Fabricius *Cod. pseudepigr. V. Test.* p. 54—55, der Wagenseil: *Sota* p. 340 vergleicht. *Jalkut I fol. 10^b* lautet die Sage folgendermaßen: „Als die Schlange die Haut ablegte, nahm Gott dieselbe und machte aus ihr Kleider für Adam und Eva“.

Jedenfalls geht aus den ersteren Sagen hervor, daß den Nägeln eine besondere Wichtigkeit beigelegt wurde, daher wohl ursprünglich die Sitte, dieselben, als Theile des menschlichen Körpers, nicht wegwerfend zu behandeln, sondern irgendwie bei Seite zu schaffen. Im

Talmud hat diese Sitte schon mehr Consistenz erhalten; hier heißt es: Niddah fol. 17^a: R. Simon b. Jochai (c. 150 n. Chr.) sagt: Derjenige macht sich eines todwürdigen Verbrechens schuldig, welcher . . . , die Nägel abschneidet und auf die Straße hinauswirft. Als Grund wird dann angegeben: „Wenn eine schwangere Frau auf dieselben tritt, macht sie eine Fehlgeburt“. Es gelten aber folgende Restrictionen: „Nur dann sind die Nägel schädlich, wenn sie mit einer Nagelscheere abgeschnitten werden, und wenn er nichts mehr dahinter schneidet“. Auf jeden Fall ist Vorsicht gerathen. An derselben Stelle im Moed Katan fol. 18^a heißt es: „In Bezug auf die Nägel sind folgende drei Dinge gesagt worden: „Ein Gerechter ist derjenige, der sie verbrennt, ein Frommer, wer sie begräbt, ein Frevler dagegen wer sie wegwirft“. Im Widerspruche zu der ersten Bemerkung sagt R. Nathan (ca. 1000) im Aruch: „Das Verbrennen der Nägel sowie überhaupt aller Dinge, die vom Menschen herrühren, ist für denselben schädlich“. Nichtsdestoweniger ist die Anschauung des Talmud bis auf den heutigen Tag maßgebend geblieben; denn auch der Sohar, der gegen Ende des 13. Jhdts. wahrscheinlich aus älteren Elementen zusammengeschweißt wurde und der den größten Einfluß auf das Judenthum in Bezug auf Aberglauben etc. ausgeübt hat, kennt diese Besonderheit der Nägel und bemerkt darüber, ed. Mantua II, fol. 172^b, Folgendes: „Aus dem zweiten Himmelsfenster kommen hunderttausende böse Geister, die da herrschen über die Nägel der Menschen, die, wenn sie offen hingeworfen werden, von den Zauberern zu allerhand Zaubereien verwendet werden. Diese Menschen verursachen dadurch Tod und Verderben allen anderen“. Ibid. fol. 208^b heißt es ausführlicher: „Das Kleid, das Adam getragen, war ein Kleid von Nägeln. So lange Adam im Paradiese war und ihn dieses heilige Kleid rings umgab, fürchtete er sich vor den bösen Geistern nicht; sobald er aber gesündigt hatte, wurde es ihm abgenommen, nur die Fingernägel blieben übrig, die aber jetzt gerade unheilig wurden. Deshalb darf man sie auch nicht lang wachsen lassen, sondern sie müssen abgeschnitten, dürfen auch nicht weggeworfen werden, da die Menschen daran Schaden nehmen können“. Bd. III, 79^a f.: 1405 Arten von Bösem sind in dem Gifte der Ur- Schlange (des Paradieses) enthalten, und sie werden durch die Nägel erweckt; deshalb kann man mit diesen Zaubereien ausüben, da jene davon abhängen; wer die Nägel aber vernichtet, erweist dadurch der Welt gleichsam eine große Wohlthat; denn wer auf die Nägel tritt, kann sich einen Schaden zuziehen“. Diese öftere Wiederholung hat dazu beigetragen, der Sitte eine weite Verbreitung zu geben. Interessant

ist es, daß R. Nathan (ca. 1000 in Rom) seinem Aruch s. v. bemerkt, daß das Verbrennen der Nägel leicht ein Unglück nach sich ziehen kann.

Der heutige Brauch ist nun, daß die Nägel Donnerstag geschnitten werden; zu gleicher Zeit werden mit denselben noch zwei kleine Holzspäne mitgeschnitten und zusammen verbrannt. Wahrscheinlich deßhalb werden diese Holzspäne mitgeschnitten, um die mögliche Gefahr zu beseitigen, weil der Talmud (ob.) bemerkt, daß sie dadurch beseitigt wird, wenn etwas nach dem Abschneiden der Nägel mit dem Messer noch mitgeschnitten wird. Das Volk kennt aber diesen Grund nicht, sondern sagt: „Wenn der Mensch stirbt, wird er in der anderen Welt auch darnach gefragt, ob er seine Nägel wirklich verbrannt hat? Als Zeugen erscheinen dann diese Holzspäne und bekräftigen seine Aussage“. Wo diese Sage herrühren mag, weiß ich nicht.

Schließlich will ich noch bemerken, daß den jüdischen Todten die Nägel und Haare abgeschnitten und in ein Säckchen zu dessen Häupten gelegt werden (Maabar Jabok c. 112). Bei den Rumänen übrigens auch Sitte.

Weitere auf die Nägel bezügliche Sitten und Bräuche übergehe ich als unwesentlich für unsere Frage, für welche sich nun eben ergibt, daß der Naglfar in einem unzweifelhaften Zusammenhange mit diesen Bräuchen steht und daß hier die Quelle für die sonderbare Form des Schiffes aus Menschennägeln zu suchen ist. Die Idee, daß der Weltzerstörer auf einem Schiffe kommen wird, mag wohl einem anderen Kreise angehören.

XI. Donnerkraut. Donnerbart.

Fast Alle, die sich mit deutscher Mythologie und Pflanzensymbolik beschäftigt haben, waren geneigt in dem Namen dieser Pflanze den alten Donnergott (Donar, Thor) wiederzufinden; so Grimm, D. Myth.² p. 167 f. Friedrich, Symbolik p. 263. Perger, Deutsche Pflanzensagen I, p. 134. II, 167. Ja die Pflanze soll sogar gegen Feuer und Blitz schützen. Wuttke, D. Aberggl.² §. 132. Der Name dieser Pflanze jedoch scheint in gar keinem Zusammenhange zu stehen mit specifisch germanischer Mythologie. R. Gerson ben Salomo, Vater des berühmten Gersonides, verfaßt gegen Ende des 13., Anfang des 14. Jhdts., seine (Porta coeli): Schaar-ha-Schamajim. Bei der Aufzählung der Pflanzen (ed. Warschau 1875, p. 23^b) erzählt er nun im Namen des Averroes (Ibn Raschd) Folgendes: „Averroes schreibt in seinem Werke über

Himmel und Welt, daß es eine Pflanze gebe, die beim Schalle des Donners entsteht und Donnerkraut heißt. Wenn die Erdrinde nämlich durch den Donnerschall gespalten wird, entsteht dort diese Pflanze und auf keine andere Weise“. Weiteres ist über dieselbe nichts bekannt. Averroes hat nun seinen „Tractatus de coelo et mundo“ um 1170 geschrieben, und bis jetzt hat er sich nur handschriftlich und zwar meist in hebräischer Übersetzung erhalten. s. Wüstenfeld, Gesch. d. arab. Ärzte p. 106.

Eine ältere griechische Quelle habe ich bis jetzt vergeblich gesucht. Der Weg, den der Name eingeschlagen hat, um nach Deutschland zu gelangen, wird derselbe sein, auf welchem der „Alraun“ und noch andere auf Thiere und Pflanzen bezügliche orientalische Sagen gekommen sind.

In demselben Werke ist auch eine andere Thiersage erwähnt, die sogar in den jüdischen Ritualcodex Eingang gefunden hat, die aber, fremden Ursprunges, im Mittelalter sehr weit verbreitet war. Nämlich

XII. Vögel, die auf Bäumen wachsen.

Max Müller hat in den neuen Vorlesungen über die Sprachwissenschaft — ich habe bloß die französische Übersetzung benützen können — *Nouvelles leçons sur la science du langage* Bd. II, Paris 1868 XII^e leçon p. 289—310, diese Sage ausführlich behandelt und den Ursprung derselben in einem Mißverständniß der Volksetymologie nachzuweisen versucht. Ich glaube aber nicht, daß ihm der Versuch vollkommen gelungen ist, denn er ist zu sehr gekünstelt, um anzunehmen, daß der Volksgeist denselben Weg genommen haben kann. Von großem Werthe sind aber die zahlreichen Parallelen aus mittelalterlichen Schriftstellern, unter welchen auch Deutschland reichlich vertreten ist und welche beweisen, welch große Verbreitung diese Sage schon im 12. u. 13. Jhd. gefunden hatte.

Viel früher jedoch hat auch Liebrecht zu Gervasius: *Otia imperialia* p. 52 und p. 163 Anm. 75 dieser Sage Erwähnung gethan und auf einige Parallelen hingewiesen, die zusammen mit Liebrechts Bemerkungen M. Müller unbekannt geblieben sind. In dieser Weise ergänzen sie sich nun gegenseitig; nur weist L. auf den Orient als Heimat hin, was auch wahrscheinlicher ist. Zu diesen zahlreichen Parallelen will ich nun die jüdischen beibringen. Am ausführlichsten ist diese Sage im *Schaar-ha-schamajim*. Abschn. II, c. 3, ed. Warsch. 1875, p. 24ⁿ enthalten; es heißt daselbst: „Leute erzählten, daß an der Küste von

Anglitera ein Baum wächst, der kleine Vögel trägt, die an den Schnäbeln hängen, und sobald sie reif sind in das darunter fließende Wasser hinunterfallen und sich darin bewegen“. Erwähnt wird diese Sage aber schon im Mordechai († 1298), ja noch früher im Semak des Isak aus Korbeil (um 1277) §. 210; dann in den Teschub. Maharil Nr. 144; Mose ben Chisdai aus Tachau um 1230 und sonst noch häufig (s. Steinschneider im Archiv f. Literaturgesch. II, p. 8, Nr. 1); so ist sie denn auch im Schulchan Aruch: Jore Deah c. 84, §. 15 aufgenommen worden; und ebenso vom Salomo Luria († 1573) zu Chullin und Issur wehetur c. 9 gegen Ende. Hier überall sind es Vögel oder specieller noch Gänse, die auf Bäumen wachsen. Einigermassen ließe sich damit die deutsche Sage (Grimm, D. Sag.² II, p. 58, Nr. 413) vergleichen, der zufolge die Deutschen auf den Bäumen gewachsen sein sollen. S. ausführlicher A. de Gubernatis: Mythologie des plantes I, 65—70.

XIII. Gottesurtheil.

Zu den zahlreichen Citaten bei Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer² p. 919—923, die sich auf die alte Form des Gottesurtheils beziehen, die Hand in heißes Wasser stecken und unversehrt wieder herausziehen, ist noch eines aus dem Talmud Tr. Gittin fol. 45^a nachzutragen, das im Talmud selbst aber sehr vereinzelt dasteht. Es wird sich überhaupt sehr schwer ein Beispiel für das Gottesurtheil in der im Mittelalter üblichen Form im Talmud nachweisen lassen, da jeder Versuch, von Gott ein Wunder zu erzwingen, im Talmud streng verpönt ist. Nicht zu leugnen ist aber, daß das Numeri c. 5 v. 11 ff. geschilderte Verfahren gegen die der Untreue bezichtigte Frau ein Gottesurtheil im vollsten Sinne des Wortes ist, das aber mit der Zerstörung des Tempels unmöglich wurde. In der jüdischen mittelalterlichen Literatur ist eine Geschichte einigemal enthalten, wo eine diesem Gottesurtheile unterworfenen Frau ihren Mann zu täuschen sucht, in einer der *Boccà della Verità* und der Parallelen dazu ähnlichen Weise. In meinen „Beiträgen“ werde ich sie ausführlicher behandeln. Hier will ich auf die oben erwähnte Stelle im Talmud zurückkommen, die da lautet: „Die Töchter des R. Nachman rührten die Töpfe mit ihren Händen um“, wozu Raschi zur Stelle bemerkt: „Sie haben mit ihren Händen die heißen Speisen umgerührt, damit Jeder, der es sieht, glaube, daß sie unversehrt bleiben und daß sie fromme Frauen seien“.

XIV. Schatten.

In erschöpfender Weise hat Rochholz, *Deutscher Brauch und Glaube* I, p. 59—130 alle auf den Schatten sich beziehenden Sagen zusammengetragen. Die jüdischen Parallelen will ich im Folgenden ausführlicher behandeln.

Die älteste Stelle ist im Talmud Tr. Horijoth fol. 12^a, Kerithut fol. 5^b f., die da lautet: „Wenn Jemand eine Reise unternehmen will und vorher wissen möchte, ob er heil zurückkommen wird, so soll er sich in eine dunkle Stube stellen und beobachten, ob er den Schatten seines Schattens sieht. im entgegengesetzten Falle wird er nicht wiederkommen“. Diese Stelle wird, obzwar zweimal vorhanden, doch nirgends erklärt. Vergleichen wir aber damit den Ausspruch Tr. Jebamoth fol. 122^a des Jonathan, der nach einer Auffassung selbst ein Geist war, nach der anderen doch zum mindesten mit den Geistern sehr vertraut war, so werden wir auch einiges Licht für diese dunkle Stelle erhalten. Jonathan behauptet nämlich, daß Geister höchstens nur einen Schatten werfen, ihr Schatten aber keinen zweiten mehr zu erzeugen vermag. Das würde also, auf jenen ersten Ausspruch bezogen, so viel besagen, daß der Mensch, wenn er zum Leben bestimmt ist, die Eigenschaft, doppelten Schatten zu werfen, behält, wird er aber sterben, dann hat er schon vor der Reise diese Eigenthümlichkeit mit den Geistern gemein, daß er nur einen Schatten wirft.

Verfolgen wir diese Anschauung in der jüngeren Literatur, so tritt sie uns schon vollkommen ausgebildet im Sohar entgegen, wo sie eine solche Faßung bekommen hat, daß sie unsere Deutung des talmudischen Satzes bestätigt. Im Sohar, ed. Mantua I, fol. 217^b f., wird folgende Geschichte erzählt. Dreißig Tage vor dem Tode eines jeden Menschen wird dieser im Himmel ausgerufen, und von dem Augenblicke an verdunkelt sich der menschliche Schatten, und das Bild, das er auf die Wand wirft, verschwindet. Eines Tages saß R. Isak an der Thür des R. Jehuda und war sehr betrübt. R. Jehuda, der herauskam, sah ihn, wie er so betrübt dasaß und fragte ihn: „was ist denn heute für ein anderer Tag als sonst?“ Jener antwortete: „Ich bin zu dir gekommen, dich um drei Dinge zu bitten: erstens, wenn du etwas tradirst, was du von mir gehört hast, so erwähne es in meinem Namen, damit er nicht vergessen werde; zweitens bitte ich dich, meinen Sohn in der heiligen Lehre zu unterrichten, und drittens, daß du an jedem siebenten Tage auf mein Grab kommst und betest“. R. Isak fragte: „Wie kommst du jetzt darauf?“ Und er sagte: „Jede Nacht verläßt mich meine Seele, und ich erfahre nichts mehr durch Träume wie

früher. Außerdem bemerkte ich, als ich betete, daß mein Schatten, den ich sonst an der Wand sah, verschwunden war; da sagte ich zu mir: mein Schatten ist nun fort und unsichtbar geworden, gewiß ist schon mein Tod im Himmel verkündet worden, denn so lange der Schatten von dem Menschen nicht weicht, bleibt auch die Seele im Körper; verschwindet er aber, so verschwindet auch der Mensch von dieser Welt“. Den weiteren Verlauf dieser Erzählung, die von Kaidanower im Kab hajaschar, c. 19, Frankf. a. M. 1705, fol. 40^r ff. aufgenommen worden, der zufolge R. Isak durch das Gebet des R. Simon ben Jochaj vom Tode errettet wird (erinnert an Grimm, K. M. Nr. 35 und die zahlreichen Parallelen dazu, Bd. III) übergehe ich, da sie unserer Aufgabe hier fern liegt. Dasselbe wird fol. 13^b Levit. c. 4 v. 2 als Erklärung zu Cantic. 4. 7 weitläufig wiederholt. Merkwürdig ist nun, daß sich diese Anschauung fast wörtlich wiederfindet in dem angelsächsischen Dialog zwischen Salomo und Saturn, ed. Kemble, Lond. 1848. s. bei Migne, Dictionn. des Apocryphes II, Paris 1858, Col. 883, wo es heißt: „Dis moi comment on peut prévoir la mort d'un homme? — Je te le dis: il y a deux nuages dans les yeux d'un homme; si tu ne les vois pas, alors l'homme mourra avant que trois jours ne se soient écoulés“. Hier ist der Schatten bloß zum Schatten in den Augen geworden und die dreißig auf drei Tage reducirt. Das Kriterium ist aber dasselbe geblieben.

Von da an erscheint dieser Glaube häufiger. So im Reschit Chokma des Elia da Vidas, der in Palästina lebt, ed. Amsterd. 1605, fol. 37^b und c. 4, fol. 16^a f. Feste Gestalt hat er nur im Sepher Chassidim des R. Jehuda ha-Chassid (um 1200) gewonnen, ed. Bologna 1538, §. 453, fol. 54^b; dort heißt es: „Wer in der Nacht des sechsten Tages des Hüttenfestes, wo nach jüdischem Glauben das Schicksal eines jeden Menschen für das laufende Jahr im Himmel bestimmt wird seinen Schatten verliert, der stirbt im Laufe dieses Jahres“. In dieser Form wird der Glaube, daß der Verlust des Schattens in einer bestimmten Nacht den Tod des betreffenden Menschen vorher verkünde, dann noch öfter wiederholt. So Zijuni zu Numeri, c. 13 ff. Jalkut Reubeni, ed. Amsterd. fol. 10^a. Arke ha-kinnujim fol. 59^c etc. s. auch Zunz, zur Geschichte und Literatur p. 178, Anm. a, der auch eine Parallele aus dem Mittelalter beibringt.

In allen diesen Beispielen erscheint nun das Eine feststehend, daß der Verlust des Schattens zugleich den Verlust der Seele oder der Individualität mit anzeige. Es ist also nur noch ein Schritt zum Peter Schlemiehl des Chamisso, der bei seinem intimen Verkehr in

den Berliner jüdischen Salons diesen unter den Juden so weit verbreiteten Glauben leicht aufnehmen konnte.

Der Glaube, daß der Schatten das Wesen, die Seele des Menschen vertrete, tritt in einer ganz eigenthümlichen Gestalt in dem rumänischen Volksglauben auf, der sich an einen anderen Kreis des Aberglaubens anschließt. Wenn in Rumänien nämlich ein Haus gebaut wird, so heißt es, daß in alter Zeit ein Mensch mit vermauert wurde, der als Hausgespenst (*stafie*) für den festen Bestand des Hauses, mit dem es nun selbst verbunden ist, sorgte. In neuerer Zeit dagegen nehmen die Zigeuner, die gewöhnlich bei dem Baue beschäftigt sind, das Maß eines Menschen oder eines Schattens und vermauern es in das Haus. Der betreffende Mensch muß dann innerhalb 30 Tagen sterben und er wird zum schützenden Hausgespenst, zur *stafie*.

Über lebendig einmauern hat Grimm, D. M.² 1095 f. (vgl. 3⁴. 330) sehr zahlreiche Beispiele angeführt. s. auch Grimm, D. Rechtsalterth. p. 692. Nr. 11 und D. Sagen² Nr. 480. II. S. 154 f.: „Kaiser Otto hält Witwen- und Waisengericht“, wo er dann die Königin fahen und lebendig vergraben läßt. Vgl. außerdem noch Bartsch, Meklenburg. Sagen 1. 283: Eisel, Sagenbuch des Voigtlandes. Gera 1871. Nr. 538: Ein Kind wird eingemauert, damit das Gebäude nicht einstürze, ganz wie der rumän. Volksglaube. Im Zusammenhange damit steht die rumän. Volkssage von dem Baue des Klosters Ardschisch. Hier mauert der Meister Manole sein eigenes Weib ein, damit das Gebäude fest sei. Ganz dieselbe Sage kehrt auch bei Wuk, serbische Volkslieder. deutsch von Talvj I, 117 ff. „Erbauung Scadars“ und bei Tommaseo, *canti popul.* III, 178 wieder. Wolf. D. Hausmärch. Göttingen 1851, p. 243 ff. hat die Variante, daß ein todter Slave eingemauert wird, weil er bei Lebzeiten nicht arbeiten wollte. Hiermit nähern wir uns der altjüdischen Parallele. Exod. rab. a. 5 Pirke de R. Eliezer c. 48; Jalkut I. fol. 53^r, §. 169 gegen Ende und fol. 264^r, §. 826 cf. R. Nathan (ca. 1000) im Aruch s. v. mak II und schließlich J. Heilprin im Seder hadoroth, Karlsruhe 1795 f., 23^r u. 24^r. In allen diesen Parallelen heißt es, daß Paraoh in Ägypten die Israeliten und ihre Kinder an Stelle der fehlenden Ziegel lebendig eingemauert hat. Aus dem Inneren der Mauern stöhnten und klagten sie, bis ihre Stimme erstarb: daher heißt es Exodus c. 2 v. 24: und Gott hörte ihr Gestöhne und errettete sie.

Die ganze Märchenreihe, die sich an Grimm, K. M. Nr. 76 anschließt, wo eine Mutter, der boshafter Weise Thiere an Stelle der geborenen Kinder untergeschoben werden, bis zum Halse lebendig eingemauert wird, wird wohl hierherzuziehen sein. Nicht immer tritt

diese Strafe in gleich harter Weise auf, sondern sie wird nicht selten gemildert, die Grundform ist aber gewiß dieselbe. So Schott, walach. Märch. Nr. 2, p. 90 ff.; Wolf, Hausmärch. p. 168; Schleicher, Litauische M. p. 20; Pentam. Nr. 35; Hahn, gr. und alb. Märch. Nr. 63, Var. I, p. 288 wird die Mutter eingemauert, im Texte aber bloß in einen Hühnerstall gesteckt; ebenso 1001 N. Hab.⁵ Bd. X, p. 3 ff.; Geschichte der beiden neidischen Schwestern u. s. w. In Bezug auf Schattenlosigkeit vgl. noch den russischen Volksglauben, demzufolge der Teufel schattenlos ist.

ENGLISH CHARMS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

In a Ms. (Cod. Gaster, No. 1562), written mostly by a certain Thomas Parker in the years 1693-5 and containing astrological horoscopes and nativities, there are towards the end also a few charms, written by the same hand. The Ms. has evidently passed from the first writer into the hands of others addicted like him to the study of astrology, and they have added between the two original sections a number of other nativities and sundry notes of a mixed character, among which is, for example, Lord Wharton's *Satyr on ye Judge*, 1726, which is the latest date mentioned in the Ms. But that part of it which is written by Parker is the most interesting. It includes a manual of leechcraft, or, better, of "astronomicall elections for physick and chyrurgery depending upon the place and course of the moone." He has compiled also a perpetual calendar for Easter and an "Almanack for 34 yeares," from 1696 to 1731; short chronologies and descriptions of natural phenomena, the number of parish churches in every shire and the number of shires in England and Wales; "Of the cause of severall things" in a poem, and 15 *distiches* on vapour, rain, hail, earthquakes; etc. He knows Latin and Greek, and writes the Greek words in Greek letters. He also gives us the names and the Seals of the seven Archangels, viz. Michael, Gabriel, Samael, Raphael, Sachiël, Anael, Asael, and Gapriel (?) and "five infernal kings":—Sitrael, Malanta, Thamaor, Falaur, and Sitrami; and on the last page but two (f. 157^b) we find the following stanza:—

"Excess of wealth great pourful God,
I do not wish to see;
Extreame of want and poverty
Afflict not Lord on mee.
For since the one exalts too high,
The other brings too low;
A mean therefore for natures need,
Great God on me bestow."

Sufficient has now been said to characterise the writer of this Ms., who must have found the charms in the original from which he took most of the materials of his book.

I am reproducing them here exactly as they are in the Ms.

from fol. 143^b–145^b, preserving the spelling and imitating the mystical signs as found in the original, but prefixing numerals to facilitate reference. They are love charms &c., one against thieves, and two amulets with celestial Seals, or those of the spirits who were to protect the wearer of the amulets. They resemble the metal amulets of the time of Charles II., when mystical literature flourished extensively in England.


Bound up with this Ms., which is in my possession, is part of Coley's Almanack for the year 1691 with "The first Rudiments of Astrology in Memorial Verses."

These are the charms:—

(1) How to make a woman follow thee.


Write your name and the name of the maide in anny leafe with the Blood of a white henn and touch her with it and shee will follow thee.

(2) Another way.

Take the Blood of a bat and write in thy hand with it
g:h:b:m:  2:b:d: And thou touch her therewith.

(3) Write In an apple these three names

Aatnell: Loliell: Clotiell:

And after say I Conjure thee apple by these three names that
what woman so ever eats of thee shee may soe Remaine In
my Love that she take no rest 

Donec uoluntatem mea afervile.

(4) How for to know a womans Councill.

Take virgine wax and write thereon these words+lacus+
stratus+Dromedus+Frigius. And when shee sleppeth put it
betweene her breasts and shee will shew thee all her meaneing



(5) Write these words in uirgins wax and aske what thou wilt of anny one and it shalbee giuen thee

:B: B: ϕ: f: a: f: 2 #

(6) Uerum: Iff it bee put into watter all the fish will com to it: Iff a man Bear yt about him hee shall not bee hurt of hys Enemy: Iff anny thing bee stolen let him that is suspected bee touched with it and Iff hee bee guilty he will say hould I haue it.

It must bee gatherd in may may (*sic*) on munday befor the feast of holly Cross.

(7) The holly ghost Bless us now and ever mor amen.

I Bequeath thys place all about and all my goods within and without to the Blessed trinity that one god and three persons to all Christs Apostles to all Angells Archangells Chirubims and Seraphimes: I Bequeath this place all about and my goods to Jesus Christ and to saint John the Euangelist that was that true deciple that noe theeues away take But keepe holy for our Blessed Ladyes St: maryes Sake that not from hence no theeues feet goe but keepe them hear still O Blessed trinity through the uertue of thy godhead that Created heaven and earth And all things Contained therin: and By the uertue of hys powerfull passion that hee suffered in his manhood for our Redeeption: and by his holly name Jesus and by all the holly names of god that are to be spoken and that are not to be spoken: and by the name that is aboue all names wherwith god Created all things: And by the uertue of his Body in forme of bread: And by uertue of euery mass that hath beene saide both more and less: And by the uertuouse worlds stones and grass: By all the names aboue rehersed: I charg youe euery one and the four Euangelists Mathew: mark: Luke: and John: By all the mightye powers of god by the gloryouse Ascention of our Lord Jesus Christ By all the names and miracles of the apostles martyrs

Confessours uirgins I Charge youe for to keepe him or them
hear still: I Charge youe seaven plannets

♄: ♀: ♄: ☉: ☽: ♀: ☾

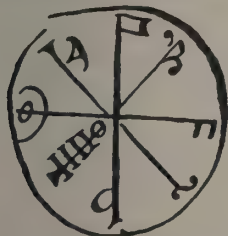
I Charg the the twelfe Signes:

♈: ♉: ♊: ♋: ♌: ♍: ♎: ♏: ♐: ♑: ♒: ♓:

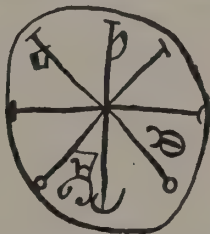
♊: ♋: ♌

I Charg you all hear to keepe (him) or them still By the
miracles of god and of hys apostles and of all holly martyres:
by the uirginitie of our blessed Lady and uirginities of all other
uirgins that they pass no foot untill they haue told euery stone
in the way and euery watter drop that drops in the sea. I pray
youe all that It bee soe and that you binde them hear asdid
St. Barthallamew the deuill with an haire of hys beard theeues.
theeues. theeues.

Stand by the uertue of the blessed trinity and by all the uertues
before Rehersed: And by the uertue of the passion of Christ
by his death and buryall and his upriseinge and Ascention and
by his Comming at the dreadfull day of Judgement to Judge
both the Quicke and the dead allso I bind youe by the dread-
full name of god tetra gramation untill to morrow that I Com
to speake with him or them hear or ther untill I Liscence them
to goe their way: I Charg youe all aforesaid that it bee soe by
the uertue of the Blessed trinity the Lord of might: Amen.



(8) Whoso hath this figure
about him let him fear no foe
but fear God.



(9) Whoso hath this about
him all spirits shall do him
homage.

RUMANIAN POPULAR LEGENDS OF THE LADY MARY.

THE Lives of Saints with their innumerable legends and miracles form an inexhaustible source for the student of folk-lore. Scarcely a dip has been taken into this ocean, which is not limited to the Saints and Holy men of the Christian Churches alone, but extends far into India and China and covers also a large field of Jewish and Arabic hagiology. Everywhere men have been singled out for their exceptional character, their fortitude in trial, their piety and meekness, their striving after higher things and the sacrifices which they had brought to achieve their ideal purposes. Simple biography has never satisfied the popular mind ; such exceptional men or women must also be distinguished by unequalled exertions and must have achieved results far transcending those of any other mortal. The miraculous and the wonderful have been a regular accompaniment to their achievements, and it is here that popular imagination has unfailingly set in in its desire to extol the character and the virtues of the men and women so venerated. Nobody else could do what they did, for no one else was endowed with those supernatural powers which were their own.

If folk-lore means, in the long run, to become the study of ethno-psychology, it is here that the lever must be put in, for nowhere can we discern with such clarity the action and re-action of the popular mind. We see how a myth is slowly evolved, how a simple fact is transformed into an

extraordinary occurrence, and how from small beginnings a whole literature grows up. Upon a slender base a huge building is erected; true, it may consist only of the gossamer of the mind, but that is just the charm and interest of folk-lore. There is also the other aspect. Such legends, thus developed, are written down: they become part of the literature of the believers, who are made acquainted with it year in, year out, on special important occasions; the life of the saint is recited by the ordained priest to a devout assembly, to whom these words are part of the sacred tradition and must therefore of necessity have a deep influence. The problem which arises is, what kind of influence is it which these legends and wonderful tales exercise upon the popular mind, and how does the latter react upon the former? Is, thereby, a new oral literature created which blends the old with the new, differing from the former and yet agreeing with it, by assimilating one portion from one set and another from another set of written or oral traditions, and thus producing a new legend or a new tale? Of no less importance is the fact that the people recognise and did recognise in olden times their old gods in the new saints. It was often a mere change of name and nothing else, and that which was already the property of the people, referring to one or another of the pagan gods, was bodily transferred to the new saint. Which of these is old and which of these is new, and where did the old traditions come from, which have now been assimilated in the new Christian doctrine? These are eminently problems for the student of folk-lore, but hitherto to my knowledge, comparatively little use has been made of that immense store which is found in the *Lives of Saints*. It is not an easy matter to dive into the immense collection of the Bollandists whose work after a century is still far from being completed, but it is sufficient to read the smaller collection of Metaphrast, or those embodied in the *Golden Legend of Jacobus a Voragine*, to realise the later form which

the *Lives of the Saints* assume in the course of time. We will find in all these many a detail which we recognise in the fairy tales, and even in some of the ballads we can see traces of ancient legends connected with one saint or another and vice versa. Many of the incidents told in the *Jatakas* are found in various lives of saints, such as the story of Eustachius Placida, his wonderful adventures and his family tragedy. This latter has been shown by me to be identical with another set of legends, known as the story of Faustus and Faustina in the *Clementine Homilies*, and these latter again to be closely connected with a whole cycle of Buddhist tales known as the *Jatakas of Buddha*.¹ The same holds good of the story of St. Alexis,² the Man of God, and one has only to open the books on the history of the literature of the Middle Ages to realise the immense popularity which these very tales enjoyed. If we, then, find parallels in secular literature, the question remains, which is the older and which one has been developed from the former? As already remarked, much of our fairy tale material could easily be matched with similar incidents in the *Lives of the Saints*. One has only to remember the stories of St. George and the Dragon, and those of Cosmus and Damianos, the counterpart of the Dioscuri, the one being Christian, the other Greek. And likewise one could go through a very long list of parallel stories found among the living folk-lore in the mouths of the people and those that have been reduced to writing at one time or another. It seems that literary movements spread like the waves of an ocean, one wave after another covering the whole of the surface. The same kind of literature passes from nation to nation and a kind of uniformity is established in the mental attitude of the masses; they all read, let me say, legends and tales of Biblical origin, connected with the

¹ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1894, p. 335 ff.

² *Revista pentru Istoria filologie si archeologie*, ed. Tocilescu, Buanezti, 1894, pp. 335-352.

history of the saints. Another wave succeeds like that of epic poetry ; the great romances of a purely secular character take the field, the religious element is not entirely barred, but its influence has practically disappeared. It is not here the place to discuss the origin of these epic romances which start from the time of the Crusades, but they seem to have received their first impetus from the east ; one has only to remember the Persian *Shahnameh* of Firdusi, or the Arabic epic romance of *Antar*, or the later Byzantine epic of *Digenis Akritas*, probably also of eastern origin, to see that such epic poems flourished in the East long before their appearance in the West. This does not mean that short poems in honour of gods and heroes may not have existed in the northern countries of Europe ; but I am speaking of those great cycles of romances which took possession of the fancy of the inhabitants of Europe and flourished for some centuries. A third wave, also starting from the East, is that of the Apologues and short stories, which took the place of the epic romance and became the most popular literature, almost submerging, as it were, everything that had preceded it. The *Decameron* of Boccaccio alone is the most eloquent expression of this new literary wave. Thus a multitude of impressions has been carried to and fro, from land to land, and from nation to nation, always strong enough to leave traces and occasionally even to mould the popular imagination. By a careful investigation, one may thus perhaps be able to establish a kind of chronology of the mental development of the nations, and so group them according to the possession or absence of any of these three phases of literary evolution ; and by measuring the influence which one or the other or all of them have been able to exercise upon that mental and poetic evolution, we may also be able to ascertain more easily the elements which have contributed to enrich the popular imagination.

In Rumania we are, so far, still under the influence of the

first phase with a slight addition of the third ; curiously enough, no traces of epic literature in the full sense of the word have yet been discovered. There are, however, a few ballads and a large amount of magic literature which greatly counterbalance the absence of the epic and are of far higher importance to the student of folk-lore, since all these carry us back to a higher antiquity than we are able to trace in the literature of the west.

But myth-making has never spared any personality ; it did not stop at saints and holy men, hermits lost in the desert of contemplation, or women of the world who had renounced everything and put on the robe of begging women. Even the highest became the object of myth and legend. Buddha and Muhammad have become the centres, and in the Christian Church the literature which has gathered round the founder, his mother and the other members of the family, goes back almost to the very beginnings of Christianity.

But the legends here considered do not, in the slightest degree, touch the canonical writings. They belong to that vast literature known as apocryphal, whose authenticity and validity, from a dogmatic point of view, has been systematically rejected by the ruling Church. They belong to the popular literature which has grown up round the canonical writings, and form in themselves a not unimportant element in the study of popular psychology. One of the driving forces is religious fervour, or rather poetical conception which draws its strength and inspiration from deep seated faith. It is the same imaginative power which, if brought to bear upon popular matter, contributes largely to the production of legendary lore. If the hero be a king or a knight or some other man in the general walk of life, not in any way connected with religious problems, the same popular imagery clusters round him, and legends are created which run parallel to the religious legends ; nay in not a few cases, traits are borrowed from

one with which the other is invested. I take merely as one example, the famous history of Alexander the Great. It is curious to observe how round a small historic core there has grown up a vast literature, an almost endless sea which is not easy to traverse, the shores of which are receding farther and farther and into which so many rivers have flown, mingling their waters, raising the level and overflowing the banks. The very same process has taken place, and to a far greater extent, round the religious heroes, the personalities either of Biblical tradition or as already remarked, of other traditions farther east among the pagan world.

Limiting myself to the stories before us, the simple Gospel narrative was only the starting point, out of which there has grown the immense literature that represents the activity of the popular mind and popular imagery. For, in addition to the Gospels accepted by the Church, a large number of spurious Gospels have been written full of wonderful stories, legends and tales, dealing with all the incidents in the life of Jesus from before his birth until after the resurrection. True, the Church rejected them as spurious, but in spite of its anathema they remained the most widely read books throughout the Ages.

The very popular character of the apocryphal literature made it from the beginning a welcome and successful vehicle for religious propaganda, especially when it differed from the authoritative teaching of the ruling Church. Most of the ancient sects made ample use of this literature to convey their teaching among the masses in a subtle yet popular form. It was an astute way of propaganda and it proved most efficacious; hence the rigorous persecution of such schismatic literature on the one hand and the very tenacious propagation of it on the other. There is now a peculiar phenomenon to which sufficient attention does not seem to have been drawn. I am referring to the curious fact that this very apocryphal literature was

the first to be introduced to the whole of Christendom. Whilst the canonical literature remained, to a large extent, the property of the clergy, the apocryphal literature, especially that which dealt with the principal personages of the New Testament, found favour among the masses and was eagerly taken up and translated into the vernacular ; hence also its greater popularity and the decisive influence which it exercised upon the imagination, art and poetry of the Middle Ages. Paintings, sculpture, and poetry all owe part of their inspiration to these tales. Who can fathom the influence upon the popular imagination exercised by the Apocalypses describing the journey through Hell? One has only to mention the *Divina Commedia* of Dante and St. Patrick's *Purgatory* on the one hand and the *Grail Story* on the other, all of which are more or less directly connected with apocalyptic literature. It was an easy matter to reconstruct an apocryphal life of Jesus out of that immense mass of spurious stories which had gathered round his name. Hoffmann (*Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen*, Leipzig, 1851) and recently Bauer (*Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, Tübingen, 1909), as well as Pick in America, have been able to compile elaborate works from this apocryphal material, but none of these have, so far as I can see, ever raised the question as it presents itself to us from the purely folk-lore point of view. I have, therefore, selected for the present investigation a certain number of popular legends and tales, both written and oral, connected with the life and activity of Mary. The few incidents mentioned in the New Testament are in every case the starting point, but for many of the stories themselves it would be very difficult to find any trace in the canonical writings. Dähnhardt, in the second volume of his *Natursagen*, has collected a number of tales and legends referring to Mary, to Jesus and to the Apostles, but he also has not endeavoured to establish any connection between the various traditions, their

possible filiation and the influence which the one has exercised upon the other. Here I shall limit myself exclusively to the material offered by the Rumanian literature. Were I to venture outside this self-imposed limitation, I might perhaps know the place of departure, but I doubt whether I would know to what shore the frail canoe might be driven by the currents of myths and legends.

The very kernel of the problem is to ascertain, if possible, in the first place the sources of this new development, and then to follow up the history of these apocryphal tales in the mouths of the people. It is intended to show that there was no gap between the written and the oral, and that this constant education of the masses by virtue of the written literature has been going on apace for centuries. The people did not remain impervious to the teaching thus conveyed to them, but in their turn they spun the thread further and developed these legends and tales in their own way, so that a process of constant assimilation between the one and the other was going on, since greater freedom was allowed to the people in dealing with apocryphal literature. Sometimes the Church itself did not disdain to make use of that apocryphal literature by giving it canonical sanction, as in the lives of spurious saints, like Barlaam and Josaphat and others of a similar doubtful origin.

It comes ultimately to this, that the fairy tale and the legend of a saint may only be the twin aspects of one and the same story, differing in the setting but not in the motives; even the difference of appealing to faith disappears, for the people believe in both. The one may, perhaps, be believed in slightly more than the other, but anyone who knows these popular tales and the attitude of the popular mind towards them will sometimes fail to recognise that difference; they are both treated with the same familiarity, and no more respect is shown to the one than to the other. Take for example, the very legends

concerning Mary. There are some among them in which the Virgin is shown as a bad-tempered, evil-tongued, nasty woman and she is treated with less respect than that shown to the heroine of a fairy tale. On the other hand, she is looked upon as the only help in need and the only power capable of protection in conjurations and charms. Of course, we have here the same admixture of various elements which is so characteristic of all works of a popular nature. The mind of the people is often contradictory and nothing would be more contrary to fact than to expect system and logic in popular tales, except of a very primitive character. This will be seen from a few examples I will adduce from the extra-canonical writings and its later developments as popular literature.

It must be understood that I neither undertake to investigate here the origin of the apocryphal books of the New Testament themselves, nor even to deal with more than a few of the legends which have clustered round the name of Mary. It is only by way of a few examples that I am endeavouring to show the relation between what is known as the written literature or *Book-lore* as I would call it, and the way in which these traditions and tales have been received and assimilated by the people, *Folk-lore*, the influence which they have exercised upon the popular imagination, and the way in which Biblical legends have become amulets or charms. The peculiar use to which some of these have been put is very significant and opens up a way of research into the history and origin of charms and conjurations with which I have dealt on another occasion and which forms the subject of a more complete work in preparation for publication.

We begin with the story of Joachim and Anna, and we take as our starting point one of the old Apocrypha, which none the less may claim to have a canonical character inasmuch as it is found in the official *Mineiu*, or rather the *Lives of Saints*, published in Rumanian in 1809 in Neamtz

and reprinted with slight modifications in Bucharest in 1827. The feast of Joachim and Anna is kept by the Orthodox Church on the 9th September, and the history of these two saints is found contained in the volume dedicated to the saints of that month. It runs briefly as follows :

Joachim and Anna were very good and pious people ; they used to go up to the Temple and bring their offerings every year. They lived to a very old age but were childless. During the later years they noticed that the priest used to take the gift which they had brought from off the table and put it underneath. One day Joachim asked the priest why he did so and was told that God would not accept any offerings from them because they were childless ; therefore, he took their gift from the table and put it underneath. Very grieved and troubled at this news, Joachim went home and told his wife what had happened, but added that they had been advised to offer up prayers constantly to God that perchance he might hearken to them. One day, Anna went into the garden and sat under a tree, when she noticed a nest in the branches with young birds in it. This increased her anguish still more and she wept very bitterly, when the angel Gabriel appeared and told her that a child would be granted to her who would fill the world with glory and renown. Her name was to be Maria. When Anna heard these news, she ran home and told Joachim of the vision which she had seen. The angel then appeared to Joachim as well and repeated the message. A year later a child was born, and when she was three years old they took Maria to the Temple and left her in the charge of the High Priest. A special cot was prepared for her and there she lived until she was fourteen years old.

Thus far more or less, the story in the official *Lives of Saints*. The Rumanian text goes back, probably to an old Slavonic "Prolog," which, in its turn, rests upon a Greek prototype. It must, however, have undergone some

changes at the hands of the various translators and copyists. The popular element begins to be introduced into each succeeding copy, since the copyist often considered himself free to deal with the text as he wished, to change, alter or amplify as suited his taste or as influenced by his knowledge.

Now this story has also entered into the popular lore of the people, and not a few variations have been collected from different parts of Rumania by the late S. Fl. Marian, from whose work, *Legendele Maicii Domnului* (Bucharest 1904) much of my legendary material is taken.

One of the popular forms:

Once upon a time there lived a couple called Joachim and Anna. They were good and pious people and very regular in their attendance at the church. Long before the verger reached the church in the morning, they were already there with their offering. They had been married for thirty-two years but had no children; the verger knew of this and one day he told the priest about them, but the priest said to Joachim and Anna that it was useless for them to bring any further gifts, as God would not accept them since they were barren. When Joachim and Anna heard these words they grew very angry and decided to separate from one another. So they left the house and journeyed some way together until they reached a forest. They entered this forest and went along until they came to a bridge where the road separated, one going to the right and the other going to the left. Here they halted and arranged that each one should take a different road and that they should meet again at the bridge a year hence. Joachim went his way which led him to some mountains. He climbed these and tarried there crying, weeping, and praying to God. His wife took the opposite road and, plunging deeper into the forest, came to a hut. This she found deserted, so she took up her abode in it and lived there. She wandered about in the forest every day and taking a book with her, went about reading the book and praying. One day, as

she was praying, she suddenly saw a leaf of a pear tree, dropping down gently from the sky and falling upon the open pages of the book. There was no pear tree anywhere near and the leaf was very beautiful. She wondered greatly at it and picked it up and smelled it (or according to another variation here given, kissed it both sides and put it in her bosom). No sooner had she done so, than she felt a change taking place, and soon she realised that God had heard her prayer and that a child had been granted to her. In her joy she would have run back to the appointed meeting-place, but she remained faithful to the promise not to be there before the year was over. When that time approached, she hurried to the bridge and found Joachim waiting for her impatiently. She told him what had happened but he was incredulous and said he wanted to see that leaf. She had left it (according to one of the variants) on the stump of the tree where she had been sitting when reading her prayers. Joachim went there and to his surprise he found the leaf still lying there. Now his joy was intense and they returned home together. They then vowed that the child, be it male or female, should be devoted to the church. In good time a girl was born whom they called Maria; their joy was so great that even if they could have touched the foot of God, it could not have been greater. When the girl was three years old, they fulfilled their vow and brought her to the Church, there to live forever.

The original story is in itself of a purely apocryphal character; there is no trace of it in the canonical writings and it owes its origin to the pious fancy of those who, in olden times already were anxious to discover something of the parentage of Mary.¹ As prototypes served them the story of Hannah, the mother of Samuel, who was also barren, who prayed to God and then vowed to give the

¹ Hoffmann, l.c., pp. 1-32, and the whole Patristic and mediaeval literature.

child to His service, and also to some extent to the story of the birth of Samson. But these Biblical reminiscences have been practically ignored in the story which has been invented concerning Joachim and Anna. In the Rumanian popular version, every Biblical reminiscence has disappeared and the whole religious character of the narrative had been entirely forgotten. If by comparison we had not discovered it to be a further development of the old story, nobody could have guessed but that we have here a simple popular tale, full of those incidents which are so characteristic of fairy tales. Let us take the incidents one by one.

There is an old couple married for many years and anxious to have a child, so they pray to God intently that he may grant them one. This is the beginning of a large number of fairy tales and it is quite unnecessary to quote them here; it is a typical formula. As a rule it is a king and queen who are childless and who are anxious to consult all the soothsayers and magicians whom they try to propitiate with rich gifts, etc., but all advice proves fruitless. Their wish, however, is afterwards fulfilled in an unexpected manner. In the fairy tales the non-fulfilment perhaps causes them to lose a kingdom, and in the case of Joachim and Anna they have been practically cast out from the community. We are then told that they decide to separate and that they proceed together on the road until, after going through the forest, they come to a place from which they separate, each one taking a different route, but at the same time deciding to meet again at that very spot a year hence. As it stands, it is certainly a very curious way of obtaining children. Here we have the interesting motive which occurs in many romances and also in many tales. The knight, the venturous prince or the man who is in search of some lost good, always plunge into the forest; two or three brothers who go on an adventurous quest separate at a certain spot, each one taking his own route, but all

determined to meet, as a rule, a year hence on the very same spot where they had separated. They would then discover who was still alive or by some token would learn the fate which had overtaken one or more. It is an exact parallel to the story of Joachim and Anna; they do not really separate but they both go out, as it were, on an adventurous quest, hoping thereby to obtain the object of their desires, and deciding to meet a year hence to find out whether the one or the other has been successful. The woman, then, comes to a solitary hut which had been inhabited by a hermit; in more than one fairy tale, the hero comes across the hermit, of whom he asks the way to the fairy queen or to some other place and is directed in such wise that he succeeds in his adventure. Here it is not quite clear whether or not the hermit had left the hut; very likely the story has assumed this form to preserve the miraculous character of the later adventure, for here it happens that she does obtain the wish of her heart by a wonderful leaf, which comes from nowhere, floating down from above and falling upon her book. She smells or kisses it and puts it in her bosom and the long expected wish is fulfilled. The child will be born. This is in complete agreement with a large cycle of fairy tales, in which the smell of a flower has the same miraculous result. It is specially used in Rumanian fairy tales from every part of Rumania, and often like here, in connection with an old pair who are childless.¹

After this unexpected fulfilment of the wish has taken place, the woman returns to the appointed place of meeting to find the husband waiting for her there; he has not achieved anything towards the fulfilment of his quest, he has not come across either a flower, an animal or a bird, which, according to some other fairy tales, he is expected to rear in lieu of a child under whatever shape it may

¹ Seneanu, *Basmele Române*, Bucharest 1895. Numerous parallels—pp. 250, 371, 585, 612, 658, 878.

appear as, for example, a little snake, a frog or a little sucking pig; these afterwards turn out to be the princes or princesses lying under a curse, from which they have been freed or will be freed. The final touch of the story is that the child which is to be born is dedicated to the service of the Temple or the Church from which the parents had been turned away. This dedication of the unborn child to the power which has directly or indirectly caused its miraculous birth is also a commonplace in fairy tales. In many cases it is a demon to whom the unborn child is promised as the result of the fulfilment of the wish which has been brought about by his help. Here, of course, it has retained the religious character befitting the occasion.

Taking it as a whole, we have in this legend a slightly disguised fairy tale. As for the last trait, no doubt the Biblical reminiscences mentioned before originally helped to shape it; nothing more appropriate than to identify this Anna with the Hannah of the Bible, praying for a child and devoting it to the service of the Temple; or again, the appearance of the angel to the mother of Samson with the same result. This may have been in the mind of the original writer of the apocryphal story, but it has evaporated under the influence of the popular mind, which turned it into the better known fairy tale and re-translated it into its present form, or perhaps recognised in it, under the changed form, the original fairy tale. This is precisely the problem to which attention is to be directed, and should be the subject of further investigation on the part of the student of folk-lore.

I pass now to the story of the Nativity. The version of the Gospels is sufficiently well known to require more than mere reference here. The version in Luke, ch. 2, has been the starting point of the apocryphal literature which has gathered round that incident.¹ There it is told that, owing to a decree of Caesar Augustus, all the people had

¹Hoffmann, *l.c.* 97-116.

to enrol themselves in the census at the place of their birth, and that Joseph and Mary, who was great with child, came to Bethlehem, and unable to find shelter at an inn, went to another place which, according to different readings of the original text, is described as a manger or a stable. There the child was born and placed in the manger. Out of this brief account many histories have grown, and Rumanian popular fancy has also seized upon this event. It connects it with the name of the supposed owner of the stables, and tells what befell Mary in that place.

The people could not understand the Rumanian name for Christmas, which is called Crăciun, a word of Slavonic origin. It is of a very obscure etymology and has not hitherto been sufficiently explained from the purely Slavonic language. To the Rumanian it had no meaning whatsoever, and as he is accustomed to connect every incident with the name of a person,—abstract notions have no value for the popular mind—Crăciun, the name of the feast, became the name of a person. He is no one else than the owner of the stables. The people went further and invented also a wife for the Crăciun; her name was Crăciuneasă, and the story runs as follows:

This Crăciun had a beautiful house at the very end of the town of Bethlehem. On the day when Joseph and Mary came there, the rain poured down in torrents. Crăciun was absent, so they went to the house where they met the wife and asked her to be allowed to come in and take shelter from the rain. But Crăciun was a very wild man, wicked and cruel and also a great drunkard. The wife was frightened at taking them in, so they asked to be allowed only to stop under the veranda in front of the house. But the woman said, "You had better go to the stables and find shelter there." When they reached the stables, they found oxen and horses. Maria was seized with pains and she went and beseeched the woman to come and help, for Crăciuneasă had been a midwife. Her

husband, however, had forbidden her to act any more as a midwife under the threat of heavy penalty. When she saw, however, the state in which Mary was, she took pity on her and went to the stables, and when the child was born she put it in the manger. She put hay underneath the baby and covered it with hay.

The oxen just picked a little of the hay from the manger and then lay down to chew the cud, but Mary asked them not to make a noise as she was in pain, and also asked them to breathe gently over her and the baby to keep them both warm. The oxen obeyed. They kept very still and breathed very gently over them and helped to keep them warm. So she blessed the oxen and said, "May you always feel satisfied with your food, and always be content." And so it has remained. The horses, however, would not listen to her entreaties but went on stamping the ground with their hoofs and neighing all the time; nay, even worse; not satisfied with their own portion of the hay, they went and pulled it from over and under the baby. Then Mary cursed them and said, "Restless as you, restless shall you remain. And not satisfied with what is your own, food shall never satisfy you, except on one day in the year and then only for one hour on the Day of Ispas (Ascension)." And so it has remained. Meanwhile, Crăciun, who had made merry at the public house, came home half-drunk, and finding his wife cleansing herself, asked her what she had done and where she had been. The good woman told him that she had helped a poor wanderer who was even now lying ill in the stables. When Crăciun heard that she had disobeyed his orders, he became so angry that he took an axe and, pulling his wife to the threshold, put her hands on the threshold and chopped them off. Then he went to bed, drunk as he was. The poor woman, frantic with pain, ran to the stables and showed her stumps to Mary. When the latter saw them, she said to the woman, "Try and pick up your hands with

your stumps and come hither." Crăciuneasă did so and when she came with the two hands under her arms, she was told to touch the swaddling clothes of the baby with her stumps, and lo, the two hands grew on them at once; nay, they had become changed and were as if they had been made of gold. Full of joy the woman returned to her house. In the morning Crăciun awoke and seeing a pool of blood in the room, he asked his wife what had happened, for he had clean forgotten what he had done. She reminded him of his wicked deed the night before and showed him the beautiful hands which she had got instead. When the man heard and saw, he was greatly frightened, and running to the stables, he bent his knees in worship and begged of forgiveness. It was granted to him.

The journey to Bethlehem and what happened there has also become the object of a number of Christmas Carols. One of them will suffice here :

The Emperor decreed
That people should go to their
 homes,
And Joseph and Mary
Started on their journey,
Up hill and down dale,
Through forests and gardens,
And the Virgin Mary walked
Along beaten tracks and fields
 bedewed.
The pains of labour seized
 her,
And she espied a tree
Growing on the high road.
Thither she went,
There she laid herself down
To rest from pain,
But she found no rest.
It was a tall poplar tree,
Its branches were swaying,

The leaves were rustling
And she found no rest.
So she started up
And cursed the tree
And said :—
 " Cursed shalt thou be,
Never quiet, never resting,
Always shaking, always tremb-
 ling, and the leaves rust-
 ling to and fro, whether
 beaten by the wind,
Or in weather that is calm."
And again she walked on
Through fields bedewed,
 through beaten tracks,
And she came and she reached
The fold of the sheep,
Where the shepherds gathered.
There she laid herself down,
Down to peace and rest,

Overcome with pain from
labour.

But the sheep were not quiet,
They bleated and moved,
And the little lambs skipped ;
And again she rose up,
Tired and weary,
Angry and cross,
And cursed the sheep,
And said :—

“ Ye shall have no peace,
And when torn by wild beasts,
You shall not be able to cry ;
You shall not keep your wool,
It shall be shorn off, your back
Year by year,
And your little lambs shall die
Under your breast.”

And so she rose up
And came to Bethlehem.

She knocked at the door of the
rich,

She knocked at the door of
the poor,

She begged and she entreated
To let her find rest,
Rest from her pain,
Peace from her labour.

But no one would receive her,
No one would take her in,
So she went to Crăciun,
To the palace of Crăciun,
And knocked at his door.
She begged and entreated
To grant her a little place,
A place behind the oven.

But he refused and said :—

“ The waits are coming ;

The boys with their carols ;
They will make a noise,
And you cannot find rest.
So go to the stables,
Where the horses feed,
And find rest there.”

Thither she went,
And there she found no rest.
The horses were clanking the
chains,

They were kicking with their
hoofs,

The mares whipped her with
their tails,

And the foals stamped on the
ground,

And all of them neighed.

So she cursed them,

And said :—

“ Cursed shall ye be
Never to find rest,
Rest or peace.

Ye shall feed and never be
satisfied,

And always be kept on chains.

And only once a year,

A day of that year, an hour of
the day,

On the day of Ispas (Ascension)
Shall you feel satisfied.”

So she fled away,

Overcome by pain,

And again she asked Crăciun

To grant her a little place,

A place behind the oven.

But he replied and said :—

“ Go to the stall of oxen,
Where the oxen lie.”

Thither she went,
 And the manger full of hay,
 Fresh green hay.
 She laid herself down
 To rest from her pain,
 To find peace from her labour.
 And the oxen, kindly looking
 on,
 Breathed warmly over her,
 And just nibbled the hay,
 And lay down to chew.
 She bade them be still,
 And quiet they remained.
 And she blessed them and
 said :—
 “ Blessed shall ye be

Of all men.
 Ye shall always be satisfied,
 And men shall take kindly to
 you.
 When the ploughman breaks
 his fast,
 Ye shall feed with him,
 And when he takes his meal
 at noontide,
 His meal and rest from his
 labour,
 Ye shall also lie down
 And rest in peace and quiet.
 And when you walk along,
 Your tread shall be soft.”
 And so it has remained.

Thus far this carol, which contains all the incidents found scattered in one or the other, and all agreeing in ascribing to Mary that attitude towards the animals and plants which reaches back to more ancient times and to the older pagan mythology. This substitution of new figures for old, of saints for heathen gods, is a characteristic feature, but the question always remains how far the old has been retained and how far the people's mind, influenced by later elements, has preserved the old foundation for the new structure. Is it merely a change of name? If so, it is of special interest for the study of Folk-lore, in contradistinction to the study of Book-lore.

Most important, however, is the episode of the cut-off hands, which are joined again through Mary's intervention in a miraculous manner. This forms the central incident in a series of romances, legends and tales which can be traced back to the eleventh or twelfth century; in some of them Mary causes these hands to be joined again to the stumps of a virtuous and innocent girl. The immense literature which has grown up round this incident has been carefully collected by Bolte and Polivka in their *Annota-*

tions to Grimm, No. 31 (Vol. I, pp. 295-311).¹ They mention also the Greek version in the collection of Agapios of the *Miracles de Notre Dame*. This collection has been translated into Rumanian as well and has been widely read, as is shown by the numerous MSS. and prints.² But all the other details differ considerably from this Christmas Carol, which so far must be considered independently of that cycle of miracles.

In the Rumanian version of the Nativity, the ass, so conspicuous in the pictures of the Middle Ages which have drawn their inspiration from the apocryphal writings, has been replaced by the horse and in the blessings and curses of these two animals, we are carried at once into a mythological atmosphere. This belongs to the cycle of the relation between the gods and the animals. It is part of the conception that the origin of the peculiar characteristics of the animals is the result either of a blessing or a curse from the Divine power, with which that animal has been brought into either friendly or unfriendly contact. It is either a reward for kindness or punishment for unkindness. In an inverse form, we find stories of grateful animals, even trees and fountains, rewarding the kindness of the heroes, who in times of stress or trouble have come to their rescue or have shown sympathy with them. I shall have to refer a little later to the relation between Mary and other animals, all of which partake of the same character. There is no doubt that we have here a substitution of Mary for a more ancient divinity. No better example of this substitution of Mary for the old goddesses can be found than in the story of the Spider, of which Marian has published many variants (p. 98 ff). I will now give one of the most characteristic :—

¹ Seneanu mentions Rumanian parallels, l.c. p. 691. A Macedonian parallel in Papahagi, P. Basme Aromane, Bucharest, 1905, p. 191, No. 168.

² See my *Literatura Populara Romana*, Bucharest 1883, pp. 430 ff.

Mary used to spin, weave and sew all the linen required for herself and her baby, and no one could spin such a fine linen as she did. One day she was sitting in her room, looking out of the window and spinning her thread, when the swallows came and looked on with friendly eyes. She was so much touched that she blessed the swallows, and it is, therefore, considered a great sin to kill a swallow. It became very hot, so she went out and sat down under a tree and in the shade of it started working again, turning her spindle very quickly and spinning a very fine thread. A spider happened to be sitting in one of the branches of the tree. When it saw her spinning it said to her :—

“ I have heard that you can spin a very fine thread, but I am disappointed. That thread of yours is very coarse.”
 “ What,” said Mary, “ can anyone spin a finer thread ? ”
 “ O, yes,” replied the spider proudly, “ I can. If you don’t believe, let us try.” Greatly annoyed at his speech, she said, “ Very well, let us try.” And she started spinning a finer thread, but that of the spider was still thinner and he mocked at her. Again she tried and still the thread spun by the spider was much finer ; it was so fine, indeed, that it could scarcely be seen. Greatly annoyed at having been beaten by the spider, she cursed it and said, “ Thou shalt now henceforth do nothing but spinning and making webs, and thou shalt feed only on those fools and simpletons who will get into your mesh, and whoever kills a spider with the back of his hand, seven sins shall be forgiven him.” And so it has remained to this very day, for whosoever kills the spider with the back of his hand, has seven sins forgiven him.¹

Another version says she used to make the shirts seamless, weaving them all out of one piece, and many popular beliefs connect weaving and spinning with Mary, who

¹Two differing parallels are quoted by Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, Vol. II., 1909, p. 254 from Hungary and Poland.

seems to take a direct part both in the spinning wheel and the loom, the warp and the woof, and the whirring spindle. Anyone acquainted with the story of Arachne, as told by Ovid in his *Metamorphosis* 6, will at once recognise as complete a parallel as could be found, between the ancient Lydian legend and the religious transformation found in the Rumanian story. Arachne, who represents the wonderful tapestry work of Lydia enters into competition with Pallas Athene, as to who could weave the most beautiful piece of tapestry. Arachne wins and, full of fury, Athene tears that beautiful piece of tapestry and condemns her to become a spider weaving all her life. The change is very small, and it is a remarkable fact that the old legend of Asia Minor, preserved in its Alexandrian form by Ovid, should become a well-known Rumanian popular tradition. The reason why the killing of a spider could absolve a man from seven sins, is connected with a legend of the Passion. Many of these stories, however, have a tendency of deriving elements from different sources and producing new combinations, precisely as is the case with fairy tales, which are often the result of the combination of the most diverse motives found in other tales.

There are other details of the manner in which Joseph and Mary found shelter in a cave or rather in stables, as, for example, the extraordinary light which streamed out of the stables and lit up the darkened house of Crăciun, and other incidents which I pass over, for which parallels can easily be found in the sacred and secular popular literature.

Soon afterwards, Herod the king ordered all the male babies to be killed, and Joseph and Mary with the babe fled to Egypt. A popular form of this tale is as follows :— On the way they met the wife of a robber. She carried in her arms two twin boys. When Mary saw her hurrying along with these two babies, she took pity on her and she took one of the babies and suckled it. He becomes after-

wards the believing robber on the Cross. Many a wonderful thing happened to them on that flight, and the apocryphal literature is full of stories of miraculous happenings, such as of the tree bending down to cover with its branches the family resting underneath, the animals coming and bending their knees in worship, and many other details, some of which have also been taken up by the people and embodied in the Christmas carols. One of the most popular versions is the story of the man who was sowing the seed when they passed along the road and they asked him the way to Egypt. He pointed it out to them and they went on, hotly pursued by the soldiers of Herod. When the latter reached the place where the good man was sowing his field, they asked him whether he had seen a family consisting of an old man, a young woman and a baby. He replied. "Yes, I have seen them and I have told them the way to Egypt." They then asked him when the family had passed and he replied, "While I was sowing the seed." When they turned round to look at the field, behold it was covered with ears of fully grown corn. This had happened within a few hours, but soldiers, thinking that the man referred to something which must have taken place months ago, turned back from their pursuit.

It is a curious fact that parallels to this legend are only found among the Western nations, notably France, Spain, Italy and Ireland, pointing to Catholic means of propagation. No parallel, however, has hitherto been found among the other nations except in Rumania. One can recognise in it one of the well-known labour tests of the fairy tales. The hero is expected to sow the corn, to cause it to grow, to reap it and to grind it into fine flour within the space of one night. Here it is sufficient for the purpose for the corn to grow within a short space of time. The flight to Egypt has also become the subject of Christmas carols of which the following is the most complete :—

When the fields became green,
 When the flowers bloomed,
 The Holy Mother started
 With her son
 And God's,
 And she went along
 And she journeyed
 Along muddy roads,
 Along roads uneven
 Which shook the bones.
 And she took the road
 Until she came
 To John the Holy.
 Holy John,
 Holy John.
 When he beheld them
 He got as red as fire,
 And he embraced them
 And he begged of them
 To stay with him,
 To partake of
 Honey from the hive,
 Fruits from the garden.
 The Holy Mother looked at
 him,
 And with her mouth she thus
 spake:—
 " John,
 Holy John !
 We have not started
 To take the road,
 To stop
 And to eat
 Honey from the hive,
 Fruits from the garden.
 But we have started
 And the road we have taken
 With the Holy Son,

To save Him from evil,
 And from the enemies to pro-
 tect Him,
 For they have taken counsel
 This evening
 To kill Him.
 As soon as I heard it
 From the holy angel,
 I have come to thee
 That thou come and lead us
 In the night through the
 valleys
 And in daytime through the
 long roads,
 In the night during the dark
 As in the light of day,
 To see the Child saved.
 For I fear lest they find Him,
 For they will kill Him
 If they catch Him ;
 They will shoot Him (with a
 gun)
 Or pierce Him with arrows,
 With a silver arrow
 To kill Him more quickly."
 But John,
 Saint John,
 Spake
 And said :—
 " O, Holy Mother,
 All-pure,
 Do not fear too much,
 For I have heard the news
 That they have crucified thy
 Son.
 The angels wept,
 The stars dropped,
 The heavens split open,

The sun darkened,
 The moon turned to blood."
 " Oh John,
 St. John,
 They have not caught Him
 They have not crucified Him,
 etc."

" Mother, if that be so,
 Then let it be as thou wilt."

As they spoke they started.
 They went a long way
 Until they came to Egypt,
 In a dark night
 In a cool night,
 So cold it made the bones
 rattle.

John,
 St. John,
 Went about
 To find a home,
 To ask for a home.
 But wherever he asked,
 He could not find a shelter,
 He could not get one,
 Until the angel of the Lord
 came.

The angel came, the angel
 spake

" Holy-Mother,
 Take the Child,

And hide it
 Among the hemlock
 For the enemies will come ;
 They are sure to meet you,
 And they will ask you :—
 ' Have you seen the Holy
 Mother ? '

And thou shalt reply :—
 ' We have seen them going
 along,

But not in these parts,
 For here the land is swampy,
 And very unhealthy.'
 When they will hear that,
 They will continue their jour-
 ney,

They will travel through the
 world,
 And when they will come back,
 They will find no one left."

When the Holy Mother
 heard,

She did as she was told.
 She hid the Child,
 And when she met the enemies,
 She told them of other roads ;
 They followed her direction,
 They travelled through the
 world,

And died on the journey.

(MARIAN, p. 93-94.)

In this carol, we already find two elements mixed up ;
 it must be derived from two different legends, for otherwise
 its whole tenor remains unexplained. Still more so, when
 it is added that the recital of this carol or the one mentioned
 before in connection with the Nativity, acts as a charm.
 A young man is to recite either of these from Christmas

Eve to the 1st January three times a day, and then he will see his beloved in a dream. On the face of it, there is no apparent connection between these poems and dreaming. The explanation, however, is to be sought in another legend connected with the Passion. In the mind of the people, the troubles of the beginning are unconsciously bound up with the tragedy of the end, and both are blended together until they produce a peculiar anachronistic result. The story of the Passion and the appeal to St. John belong to the second category, whilst the miracle of hiding in the hemlock forms part of the first series of legends, and as we have seen, the relations between Mary and the various animals and persons are transferred from one occasion to another and *vice versa*.

There exists now a peculiar Rumanian legend known as the Dream of the Lady Mary. According to the Gospel account, Mary was not in Jerusalem during the whole period of the Passion. In this legend she is described as having had a miraculous dream, a premonitory vision of the events which were going to happen in Jerusalem, and she goes to St. John to tell him of her dream and to ask him to help her to unravel the mystery and to interpret that vision, for she had seen in it her Son's suffering, nay, the whole history of the Passion. Then Jesus appears and explains the reason why He submitted to it and why He allowed the tragedy to take place. Then follows in this apocryphal book the direction that whoever will carry this Dream of the Lady Mary with him, or will tell it to others, he will be saved from all evil, and at his death the angel of the Lord will appear and take his soul and carry it over to heaven, there to reside with all the just.

It is almost unnecessary to point out the importance which has been attached everywhere to prophetic dreams. In modern times, when the dream is looked upon as one of the origins of spiritualism or animism, or is considered to be of even still greater value from the psychological

point of view as advanced by Freud and his school, there is no necessity to emphasise the significance which this apocryphal dream has for the study of folk-lore. How deep its influence has been is shown by the fact that the largest number of Christmas carols rests upon the dream ; it has received an intensive circulation and many an old mystical legend has been combined with it, and has been invested with the character of a charm or amulet as in the apocryphal writing ; it protects him who repeats it or carries it with him in a written form, and undoes or destroys the evil of sorcery and witchcraft directed against his well-being.

We are dealing here with much more ancient elements than appear on the surface, and the very central figures of the ancient mysteries, the dying god and the great mother, become here also the central figures. The mother, wandering through the world in search of her son who has disappeared or who has fallen a prey to his enemies and been done to death, and whose death and resurrection carry with them revival and everlasting life, are found in the ancient Babylonian legends of Ishtar, in the Egyptian of Isis in search of the body of Osiris, furthermore in the Tammuz-Adonis Legend, and in those of Mithras.¹ In the Hebrew literature I have discovered as well a very old hymn describing Jochabed searching for Moses after his disappearance. She also asks in turn the land of Egypt, the Nile, the desert, Sinai and finally the Rock of the Waters of Strife whether they have seen her son, and they reply that they have not seen him since he performed the miracles. Then she goes about desolate in search of him. It is one of the oldest Aramaic hymns of uncertain date, but probably of the fourth or fifth century,² and may be called "The Plaint of Jochabed," just as the search of Mary in these Christmas carols may be called "The Plaint of Mary." Grafted on

¹ See Sir James Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1906.

² Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der Synagogalen Poesie*, Berlin, 1865, P. 74.

to the legend of Mary wandering in search of her Son, it has been preserved in the mouths of the people. Two examples culled from the rich collection of Marian, must suffice to show the way in which the popular mind has been able to work out the old theme under the influence of the book-lore; or again how the ancient myths may have created the written apocryphal story, which in its turn has become part of the folk-lore.

A big man
Took a big axe.
He went into the big forest,
To cut a big tree,
To build a big church.
And he cut the big tree,
And he made a big church,
With nine doors (screens) and
 nine altars,
With nine windows towards
 the holy sun (east).
In the great window
Sat the great St. Mary,
In the little window
Sat the little St. Mary,
She searched the books,
She looked on all sides,
She searched all the books,
She looked on all sides,
To see her Son,
The Lord of Heaven
And of earth.
But she did not see Him,
But she saw
St. John, St. John,
The godfather
Of God,
And she asked him
And she spake to him,

" John, St. John !
Hast thou seen
Or hast thou heard
Of thy Godson,
Of my Son ?
For however much I have
 searched for Him,
I have not found Him any-
 where."
" I have not seen
But I have heard
That the heathens
Have got hold of Him,
Have tortured Him,
Have hanged Him on the Cross.
By the gate of Pilate,
On a Cross of pinewood."
The Mother of the Lord
Of Heaven
And Earth,
When she heard it,
Was deeply pained
And she started
And she went,
Wailing and crying,
Wringing her hands,
Scratching her white face,
Weeping out of black eyes,
Sighing from her heart,

Going along the road,
Searching for her Son.
And as she went along
She met a carpenter.

“A pleasant journey master
carpenter.”

“Thank you, Maica Precista,¹

And my Lady.

But why dost thou sob and cry,
Scratching thy face,
Wringing thy hands,
Weeping from black eyes,
And sighing bitterly ? ”

“How am I not to cry and
weep ?

I have had an only Son,
And this one I have lost.
And I have heard
That He has allowed Himself
To be hanged on the Cross
By the gate of Pilate.
Hast thou not seen,
Hast thou not heard
Of my Son,
The Lord of Heaven
And of earth ? ”

“I have not seen Him,
But I have heard.
I have made the cross,
For I was called,
And paid a lot of money
That I should make a cross of
pinewood.
They told me to make it light
and short,

But I made it big and heavy.”

“Master, master,
Cursed shalt thou be.
Mayst thou work a year
long
And get little in return.”

And she went on again
through the land,
Wailing and weeping,
Scratching her face and wringing
her hands
And sighing heavily.
And as she went along
She met a famous smith.

“A pleasant journey, master
smith.”

“I thank thee,
Maica Precista,
And my Lady.
Why dost thou cry and weep,
etc. ? ”

“Why shall I not cry and
weep ?

I have had one Son and I have
lost him, etc.”

... And the master smith
replied,

“I have not seen Him,
But I have heard of Him,
For I was called to make the
nails,
And well did they pay me.
They asked me to make big
and heavy nails,
But I made them thin and
light.”

¹The popular name for Mary in the mouth of the people, meaning
“All-pure Mother.”

"Master smith, master
smith,

Blessed shalt thou be.
Strike with thy hammer
And get at once thy pay."
Again she went along the road
Wailing and weeping
And searching for her Son.

But who meets her?
A frog.

"A pleasant journey, frog-
gie dear."

"I thank you, Maica Pre-
cista,
And my Lady.

But why art thou crying and
weeping, etc."

"Why shall I not cry and
weep, etc."

"O my lady,
Why dost thou sob
And cry and weep?
Thou hast had only one Son
And hast lost him,
But what am I to say,
Woe unto me,

I who have had twelve chil-
dren,
And there came a terrible
wheel

And crushed eleven of them?
Only one has remained,
And He also is now limping."

"Just call him hither."

"O little flower, O little
dear,
Come to your mother."
And there at once came

A little frog,
Blind and limping.
When the Maica Precista set
her eyes on him,
She smiled and laughed.
She blessed the frog
And with her mouth she said,
"Frog, when thou diest,
Thy body shall not rot,
And men may drink the water
In which thou livest,
Not being defiled by thee,
And in every fountain shalt
thou live."

And Maica Precista walked
through the land
Weeping, etc.

And she went on until she
reached

The Hill of Gararăul,
A rock as sharp and pointed
As the edge of a knife.
There she attempted
To kill herself.

What did the hill do?
It melted like wax,
It ran like silver,
And got soft like molten
gold.

And she could not
Hurt herself.
On the top of Gararăul
High up near the heavens
There stands a white church,
With an altar of pearls
With beads of wax,
With gates of citron wood,
With thresholds of incense.

In the midst of the church
 Stands a golden stool,
 With legs of silver
 Fastened to the ground
 But who sits on the stool ?
 Sits the holy Nichita
 With a short doublet,
 With a drawn sword,
 In his right hand,
 And a white book
 In his left hand.
 And by the lighted torch
 He sits and reads,
 And reading he says,
 —“ Ye holy ones,
 Ye Fathers,
 Stand still, stand
 And listen !
 Holy Nicolai,
 Holy Archangel Michael,
 Holy Grigore
 And holy Vasile !
 Have you not seen,
 Have you not heard
 of the Son of Mary,
 the Maica Precista,
 The Lord of Heaven
 And earth ? ”
 “ We have not seen Him,
 But we have heard
 That He has been caught
 And put in a barrel of nails,
 They dressed Him in a shirt of
 nettles,
 And put on His feet red-hot
 iron shoes,
 They girt Him with a girdle of
 hawthorn,” etc.

(Here follow details of the
 Passion)
 When the captain of the church
 Heard this,
 He went down from heaven
 Down into Hades
 Upon the Cross
 Until he reached the Lord
 Christ.
 And when he came to Hades
 (Iad)
 He broke the bolts,
 He shattered the iron gates,
 And he took
 Jesus out of Hades.
 And after he had saved Him,
 He took His soul,
 And carried it up to heaven,
 To sit at the right hand of His
 Father,
 Which was most pleasing to
 him.
 . . . And from here, Mary
 went along again,
 Weeping, wailing, etc.
 Until she reached the gate of
 Pilate ;
 She kicked with the left foot,
 Against the gate,
 But it did not open.
 She kicked with the right
 foot,
 And it opened.
 And God wept with one eye
 And laughed with the other
 eye.
 And the Mother said ;—
 “ O, my beloved Son,

What didst Thou reckon,
 What didst Thou think,
 That Thou hast given Thyself,
 And left Thyself
 In the hands of the scribes and
 Pharisees,
 To be hanged on the cross
 At the gate of Pilate,
 On a cross of pinewood ? "
 —" O, my well-beloved
 mother,
 Do not grieve too much,
 For I have not given myself up
 For thy sake
 Nor my sake,
 But for the sake of John, St.
 John,
 My godfather and thy cum-
 ätrul,¹
 And for the whole Christian
 world.
 If thou hadst gone up to
 Heaven,
 Thou wouldst have seen,
 That in times gone by,
 No new born was baptized ;
 No people joined in wedlock ;
 No burial service for the dead ;
 Mother did not weep for child,
 Nor child for mother,
 The cow did not low for the
 calf,
 Nor the calf for the cow ;
 The sheep did not bleat for the
 lamb
 Nor the lamb for the sheep ;

No axe was heard
 In the forest ;
 Neither the youths were seen
 in their dances,
 Nor the maidens with their
 flowers,
 Nor was there heard the chirp-
 ing songs of birds.
 But now if thou wilt return to
 the world,
 Then thou wilt be filled with
 greater love
 For that which thou wilt see.
 For from to-day onwards,
 The new born will be baptized ;
 The couples joined in wedlock ;
 The dead buried with proper
 service ;
 Mother will weep for child
 And child for mother ;
 Cow will low for calf
 And calf for cow ;
 Sheep will bleat for lamb
 And lamb for sheep ;
 The axe will be heard in the
 forest.
 Thou wilt see the young man
 at the dance
 And the maiden with flowers ;
 And thou will hear the chirping
 Song of birds. . . ."
 This word has been given to
 the world.
 And whoever listens,
 And whoever has learned these
 words

¹ Relationship created between the parents and godparents through the baptism of the infant.

And will repeat them
 In the evening lying down,
 In the morning rising up,
 Every week,
 Every month,
 At the half year
 And at the end of the year,
 Him I will take
 By the right hand,
 And I will lead him
 On the straight road,
 To lit-up houses,
 To decked tables,
 To burning torches,
 To sweet food,
 To full goblets,
 Where the souls walk about,
 As bees.

But whoever will know these
 words
 And will not repeat them,
 Every month,
 Every week,
 Every year and
 Every half year,
 Him the Maica Precista will take
 By the left hand,
 And will lead him
 On the crooked path,
 To tables cleared,
 To extinguished torches,
 To bad food,
 To empty goblets,
 Where souls dark as coals
 Are flitting about
 Like flies. Amen.

Another Variant.

A cross in the house,
 A cross on the table,
 A cross in the four corners of
 the house !
 But this is not a house
 Nor is it a table,
 But a perfect cathedral,
 And wonderfully beautiful.
 Who can be seen in it ?
 Who sits therein ?
 Lady Mary sits
 In the midst of the altar
 On a golden stool,
 With her face towards the east.
 She looked into the books,
 She looked to different parts,
 To all the saints
 And all the just.

She looked for them
 And found them,
 But only her Son,
 The Lord of Heaven
 And of the earth,
 However much she searched,
 She could not find Him.
 Then she took
 A white book,
 In her right hand,
 The holy book
 In her left hand.
 Then she looked
 And she searched
 Down the waters of the Jordan,
 And she saw no one ;
 She heard no one.
 Then she took off

The white dress of the angels,
 And she put on
 The black robes of a nun,
 And the white staff
 In the right hand,
 The holy staff
 In the left hand.
 And she looked
 And she searched,
 Up the waters of the Jordan,
 And she saw no one
 And she heard no one,
 Only John,
 St. John,
 The godfather of the Lord.
 And as soon as she laid her eyes
 On him, she said to him :—
 " Listen, John,
 St. John !
 Hast thou seen
 Or hast thou heard
 Of my Son,
 Of thy Godson,
 The Lord of Heaven
 And of earth,
 And of all the Christians ? "
 " Holy Mother,
 With the sight of my eyes
 I have not seen Him,
 With the hearing of my ears
 I have heard of Him ;
 That he is in the hands of the
 Jews
 And the unbelieving heathens,
 For they have come together
 And captured Him,
 On the ' Great Thursday '
 With great fury

And great hatred,
 On the field of Pilate
 They have pursued Him,
 And on a cross of pine wood
 They have fastened Him ;
 A crown of thorns
 They have put on His head ;
 They have girded Him
 With a girdle of thistles ;
 With ash they have fed Him
 And they have put on Him
 A shirt of nettles.
 With bitter wine they have
 quenched Him ;
 And they have passed nails
 Through His hands and feet.
 They threw at Him three
 hatchets
 And three rivers flowed.
 And if thou wilt see Him,
 Haste thither,
 To the fountain of Pilat,
 Where the birds are standing,
 Taking a mouthful of the
 water
 And giving praise to God.
 And when thou reachest there
 Wash thy face,
 Wash thy arms,
 Look towards the east,
 Thou art sure to see Him,
 Like a luminous morning star."
 The holy mother listened to
 him
 And then she took to her
 journey,
 Weeping
 And crying.

With a loud voice up to
 Heaven,
 With tears rolling to the
 ground.
 Where the tears fell,
 Golden apples grew,
 The angels gathered them up
 And took them up to heaven.
 And wherever her foot trod,
 A red ear of corn grew up,
 The ear of the corn
 Like the ointment of baptism,
 The gift of the Lord.
 And the Lady Mary went
 To the fountain of Pilat,
 Where the birds were stand-
 ing;
 They took a mouthful of water
 And gave praise to God.
 When she reached there
 She washed her face
 And washed her arms,
 But however much she
 searched
 She saw Him nowhere.
 Again she started and went,
 Weeping
 And crying,
 To the mountains of Garaleu,
 To the mountains of Jerusa-
 lem,
 And to the hill of Egim,
 To a split up rock,
 Like the edge of a knife,
 Like a sharpened point,
 To kill herself.
 But she could not take her life
 For the rock melted like wax,

And flowed away like molten
 silver.
 No one in this world saw her,
 No one in this world heard her,
 Only Angelina,
 Marchelina,
 The sisters of Lazarus,
 And to the Mother of God they
 said :—
 " O Lord,
 O Abraham,
 A wonderful thing we have
 seen,
 A wonderful thing we have
 heard."
 And again they all went to the
 fountain of Pilat,
 And she washed her face
 And she washed her arms,
 And she looked
 And she saw,
 Her beloved Son,
 Like a luminous morning star,
 Coming towards her in holi-
 ness.
 When she saw Him,
 She said to Him :—
 " O, you flower of basilic,
 O, my Son, just come hither,
 And tell me in sooth,
 Why Thou hast given Thyself
 over,
 Why hast Thou allowed Thyself
 To fall into the hands of
 strangers,
 In the land of the heathen ? "
 Why hast Thou not sought (to
 escape)

Why didst Thou not fly, (*i.e.*
 hide)
 Through heaven and upon
 earth,
 And under the earth,
 Under the roofs of houses,
 Through the bunch of flowers
 of the maidens,
 Through the bunch of flowers
 of the youths,
 Through the mangers of the
 oxen,
 Through the folds of the
 sheep ? "

" O, holy mother,
 My beloved mother,
 I have not given myself up,
 Nor have I left myself (in
 their hands)
 For My sake,
 Nor for thy sake,
 But for the sake of the whole
 world ;
 For until I gave Myself up,
 Until I have left Myself in the
 hands of others,
 One neither saw
 Nor heard,
 The voices of birds,
 The song of the ploughman,
 Not a sheep with a lamb,
 Nor a cow with a calf,
 Neither mothers loved their
 children,
 Nor were the fields
 Green with grass,
 Nor did the fountain run cold
 water ;

And whoever died,
 Went straight to Hades. (Iad)
 But from this time forth
 Torches will be lit in heaven,
 And they will never be ex-
 tinguished.
 And they will gather together
 And draw near
 The birds to their nestlings,
 The sheep to their lambs,
 The cows to their calves,
 And mothers to their children.
 Then will be seen,
 The fields green with grass,
 And the fountains with cold
 water,
 And whoever dies,
 Will belong to God."

Whoever knows these (words)
 And who will recite them,
 These two, three words,
 Left by the Lord,
 And given to us on this earth,
 Every month,
 Every week,
 Evening
 And morning,
 When he lies down to sleep,
 When he rises up,
 Will neither see,
 Nor have,
 The land of Egypt
 And the house of bondage.
 But he will go and pass through
 Seventy - seven unquenched
 fires,
 And over seventy-seven slip-
 pery bridges, .

Will go on and pass through	Lying down,
Seventy-seven toll houses free	And rising up,
of payment,	And does not remember these
And he will walk on	holy words,
To the right hand of the	There will come
Father,	The archangels
In the Kingdom of Heaven.	With Mother Eve,
But whoever will know these	And they will take him
(words)	By the left hand,
And will not recite them	And they will lead him
Every month,	Over the crooked path
Every week,	To his deeds,
Evening	To the very bottom of hell
And morning	Amen.

(MARIAN, pp. 130-133.)

Of the two variants given here, the latter seems to be the more primitive. The Christian element is almost entirely absent and the mere substitution of the name of another god would suffice to make it an ancient hymn. One could write a commentary in detail on almost every strophe of this last Christmas carol, but this is reserved for the more detailed study of the Rumanian charms and conjurations, as it belongs to that cycle and can only be properly understood in connection with that literature. For our purpose it is sufficient to show how an old apocryphal story has been grafted on to a totally different one, the people instinctively feeling that there may have been an original connection between these two narratives. These Christmas carols have entirely the character of nature myths, and they show the transition from an epic narrative to a charm and conjuration.

In considering these two examples we are confronted with the old problem of whether the poem is older than the prose, the carol older than the story. If we study the history of literature in general, we find everywhere that the

poem and the song precede the simple recital in prose, and the reason is obvious ; the song originates also among illiterate people, and many nations have ancient ballads and songs whose language has never yet been committed to writing. From a purely historical point of view, this alone would suffice to determine the relation between these two. A song, moreover, can the more easily be learned by heart and retained by memory through its rhythmical form and through the framework of the constantly recurring refrain. It is just because of these refrains that it can easily be transmitted from generation to generation with very little alteration in the form, and it thus obtains a fixity which is not affected by time. True, it can be enriched by various additions and slightly changed in character by the substitution of one hero for another or one name for another, but in its essence it remains the same. Not so the mere tale, which is always in a fluid condition and very seldom crystallises. It is much more apt to change and deteriorate, to be shortened or amplified and altered almost out of recognition. All these facts militate in favour of the greater ancientry of the carol over the legend.

It follows then that these carols may belong to a period anterior to Christian influences. One has only to modify a few incidents to remove the Christian character altogether and to be carried back to an anterior period of pagan worship which lies at the root of these carols. They also become a key to the understanding of a vast number of charms and conjurations found in Rumanian literature. John, the river Jordan, the fountain or the gate of Pilat, the two sisters of Lazarus, the mount Garaleul, and the picture of Mary's grief are constant features in the former and throw an unexpected light upon the origin of these names in the conjurations. They have been transferred from one to the other and have taken the place of the various fairies and demons, the good and evil powers ;

and as for the Passion, if the name of Jesus did not occur in it with a few of the details taken from the New Testament, and it be readjusted to its primitive form, one would have the well-known figure of the suffering god, whose place is taken in the conjuration by the suffering patient. Needless to point out, the change in nature which is to take place as the consequence of the Passion entirely agrees with all the traditions of the dying god. It is not here the place to dwell at any length on the relation between the carol and charm. I refer to it only as another example of that intimate relation between one set of traditions and another set of traditions, Book-lore and Folk-lore, and the mutual influence which they have exercised upon one another.

The apocalyptic visions play also an important rôle, or rather the journey through Heaven and Hell, and to this category belongs then the apocryphal writing known as the Apocalypse of Mary. It runs on parallel lines with the Apocalypse of Peter and the Apocalypse of Paul and belongs to the large cycle of journeys through Heaven, Hell and Paradise, the highest and grandest representative of which is Dante's *Divina Commedia*. As already remarked above it thus belongs to a very large cycle and is not specifically a legend of Mary. But it has some peculiar features which distinguish it from all the other parallels, inasmuch as the character of a sympathetic friend with the sufferers in Hell is ascribed to Mary. She becomes the ready intercessor on behalf of the sinners, and then she is invested in the popular mind with the attributes of the Great Mother, who is the ready helper in all cases of suffering and who is the only one who renders ready assistance to those stricken with illness by the malevolent agency of evil spirits. It is thus that she becomes as well the last help for the sinners after the Day of Judgment.

The Rumanian women have the custom of placing a bundle of finely spun flax behind the cross when the priest comes to bless the house, for it is believed that Mary

collects all these bundles of flax and weaves out of them a huge net. She will work at it all the years until the Day of Judgment. Then God will gather the just and good into Paradise and the unrepentant sinner who will remain will be cast down to Hell. But Mary will intercede for these sinners and ask God to allow her to dip her net into Hell three times and pull up as many souls as the net will hold. God will grant her request and she will dip the net once and haul it up filled with souls of all the sinners who could clamber into it and who could cling to it. This she will do once, twice and thrice, and yet Hell will not have been emptied. A few souls will still remain behind. When the devils see how few are left, they will start eating them up. When they have finished with them, driven by hunger, they will eat one another until only one will remain, the great Skaraotski. He will then be tied to the pillar of Hell to die of hunger. And thus the world will be rid of all the devils.

Having reached the Day of Judgment I have also reached the end of my tale.

THE KILLING OF THE KHAZAR KINGS.

STORIES about the killing of the old men are not unknown among the Roumanians. The reason assigned for such practices is utilitarian. The old men have become useless, they are a burden to the community, hence they must be got rid of.

The two stories which I am giving here come from two widely separated sections of the Roumanian nation. One comes from Transylvania, and more especially from the Banat.

The Banat is that part of South-East Hungary in which the Serbian and Roumanian elements are almost equally divided. One may probably have influenced the other, and yet there is a profound difference between the Roumanian and the Serbian parallels published in *Folk-Lore* (xxix. p. 238 ff.).

This was published as far back as 1845 by the brothers Schott, in German, as being a story from the time of the Romans. Maybe that in consequence it is known to students and may have been referred to by Sir James Frazer. If so, I must be forgiven in repeating it in full. Its importance lies not only in the peculiar details, but in the relations to the Serbian, of which it is an independent variant.

A Story from the Time of the Romans.

In olden times it was the custom to kill the old people because they were considered useless. A young man did not have the heart to kill his old father, but as he stood in fear of the others he hid his father in the cellar in an empty cask. He gave him food and drink secretly, so that not a soul was able to discover his secret.

There came suddenly the order that all men capable of bearing arms should get ready to fight a terrible monster which was spreading round its lair misery and trouble. The pious son did not know how to provide during his absence for the imprisoned father so that he should not die of thirst and hunger. He brought all the victuals that were in the house and he told

his father of his trouble, inasmuch as he might never return and that his beloved father would in consequence die a miserable death. The old man replied "Should you not return I willingly give up my wretched body to death.

"In order, however, that you should not die through this monster, listen to my advice. It will be a help to you. The cavern in which that monster lives has many hundred passages and corners which are crossing and recrossing one another, so that even if you should succeed in killing the monster you would never be able to find the way out and you will all die of hunger and thirst. Take therefore our black mare with her foal with you to the mouth of the cave and there kill and bury the foal and take the mare with you, she is sure to bring you back after you have killed the monster."

After the old man had thus spoken, the young man took leave of him with tears in his eyes and went away with the other men. They arrived at the mouth of the cave. He killed the foal as his father had advised him, but he did not tell the others why he did so. After a heavy fight they succeeded at last in killing the monster, but fear seized upon the warriors when they discovered that in spite of much searching they could not find the way out. Then the young man took the black mare and let her go on. He followed her and asked the others to follow him. The mare started neighing and looking for her foal and hit at once upon the right path, and after a while they reached the mouth of the cave. When the others saw that they had escaped an inevitable death through the cleverness of their brother in arms they wanted to know how he came to discover this happy device. He feared that if he told the truth both he and his old father would lose their lives. But after they had promised him under oath that no harm would befall him, he spoke out firmly and told them that he had kept his father alive in the cellar and that his father had given him the advice about the mare when he went to take leave of him.

On hearing this they were astounded, and one of them exclaimed, "Our forefathers have not acted well in teaching us to kill the old men. They have gained experience and they can help our people by their advice when the strength of our arm

fails." They all approved his words, and they abolished the cruel custom which had hitherto prevailed of killing the old.

In the note which Schott adds to the story (p. 342-343) he refers to the Theseus and Minotaur legend of the maze. We have thus here in the Roumanian version the two elements of the Serbian tales published by Mr. Georgevitch—the hiding of the old man in the wine vat and the mare and colt incident combined together. It is curious to find a reference in the second version to the time of the Romans just as the Roumanian tale places the history in that period. The Minotaur legend has thus far been better preserved in the Roumanian tale, for which the Serbian has substituted the dark forest. It is not at all unlikely that the Alexander legend, one of the oldest Roumanian popular books, may have influenced the tale. The mare and colt which figures so prominently in the Alexander legend, and the dark cave mentioned also by Mr. Georgevitch, have evidently taken the place of the thread of Ariadne. In my copy of Schott's collection I noted many years ago the references to Gervasius, *Otia imperialia*, ed. Liebrecht, pages 83 to 86, who gives numerous parallels and quotes further, Geiler, Narrenschiff (the moths eat the salt).

The other Roumanian tale belongs to Macedonia. It has been published in Roumania from the unpublished collection of Commesco, Taineu, Basmele Romane, Bucuresci 1895 (page 968). In spite of the great merit of that work on the Roumanian fairy tales it has remained a closed book to the students of the West. The story in the Vlaco Macedonia version belongs to the cycle of the "Riddle" tales. Through the wisdom of an old man such riddles are solved.

The story runs as follows :

The custom in olden times was to take the old men to the mountain, where they were left to die of hunger or to be torn to pieces by wild beasts. This was done to prevent famine and starvation, and those children who did not do it were killed by the people.

A young man was taking his father to the mountain when he started to cry. The son took pity on him and took him home and locked him up in the cellar. There came an order

from the Emperor to the villagers to kill a she-bear which appeared above the village. The young man asked his father in the cellar what was the meaning of this order, and he answered "It means the rock at the top of the hill." The young men went to the assembly of the villagers and told them the answer to the Emperor's order. They were to say, "We will kill the she-bear, and we will wait for the Emperor to come and flay her."

On another occasion the Emperor wanted them to bring him every kind of seed found in the neighbourhood. The old man in the cellar told the young man to go to an ant-hill, there they would be sure to find them all. When the young man again repeated this advice to the men in the village assembly they were all surprised at his cleverness, and asked him to tell them who it was that had given him such advice, for they knew that he must have learned it from some one else. He then told them what he had done. Since then they no longer kill the old men, because their wisdom is indispensable.

Sainenun refers also to Hehn, *Kulturbflanzen*, etc., page 472, and Schmidt, *Volks leben der Neuriichen* (page 26-27) for the same traditions and beliefs among the modern Greeks.

IL PHYSIOLOGUS RUMENO,

1. Introduzione.

La esistenza di un *Physiologus* rumeno rimane tuttavia ignota agli studiosi che hanno ricercato la storia di questa curiosa zoologia; e la pubblicazione del testo, che ora qui segue, intenderebbe riempire questa lacuna. Il manoscritto, ch'io posseggo, è dell'anno 1777 e pare finora che sia il solo conservato. Mostra questo codice di essere una copia di testi più antichi, i quali furono scritti da un certo ANDONACHE BERHECEANUL, *cînbuccîu*, cioè *piparo* (domestico soprantendente al tabacco) in casa di un Manolache Bassarabu, in Bucarest. Infatti alcuni sparsi indizj, di cui diremo appresso più largamente, accennano all'esistenza di cotesto *Physiologus* tra i Rumeni in età più antica. Il nostro testo non è per niente compiuto, mancandovi de' capitoli, la cui esistenza si può nondimeno dimostrare e di cui uno è perfino penetrato ne' canti popolari. D'altra parte, esso ci si mostra guasto, pur troppo, per parecchie incongruenze. Già il titolo, che suona *Storie degli uccelli*, va riferito solamente ad alcuni capitoli. Il copista, a quanto pare, ha trascritto anzi tutto il solo capitolo primo; e verisimilmente ha copiato poi da un altro testo la parte restante, perchè vediamo il primo capitolo ritornare ancora, leggermente mutato, nel capitolo terzo. Inoltre, di una storia sola sono stati fatti due capitoli (cap. IV e V); altre invece sono state fuse insieme, come p. es. sin dal cap. I, e al IX, al XIV e via via. E si aggiunge che il copista non ha letto sempre bene l'antico esemplare rumeno e ha particolarmente franteso le espressioni arcaiche, così abbujoando talora viepiù il testo che già di per sè stesso

¹ Le illustrazioni e le versioni, date in tedesco dal dott. GASTER, son voltate in italiano dal prof. Pietro MARLO, che anche ha aggiunto di proprio la traduzione delle *Moralità*, condotta sull'originale rumeno. Alla dotta cortesia del professore pavese qui si rendono vivissime grazie.

era mal chiaro. Fu anche in alcuni punti lasciato via qualche passo; segnatamente al cap. V, dove la *moralisatio* mostra evidentemente che vi dovesse essere nel testo più che il nostro ms. non dia.

Ma, con tutte queste incongruenze e qualche altra ancora, la versione rumena è certo di grande importanza; massimamente perchè riposa sopra una versione slava, che è del pari ignorata. Onde ci è offerta la possibilità di riuscire ad una redazione del *Physiologus*, la quale, pur coincidendo spesso con quelle diffuse in occidente, se ne distingua tuttavia nettamente e meglio si avvicini alle forme orientali. Possiamo anzi affermare, che codesto *Physiologus* si accosti, per parecchi riguardi, alla forma originaria, notabilmente di più che non facciano gli altri che hanno per fondamento la redazione latina. Fino a un certo grado, la letteratura slava, e però anche la rumena, riflette fedelmente la bizantina, meno soggetta a rifacimenti e ad alterazioni. Ma, senza dubbio, i testi sono stati guasti da' copisti. E perciò in questa edizione del *Physiologus* ho io dovuto badare e alla critica del testo e alle questioni storico-letterarie.

A. OSSERVAZIONI PER LA CRITICA DEL TESTO.

Il testo rumeno del *Physiologus* si riproduce con esatta trascrizione fonetica, mantenendosi scrupolosamente le proprietà dialettali de' testi. Dove si aveva errore manifesto, o sia che il copista frantendesse il testo antico, o sia che egli stesso, nella fretta, commettesse uno sbaglio, ho dato di regola, quanto mi era possibile, la correzione; e la lezione migliore sta scritta accanto, tra parentesi. Troppo difficile è restituire un testo sulla base di un solo manoscritto; ho quindi dovuto lasciar qualche luogo in uno stato di manifesta corruzione. Per alcuni capitoli, che ho dato esattamente quali sono nel ms., altre fonti rumene mi offrivano riscontri, che ho aggiunto come *varianti*. Le due fonti sono:

A. Un dizionario slavo-rumeno manoscritto, dell'anno 1673, che è presso il museo di Bucarest. In taluni luoghi, accanto alla traduzione de' nomi d'animali dallo slavo in rumeno, vi si trova un'aggiunta che è tolta al *Physiologus*; e io do questa aggiunta là dove si discorre di ciascuno di quegli animali.

B. Un'opera didattico-morale che si attribuisce al principe rumeno Neagoe (1512-1521) fondatore del monastero di Argeş. Ivi, con altre storie e parabole, prese dal *Barlaam* e *Giosaphat*, ve n'ha alcuna che è derivata dal *Physiologus*. Ma rimane aperta la questione, se quell'opera si debba davvero a Neagoe, anzi se risalga pure a quel tempo. Per me ritengo interpolata da mano seriore la recensione che sola fin

qui era conosciuta e che si è conservata in due mss. del 1818 e del 1819; tanto più inquantochè, oltre il ms. del 1819, ne posseggo io un altro ancora, del 1727, nel quale è una redazione più breve. Mancano in questa tutte le reminiscenze bibliche, insieme con le parabole e con le storie degli animali. Anche della redazione più larga si conservava, fino a una ventina d'anni addietro, un ms. che ora pur troppo è smarrito. Apparteneva alla Biblioteca Nazionale di Bucarest e servì di fondamento a una stampa, fattasi in Bucarest nel 1842. Anche il prof. Hăgdeu ne ha pubblicato estratti nella *Arhiva istorică României*. Che cosa ne sia poi avvenuto, si ignora. In codesto manoscritto, del secolo XVII (1654), erano pure i capitoli tolti dal *Physiologus*. Nella mia *Chrestomatie română*, che presto vedrà la luce, io li ho riprodotti (I, p. 165 seg.) e li do anche qui, parte come *varianti*, parte, quando manchino nel nostro testo i riscontri, in sulla fine. Tra essi va notato particolarmente il capitolo della *Tortorella*, che è penetrato tutto intiero tra il popolo e, come dico nell'annotazione, è cantato e riprodotto in infinite varianti rumene. Di altri sparsi riscontri rumeni non ho tenuto conto; o perchè si contenevano in opere di origine straniera e furono tradotti in rumeno insieme con quelle, com'è avvenuto p. es. nella *Floarea Darurilor* (vedi la mia *Literatura populară română*, p. 139 seg.), o perchè sono identici col nostro testo.

La 'trascrizione' è la stessa del manoscritto, che alla sua volta è rigorosamente 'fonetica', secondo che già si accennava. Solo è da notare, che l'*é* ha il valore fonetico di *ed*, e non vi ebbi ricorso se non perchè l'originale cirillico ha l'*jatŭ*, che io doveva pur rendere in qualche maniera. Vale *ea* per la trascrizione di un'altra lettera.

B. OSSERVAZIONI STORICO-LETTERARIE.

La fonte immediata del *Physiologus* rumeno è, come si vede alla prima occhiata, una fonte *slava*, la quale a sua volta deriva da un'altra greco-bizantina. Per porre bene in chiaro in che relazione stia la redazione rumena del *Physiologus* con le altre, ho accompagnato la traduzione di confronti colle recensioni greche e le orientali. A queste mi sono ristretto, perchè una reazione dell'occidente sull'oriente va senz'altro esclusa, epperò la comparazione con le redazioni occidentali era di minor rilievo. Le varianti ho lasciato, come tali, senza traduzione, ma non così quelle aggiunte che contenessero racconti nuovi. — Negli accenni bibliografici mi sono contentato di mere citazioni; e a ognuno sarà facile ampliare la breve notizia.

Le opere confrontate, che rappresentano altrettante recensioni e comprendono co' loro additamenti presso che intero il ciclo della storia del *Physiologus*, sono queste:

- EPIPHANIUS, *Opera*, ed. MIGNE; Paris 1858, vol. III, col. 518-534.
 F. HOMMEL, *Die aethiopische Uebersetzung des Physiologus*; Lipsia 1877.
 I. P. N. LAND, *Anecdota Syriaca*; Leyden 1875, vol. IV, pp. 31-97 e 115-176.
 ST. NOVAKOVIC', *Primeri književnosti i jezika staroga i srpsko-slovenskoga*; Belgrado 1877, pp. 497-99.
 I. B. PITRA, *Spicilegium Solesmense*; Parigi 1855, vol. III, pp. 338-373.

Di un'opera che sia citata una sola volta, si dà il titolo per disteso.

2. Testo e varianti.

PHYSIOLOGUS.

Cap. I.

[fol. 145^b] *Pildile pasărilor. (Pentru Finixul și Vulturul.)*

a. Ascultați, cecu ce nu credeți învierē lui Hs., pentru o
 [fol. 146^a] pasire, ce să chēmă: *Finixu*. Că *Finixul* este / mare cap
 [l. chip], și este mai mare decât păunul, și mare la obraz. Și
 (se) spune de dănsul, că este fără soție; și trăește cinci sute
 de ani. După aceea să duce spre răsăritul soarelui și duce
 mulțimē mult(ă) de mirezme bune; și știind de moartē sa,
 că după cinci sute de ani va să moară, deci (aduce) scorți-
 șoare și cuișoare den muntele *Savanului* [l. Liv-]; și să sue la
 un loc înalt spre răsărit și întinde aripile sale și stă; și de
 razile soarelui să aprinde și arde de tot, și să face praf.
 După aceea din cenușa lui, să face un vierme; iar din vier-

mele acela, să face iar *Finixu* pasăre, ca și întâiu, și zboră în *Araviea* *.

b. *Aşjderé* (se) zice, că și *Vulturul* trăește o sută de ani. După aceea îmbătrânește și orbește și de aripi să îngreuează. După aceea să duce la oare care izvoru, și să cufundă acolo. Și așa zboară spre văzduh, și / de razile soarelui să aprinde; și [fol. 146^b] văzând izvorul limpede, iar să întoarce într'ănsul și să cufundă de trei ori, și să înnoește iarăși că (! l. ca) și întâiu.

Pentru acésta zice *David* proorocul: „înnoi-se-vor c' alé vulturului tinerețile tale.”

Așa și tu, omul cel păcătos, dacă să întoarce și să curățăște cu espovedanie, adevărat să curățăște și să înnoește ca și întâiu.

Cap. II. *Pilda a doa. — Pentru Pajăru.*

Pajerul este foarte iubitoare de puii săi, si-i hrănește foarte bine; iar puii îl bate cu aripile preste obraz, și ea, mănîindu-să, îi apucă și-i omoară. După aceea îi pare rău, și-i plînge pre dănsii trei zile. Si viind muma lor, își scobește coastele sale, și curgând / sîngele său preste dănsii, îndată [fol. 147^a] învicază **.

Așa și domnul nostru *Is. Hs.* hrînind pre *Jidovi*, iar ei l'au bătut cu palme preste obraz, și coastele sale lău înpunsu, dintru care au izvorât sînge și apă, întru înnoiré a toată lumé; adecă sfînta cumenecătură, despre care singur fîgădui și zise: „Cel ce va mănca trupul meu, și va bé sîngele meu, întru mine va petrece, și eu întru dănsul, până în veci.” *Amin*, adecă: adevărat.

* Variante. A, p. 596-597: *Finix*, iaste și o pasăre, de să chîamă așa, și să află în țara hărăpescă aproape de *Indee*, și petrece în chedrii *Livamului* nemăncându nimic, nici bîndu, număi ci iaste viu cu duh; și deca trec 500 de ani merge în *Iiopolie* și acolo la sfîntul jirtăvnic arde sîngur; și după acéa din cenușă iară să face și peste 500 de ani iară să înnoește într' acest chip.

** Variante. A, p. 350: neîasita grecește, iară slovenește pelican care iaste învrăjbită cu șarpă și i omoară puii, iar el să scobește cu piscul în piept, și lasă sînge peste dinșii și-i învie.

Cap. III. *Pilda a treea. — Pentru Finicsu.*

[fol. 147^b] Acest *Finicsu* este pasăre *pré frumoase* (!), decât toate [decăt toate] păsările și decât păunul. Că păunul are cap [l. chip], de aur și de argint; iar *Finicsul* acesta are chip de împărat și de pietre scumpe, și (este) cu cunună în cap, și cu încălțăminte în picioare ca împăratul. Și este aproape de o cetate, ce o / *chémă*: *Eleopul*. Și șade noao ani pe chedrii *Livanului* fără hrană, că hrănit este de duhul sfânt. Și după noao ani să umple aripile de mirézmă, și tocând preotul acela al *Eleopului*, al acei cetăți; iar acéști pasăre merge la preot, și întră amândoi în biserică; și șade *Finicsul* pre jertvernece, și îndată să aprinde și să face cenuse. Și viind preotul a doa zi, o află tânără; iar a treea zi o află mare ca și întâiu; și sărutându-o să duce pasiré aceea iar la locul ei.

Pentru aceea, omor celor ce nu cred învieroare lui *Hs.*, precum ticăloșii *Jidovii* să lepădară de învieroare că de a treea zi, și cei necredincioși, care nu cred învieroare. Și ia aminte, cum să înnoește pasiré acésta, *Finixul*; și să înțăleptască pre om. Și să luați aminte, creștinilor, și să urmați, ca să nu ră(mă)-neți în osândă, sau să rămăneți, să vă judece în certu, că mai bine nu v'ați fi născut.

[fol. 148^a]

Cap. IV. *Pilda a patra. — Pentru Pil.*

a) *Pilul* să naște în munte. Aflând burueană, ce să *chémă* *manguruean*, și ia dintr'ănsa și mănăncă. Așijderé *pilul* ea, și mănăcând aceea să înverșunéză spre pohtă, și umblă cu dănsa. Și când va să nască, naște în apă, și crește acolo, până când poate sta în picioare. Pentru aceea *pilul* să face hară mare, și n'are în picioare încheeturi. b) Și umblă în munte după locuri, căutând lemnu gârbov, și să razămă de dănsul, vrând să să odihnéscă. Iar vânătorii știu locul ei cel de odihni, și vine omul acel, care este vânător, și scurmă lemnul la un loc, căt socotește, că dacă să va răzima, nu-l va ține, ce să va rupe, și va căde deînpreună cu *pilul*, și neputând să să mai scoale îl va prinde. Și viind *pilul* să să odihnéscă, să razimă de acel [fol. 148^b] *copăcu*, și cade; / iar vânătorii vin și-l prind pre dănsul viu.

Cap. V. *Pilda a cincé: Iar pentru Pil.*

Căzu pilul cel mare, și foarte tare st[r]igă, și veni alt pil să-l rădice, și mai veniră și alți doisprezăce și nu putură să aridice pilul cel mare.

Că pilul cel mare este Adam; iar cel mai mic Moisi, iar cei doisprezăce sunt Apostolii, că veniră și nu putură; iar Hs. scoase pe Adam din Iad.

Cap. VI. *Pilda a șase: Pentru Cerbu.*

Cerbul trăește cinzeci de ani, și după aceea umblă căutând șcrpi, și dacă-i află, îi mirosăste, până de trei ori; și după aceea îi înghite, și merge de bé apă, pentru că bând apă nu moare, ci trăește alți cinzeci de ani. / Pentru aceea grăește [fol. 149^a] proorocul: "In ce chip dorește cerbul spre izvoarele apelor, așa dorește și sufletul meu de tine, doamne."

Așa și tu omule, trei înnoiri ai în tine: botezul, ispovedania, pocăința; dacă greșeste alérgă cătră bisărică, unde este izvorul vieții, învățătura cărților, citania proorociilor, și bé apa cé vie, adecă, cumenecătura; și vei trăi în veci.

Cap. VII. *Pilda a șapté: Pentru Vultur.*

Vulturul trăește o sută de ani, și-i crește vârful nasului, de nu poate vâna și a să hrăni, și de ochi orbește, de nu vede. După aceia zboară spre înălțimé, în văzduh, și de acolo să trăneste de o piatră și-si frânge vârful botului, și să scaldă întru în (l. un) ezăr curat ca aurul. Și să sue înprotiva soarelui, și dacă-l încălzăste, cade după dănsul penele și să face / iar ca un puîn. [fol. 149^b]

Așjderé și tu omule, dacă vei îmbătrâni și te vei învechi în păcat, sue-te spre înălțimé zmereniș; și să-ti fie la gând plănsul pentru păcatile tale; și te spală cu lacrămile tale; și te încălzește în beserică cu căldura duhului, apoi (leapădă) de la tine toată răutate și spurcăcună, și te vei albi, după cuvântul proorocului: "Mai mult decât zăpada, în zioa cé de apoi te vei lumina, (de tot) ce vei fi avut întru tine."

Cap. VIII. *Pilda a optu: Pentru Aspidă.*

[fol. 150^a] *Aspida este parte bărbătească spre răsărit, iar parte femeiască spre apus. Și la vrem² de împreunare lor, să adună amândoi, și (să) împreună. Dec² mueré mănâncă capul bărbatului său, și zămislind naște doi pu². Și după naștere sa, iar, că părinții lor: bărbatul spre răsărit, iar mueré spre apus*.*

Asa și tu, omule, căutând răutate, și despărțindu-le de Dumnezeu, a[lea]rgă cu pocăinți și cu lacrimi și te împreună cu Dumnezeu, ca să nu te afle vrăjmașul tău, că ești depărtat de calé cé dréptă, și te va omoră; și vei fi gonit de la împărăția lui Dumnezeu. Că nu este alt lucru mai rău, decât a te despărți de Dumnezeu și de împărăția cerului.

Cap. IX. *Pilda a noao: Pentru Gorgonia.*

[fol. 150^b] *Pasire gorgonia este strașnică, și aducătoare de moarte. Tiposul este muere frumoase (!) și este curvare; iar perii capului îi sânt de bălaur; iar căutătura ei este ca de moarte**. Deci joacă și răde la vremé sa. Și trăește în măgurile (l. smârcurile) apusului, și când vine zilele ei, a plodi / ca să ea pu²u, începe a striga, de la om până la dobitoc, și altor hară, grăindu-le lor; și căți vin la dânsa de o vād și o aud mor; că știe toate limbile a tu[tu]ror harălor; și ori în ce limbă vorbești, te prelestește ca o fermecătoare; ca pricepe muestrirea din stele. Și să gonește o zi, până merge la locul său. După aceea începe a chema lei și alte hēră. Iar vânătoriu²l auzind merge după dânsa, până când o ajunge. Iar dacă o ajunge, sapă groapă la un loc, și să ascunde, ca să nu-l vază, să moară. După aceea răspunde în limba ei, și zice: veni-vo²u, și vo²u fi cu tine. Atuncé vânătoriu²l mergând nu caută drept la dânsa, ea să nu vază chipul ei, să moară;*

* Variante. A, p. 142: năpărca, aciasta întâiu mănâncă pântecetele mări-sa, dec²u să naste pre acolo, iară nu ca alte dobitoace la lume.

** Cf. A, p. 75: Vesiliscă, iaste un bălaur de să chiamă așa, și acesta bălaur omoară fe-ce numai cu vedérea.

apoi tăindu-i capul ei, îl bagă într'un vas, și cât îl vede vre un om rău, sau vre o hēră, încremeneste și întâpeneste.

Așa și tu omule, de vei iubi gând bun cătră Dumnezeu, vei birui pre vrăjmașul tău și pre strămtoriul de / suflet, și [fol. 151^a] pre toți ceea ce-ți va vrajmășiie și răul tău.

Cap. X. Pilda a zăcé: Pentru Zămbbru.

Zămburul este hiară mai mare, decât toate hiarăle, având frumusețe și foarte înfricoșată. Perii lui ciudați, fruntă lui ciudată și mai strasnică decât toate hiarăle; minunată la priviré. Și când sa lipește de vre un lemn, bate cu coarnele; și nici o hiară nu stăpânește pre dănsul. Și rabdă sete multă, stând lângă apă și tot mirosește pământul. Iar dacă bē apă să imbată și să vesălește, și să plăcă la pământ ca un bou. Deci aflând lemnul îngemănărat; și fiind vesel să prinde cu capul și cu coastele (l. coarnele) între gemănări. Deci viind vânătorul, îl află / încurcat, și așa îl biruește și-l ucide. [fol. 151^b]

Deci așa și tu, omule, făr-de-minte umblând, ca aminte, că cornul l'au dat ție Dumnezeu crucé și legé, ca să nu să apropie de tine vrăjmașul. Că zice proorocul David: „Pre vrajmașii noștrii, cu cornul vom împunge.” Adu-ți aminte de încurcaré hērui aceștiea, și de vânătorul, cel ce vine, adecă diavolul, că viind, să nu te afle în valurile lumii cele înșelătoare. Că este zis de Dumnezeu că toată lumé zace în rău. Fugi den lume, și te vei mântui, ca o căprioară den cursă, care stă întinse asupra-ți.

Cap. XI. Pilda a unsprezece: Pentru Edrop.

Edropul este în maré ca și Fareolu (l. farijulu) și este foarte frumos, iar din jumătate spre coadă este ca peștile; și are cuvîntă (?) întunecoase, și cunjură toată maré / ca [fol. 152^a] un vitéz al mării și al peștilor. Și mai este un pește de aur într'o țara, și zace într'un loc; și merge edropul și cu toți peștii, și să închină lui, ca la un împărat, într'un an o dată. Și iar să întoarce fieste ce pește la locul lui; mergând parté bărbătiască înainte își lepădă icrele, și mergând după dănsii

parte femeiască le adună acele icre și le mănâncă; apoi să plodesc.

Edropul să chêmă învățătorii besericii; iar pestii să chêmă oamenii; iar peștele cel de aur să chêmă legé creștinescă; și viind oamenii să închină besericii nu într'un an o dată, ce în toate zilele. Pentru aceia să cade zioa și noapté să rugăm pre Dumnezeu. Că au zis Dumnezeu: "să nu vă temeți de cei ce ucig trupul, iar sufletul nu poate să-l ucigă; ci mai vartos vă temeți de cel ce ucide și trupul și sufletul. Că cel ce ucide trupul săngur, nu vată[mă] sufletul.

[fol. 152^b]

Cap. XII. Pilda a doasprezece: Pentru Vip.

Vipul este mult știut la viclenia; decât toate [decât toate!] lucrurile (?) meșter mare. Și când nu găsește din (l. de) mâncare trăește patru zeci de zile nemăncat. Iar când găsește di mâncare iar el mănâncă (a) ajunare patru zăci de zile.*

Așa și omul lacom postește patru zăci de zile; iar când să împlinesc și să dizlégă zilele, plinește toată lăcomia lui și pohta răutății.

Cap. XIII. Pilda a treisprezece: Iar pentru Vip.

[fol. 153^a] Vipul șade pe piatră nemîscată, privind spre amiazăzi; și când să face unde-va stărvu, den sângele acela își încălzăște unghile den drépta, și pricepând să suie pre înndălțime, pentru aceia să chêmă Vip. / Și să face innainté lui oaste ca o albeță mare (!?). Si are o pană în capul lui, povătuind cătră stărfu (!).

Pentru aceia și tu omule, dacă cazi în păcat, sue-ți gândul la Dumnezeu, și alérgă la vracu, adecă la sfânta beserică, să te vindeci. Că Dumnezeu fiind bogat, pentru noi au sărăcit, ca pre noi să ne îmbogățască.

* Variante. A, p. 504: supă ăste un felu de vălturi, cari sânt asémene uliului, cari pot trăi și 40 de zile nemăncati, iară apoi dēca apucă la mâncare mănăncă 40 de mănări.

Cap. XIV.

Pilda a patru sprezece: Pentru Ghieonoie.

a. Ghieonoiea este iubitoare de puii săi, și de drag(ost) te mare îi omoară; și viind ghieonoțul pică sânge de la el peste ranile lor, și-i înviează. — Așa și Hs. nêu înviat pre noi, cu sângele său, fiind noi morți pentru păcat.

b. Iar ghieonoiea zboară din copaciu în copaciu, scobind lemnul, și ascultă cu urechê, și dacă află lemnul tare și vartos, el fuge de la dânsul; iar unde află lemnul slab și găunos, el tot scobește și să sălășiluește într'ânsul, / și acolo scoate și [fol. 153^b]
puii săi, și lăcueste într'ânsul.

Așa și diavolul umblă din om în om cercând cu viclesugul său, și dacă găsește om slab să sălășluește într'ânsul; iar dacă-l găsește postind și rugându-se sau făcând milostenie, el fuge, că nu-i place. Așijderê și omul rău ascunde cuvintele și viclesugul până îi vine în prilej; apoi face ce-i vine în gând, nesocotind minte lui și învățătura.

Cap. XV. *Pilda a cincisprezece: Pentru Porumbu.*

a. Porumbul este pasere mai blândă decât toate paserile și toți într'un loc zboară și să păzască de șoimii, ca să nu-i prinză.

Așa și tu omule, păzești-te de diavolul, ca să nu te prinză, că apoi Dumnezeu te va ură. Aapără-te (!) cu osărdie, și vino la biserică, rugându-te lui Dumnezeu, / cu toată inima, și [fol. 154^a]
răbdă valurile și dosezile, și vei avê de la Dumnezeu cinste și plată fiind întregu, ca tot robul (! l. ca porumbul).

b. Că el la loc spurcat nu poate lăcui.

Așa și tu omule, iubește curățania și fii milostiv; nu te scumpi de darul lui Dumnezeu, din ce ai, după putința ta. Că ce ai adunat, acê va rămânê, iar tu te vei duce cu păcatile în pământ, și numai cu trei coți de pânză, după obiceiul nostru cel creștinesc*.

* c. B. (Chrestom. - I, p. 167): Porumbul iaste o pasăre mai bună si mai întrêgă decât toate pasărilor; și când merge să să

Cap. XVI. *Pilda a șasisprezece: Pentru Păun.*

Păunul este în chipul aurului, și al argintului; și în chipul ingerului. Și să înnalță minte lui în cuviința frumuseții. Și când va să nască (l. să se înnalță) să plăcă și caută jos.

[fol. 154^b] Așa și tu omule, nu înnalță minte ta întru bogăție ce-ți ado aminte, că pământ ești, și în pământ vei să mergi; și / bogăția ta altora va rămâne.

Iar păunul jucându, se înfrumusețaze (?) iar dacă să uită la picioarele sale, să scărbește; și plecându-se grăește întru sine: pentru ce nu sunt picioarele ca și trupul?

Așa și tu omule, ferește-te de trufie, măcar de ești la cinste mare; și de vezi pre tine haine scumpe, adu-ți aminte și de cela, ce zice: „Intru smerenia no[a]stră, nău pomenit pre noi Domnul. „ Și cu cât ești mare, cu atâta ți să cade să-te smerești. Căci ca când vatămi trupul și-l cauți cu o dohtorie, de o vindeci, așijderé și sufletul vracu are: beserica. Fraților! Șasă zile ni s'au dat de la Dumnezeu de lucru; iar a șapte să stai înainté lui Dumnezeu rugându-te pentru păcatile tale; și mai mult să (o) cinșești pentru învieare domnului nostru Is. Hs.; că înviind dom[nul] nostru nău izbăvit și pre noi den mâinele vrăjmașului.

[fol. 155^a] Cap. XVII. *Pilda a șaptesprezece: Pentru Stărcu.*

Stărcul foarte mult este iubitor de pui și iubitor de părinți. Iar statul lui într'acestași chip este: den jumătate în jos este foarte supfire, și pre peptu este foarte gros. Și nu să ducé nici odată din cuibul său, ca să-i rămăie pui sângur; când să ducé bărbată-său; iar ea șade de-și încălzăște puii săi.

hrănescă, si apucă grăunțul cu gura, nu o(l. îl) înghite, ci-l ține în gură, și să păzește și caută ca nu cum-va să să lase la dânsul uleul și să'l prinză. Deci deca vede că nu iaste uleul désupra lui atunci el înghite grăunțul.

Aşa şi Hs. nu să dipărtéza de faptura sa, ci o încălzăşte şi o hrăneşte. Iar tu omule te depărtez[î] de curăţie şi slujeşti păcatului neîncetat. Dar ce răspunsu vei da pent[ru] răulăţile tale? Dacăv ei mânia pre Dumnezeu, cu ce rugăcune vei imblânzi? Că Dumnezeu fiind bogat, s'au dat sărăciei, ca să te scape den munca ta.

Cap. XVIII.

Pilda a optusprăzece: Iar pentru Stărcu. [fol. 155^b]

Stărcul dacă îmbătrâneşte le cade penile şi nu mai pot a vâna şi a să hrăni. Atuncé să străngu puii lor, şi-i acopere cu aripile lor, şi-i încălzăşte, şi le dau hrană până ce le cresc penele, şi-si vinu în fire.

Aşa şi tu omule, cinsteste pre părinţii tăi la bătrâneţă şi la tinereţă, şi bine te vor cuvânta, şi vei trăi ani mulţi. Iar de te vor blestema, blestemul te va ajunge. Că blestemul părinţilor dezrădăcinază până la a treilé ném.

Cap. XIX. Pilda a noaosprezece: Pentru Cocor.

Cocorul este pasere cu glas foarte mare / şi străgă (l. se [fol. 156^a] străngă) cătră sară, pentru ca să măie, şi-si pune stréjă pe unul dintr'ânsii, di-i păzăşte. Şi luînd o piatră într'un picior o ţine, si în cela l'ant picior (stă), şi stă ca să nu adormă. Iar când adoarmiteză, îi cade piatra din unghiile lui. Atuncé străgă cu glas mare şi deşteptă pe ceea l'a(n)ţi cocori, ca să să păziască de vânători.

Aşa şi tu omule, dacă auzi glasul besericii deşteptă-te den somnul morţii, şi te trăzăşte. Că beserica este strajă, ca să scapi de săgéta vrăjmaşului cé aprinsă; iar mila lui Dumnezeu te va acoperi. Că toaca îţi este strajă, ca şi cocorul că te pazăste de somnul morţii. Că copacul este înpodobit cu frunză, şi-l taie omul pentru tréba besericii, ca să cheme dreptii la mântuire, şi pre păcătoşi la pocăinţa cé adevărată, pentru ca să nu şi piardă sufletul.

[fol. 156^b]Cap. XX. *Pilda a doaozăci: Pentru Ariciu.*

Ariciul mării este pește mare, și nu are picioare, ci numai părul ca de ariciu, și stă tot la un loc. Iar dacă pricepe turburările apii mării, strânge pietre, și să acopere cu dânsăle, ca să nu-l arunce apa la uscat, pentru că nu să va mai pute întoarce la locul său.

[fol. 157^a]

Așa și tu omule, iubește viața bună către Dumnezeu; fi dulce cu prietenii tăi; că de te va afla vre-o scârbă sau vre-o nevoie te va căuta prietenii tăi; și (cu) voiea lui Dumnezeu nu vei peri. Că cui ajută Dumnezeu aceluea ajută și sfinții; și să nu zici: bogat sunt și am voie la împăratul, și pre mai micii tăi să părăști. Că nu știi când îți va sosi vre-o scârbă / atunci cei mari toți te părăsc pre tine. Pentru aceia să iubești și să cinstești, și pre cei mici și pre cei mai mari.

Cap. XXI. *Pilda a doaozeci și una: Pentru Șarpe.*

a. Șarpele este mai cuîmplită decât toate lucrurile (?), că are [ve]nin, și-l făcu Dumnezeu a avé pizmă cu omul, și dorește a vedé om. b. Și când merge să bē apă, el își varsă veninul suptu o piatră, ca să nu-l verse în apă, ca să bē cineva să moară; iar după ce bē apă, iarăși soarbe veninul său.

[fol. 157^b]

Așa și tu, omule, de ai pe fratele tău pizmă și zavistie, să nu mergi la beserică, până nu te vei împăca cu el, ca să nu mănii pe duhul sfânt, și pre îngerul tău vei goni de la tine, și apoi te vor afla toate răutățile, și darul tău na (l. nu) va fi priimit / la Dumnezeu.

c. Și iar șarpele fuge de om, că dacă-l va ajunge omul, îl va omorâ, dece își ocolește capul cu trupul său, ca de să va zdrobi trupul, iar capul să-i rămăie; deci că di-i va rămâne capul nezdrobot, apoi trupul i să va vindeca.*

* C. Variante. B (Chrestomatie, I, p. 166-167): șarpile este o jiganie mai înțeleptă și mai cumplită decât toate jigăniile; și tot de-una să roagă lui Dumnezeu ca să vază chip de om, pentru că omul iaste și poartă po-doaba lui Dumnezeu; și apoi iara să roagă ca omul să nu vază pre dânsul. Deci el deca vede pre om fuge să să ascunză unde-va; iar deca merge omul

Aşa şi tu omule, de va fi rănit tot trupul tău, şi sufletul va fi dreptu şi întreg la Dumnezeu, tot trupul ți să va vindeca; iar de vei pierde sufletul, ce folos va fi? că toate ale tale vor peri, şi ce răspunsu vei să dai la înfricoşatul judeţul nostru Is. Hs. înainté scaunului său.

Cap. XXII. Pilda a doaozeci şi doao: Pentru Bou.

Boul este de slujba omului, şi n'are răutate la inimă, tot bine gândeşte omului; dar are şi curvie mare, şi cam bufnos puţin. Iar dacă află sânge / vărsat jos de alt bou, mirose [fol. 158^a] pământul şi suspină de la inimă, zicând: slavă ție stăpânule; care neî făcut pre noi din pământ, şi iar în [pă]mânt vom să mergem. Şi auzind şi ceea l'anţi boi să roagă şi ei.

Aşa şi tu omule, adu-ţi aminte, că pământ eşti, şi iar în pământ vei să mergi; pentru ce nu plângi pentru prietenul tău cu plânsu şi cu jale? ce răzi şi-ţi pare bine de moarté lui, ca când ai dobândi al (!) mare lucru. Dar nu ştii că şi tu eşti muritor, şi aştepţi a lua morte? Iubeşte pe prietenii tăi ca şi pre tine, nu te scărbi de dânsul; că pentru pizmă ce o ai vei pierde sufletul tău, şi te vei lipsi de împărăţia lui Dumnezeu. Ci ca boul când vede sângele altui bou, şi miroasăşte pământul şi suspină, aşa şi tu suspină ca boul şi să jeleşte pe prietenul tău, măcar cu gura, de nu poţi cu inima.

Cap. XXIII. Pilda a doaozeci şi trei: Pentru Inorod. [fol. 158^b]

Inorodul este o hară foarte mare, având şi trupul ei mare, şi nasul lui trece peste gură, şi-i ajunge pe suptu barbă; şi când paste iarbă, stând în loc o ajunge cu limba. Iar dacă vede vre o hară, îndată să ea după dânsa de o ajunge şi o pătrunde cu cornul său; şi dacă este o gadină mai mică, o tot poartă în cornul său până sa împunge bine, încă până să

după dânsul şi-l ajunge, iar el îşi acopere capul cu tot trupul şi şi-l ascunde supt dânsul, ca doară si l-ar pute feri zdravăn, că ştie că deca va scăpa zdravăn capul şi sănătos, deci măcar de-i-ar zdrumica şi sfărâme tot trupul, iar şi-l va vindeca trupul; iar deca i se va zdrobi capul, decii tot trupul lui va rămâne cu dânsul zdrobit şi sfărâmat.

și impute; și tot îi cură untura hărui aceia în gura lui și pre limba lui, și acia este mâncare lui. Deci să-ți fie în știre omule, că acesta nu poartă grijă de mâncare, și trăește. Și nu este de acesta minune; că aceia să scoala de trei ori în zi căutând spre răsărit, și mulțămind lui Dumnezeu pentru hrană, / și roagă pe Dumnezeu cu suspin; și așa rămâne de toate fapturile, și să laudă spre sinc. (?)

Așa și tu omule, mulțamește lui Dumnezeu, care tîu zidit, pentru vieață și sănătate și pentru binele și răul care te află pentru păcatile tale. Că toate bunătățile câte sînt, pentru tine le lase cu (?) Dumnezeu întru toate; și te smerește. Nu te mări cu bogăția și cu puteré, sau cu nîm mare, sau cu înțelepție; că toate aceștî, de Dumnezeu nu sînt date, de a le face spre trufie și spre mândrie, că nu sînt plăcute lui Dumnezeu.

Cap. XXIV.

Pilda a doazeci și patru: Pentru Zgripsor.

Zgripsorul este pasăre mai mare, decât toate păsările cele zburătoare, și trăește în pămîntul al lui Avial, pre răul Achianului. Iar cînd / răsare soarele dentru adîncul apîi, și-și varsă razile sale, deci întinzîndu-și aripile ajunge razile soarelui, și vine alt gripsor la dînsul și stă înainté lu(i) grîind amîndoi, și zăcînd: dătătorule de lumină, vino și dă lumina ta. Deci cît stă gripsorul, atîta stă și arhanghelul Mihail și Precista, rugănd pre milostivul Dumnezeu cătră pacé Creștinilor.

Pentru aceia și tu omule, să cunoști de la cine îți este vieața, ca să dai laudă și mulțămită lui Dumnezeu, în toate zilele vieții tale.

Cap. XXV. *Pilda a doazeci și cinci: Pentru broaște.*

Broaște sînt de doao felîuri: unele trăesc în apă, iar altele în câmpu pe uscat. Deci cî din apă, dacă sacă apa, iar ea fuge în altă baltă mai mare; iar cî din câmpu, / dacă încetîzi ploaea și să usucă câmpul, nu fuge nici moare, ca a din apă, ci cere la Dumnezeu ploaie și trăește la locul său.

Așa și călugărul cel rău și lacom, dacă lipsescu bucatele

la mănăstire, sau băutură, el fuge la altă mănăstire, pentru ca să-și îngrase trupul, hrana viermilor. Iar călugărul cel bun și dreptu, care nu să călugărește pentru săturare păntecelui lui, sau pentru bogăție, ce pentru spăsanica sufletului lui, acela rabdă scărbe și pedepse, ca și broasca că din uscat, nu (? și) tot roagă pe Dumnezeu; pentru căci că-i da toate cele ce-i trebuesc.

(Sfârșit.)

APPENDICE.

[Cap. XXVI.] A, p. 714: Corcodil, iaste o hiară petrecătoare în apă și asemene iaste cămilei, care deca prinde omul întâi îl mănâncă tot, apoi șade pe capul lui 3 zile și plânge.

Acești fieri asemenea Grigorie bogoslovu oamenilor cei ruți la mânia, că întâi face, apoi să căiaște.

[Cap. XXVII.] A, p. 621: Lăvan, iaste o fieare de să chîamă așa, și foarte iaste ascuțită la vedere cât vede și pren zid.

[Cap. XXVIII.] A, 525, Salamandra, iaste o jiganie căt șopârta de mare, și atăta iaste de răce căt mănâncă foc și stinge văpaea.

[Cap. XXIX.] B, Chrestomatie română, I, p. 167-168:

Pilda pentru Stratocamil, carele să înțelege Gripsor.

Stratocamilul, adică gripsorul, iaste o pasăre mare și mai meșteră decât toate pasările. Deci deca oao, și când va să scoată puî, el nu zace pre oao, ca alte pasări să le clocescă și să le încălzescă cu trupul, ci le bugă în apă și le păzește cu ochii și cu minte, și caută tot la iale și zioa și noapte neîncetat, până ce să clocescu oaole și-și scoate pui; iar de' și va dezlipi ochii și minte de după oao si va privi într' altă parte, iaste alta jiganie de și sémână cu șarpele pe care o chieamă aspidă. Deci când vede pre stratocamil păzindu-ș oaole și căutând la dânsule, iar ea vine și să apropie den dăstul și stă și așteptă, ca doară 'și va întoarce stratocamilul ochii să caute încotro-va, iar ea să sufle spre dânsule, și de duhul ei să le strice și sa le împuță.

[Cap. XXX.] B, *Turtureaua*.

*Turturcaua ceia ce se desparte si i pere soŭiea, multă jale si dor are pentru dănsa, si nici o dată pre copaciu verde nu se pune, ci tot pre uscat; si când va să bé apă întâi o turbură cu picioarele si atunci bea; si nici odată inima ei nu do-
bândește veselie.*

3. Versione annotata.

I. *Della Fenice e dell'Aquila.*

a. Voi tutti che non credete alla risurrezione di Cristo, udite di un uccello chiamato Finix. Questo uccello è di gran corpo, è più grande che il pavone ed ha una gran faccia. Si dice che non abbia femina. Vive 500 anni, e poi va verso oriente e porta con sè molti profumi. E sapendo della morte sua, che ei morrà dopo 500 anni, si porta cinnamomo e garofano dal monte *Liavan*, e sale sur un alto luogo ad oriente e distende le sue ali e sta così. Allora i raggi del sole lo accendono, e brucia tutto e divien polvere. Dalle ceneri sue si forma un verme, e da questo verme si forma di nuovo l'uccello Finix e vola in Arabia.

La leggenda della Fenice ritorna, in forma alquanto mutata, più sotto, al capo III, rispondendo così alla doppia versione greca del codice Δ in PITRA p. 345, n. 4. La presente redazione (cap. I) s'allontana recisamente dal testo greco e da quelli etiopici, siriaci, armeni ed arabi che ne dipendono. Vedi più innanzi, al cap. III.

b. Dell'Aquila parimenti si dice che viva 100 anni. Allora invecchia e accieca, e il volare le si fa grave. E va ad una fonte qualunque e vi si tuffa dentro, e poi vola in aria fin che da' raggi del sole vien tutta incesa. E allora vede la pura fonte, volgesi indietro e di nuovo vi si immerge. Questo fa tre volte e ridiviene quale era prima.

Però dice Davide profeta: « si rinnoverà come d'aquila la tua giovinezza. »

Così [tu] pure, l'uomo peccaminoso, allorchè si converte (si pente) e purifica mercè la confessione, egli si purga davvero e si rinnova come imprima.

Anche l'Aquila è data in due redazioni, qui e al cap. VII. La redazione presente è più vicina a quella presso il PITRA, cap. VIII, pp. 344-45. Il cod. Δ ha pur qui una versione che coincide col cap. VII rumeno. Cfr. HOMMEL (etiopico), cap. 6, p. 52 della traduzione tedesca. Alla presente lezione corrisponde anche LAND, *Anecdota Syriaca* IV, Leyden 1875, cap. 24 e annotaz. p. 152.

II. *Del Pajar.*

L'uccello Pajar ama molto i suoi nati e li alimenta molto bene, ma questi con le ali lo percuotono nel viso ed egli allora infuriandosi li afferra e li uccide. Dopo se ne addolora e li piange per ben tre giorni. Quando poi viene la madre, egli si apre il fianco, e quando il sangue ne scorre sopra i figliuoli, tosto essi tornano vivi.

Così Nostro Signore G. C. alimentava i Giudei, ed essi lo batterono con le palme nel viso e gli punsero le coste, dalle quali sgorgò sangue ed acqua per la rinnovazione di tutto il mondo, cioè la santa comunione, circa la quale egli stesso promise e disse: « Chi mangerà la mia carne e berà il mio sangue, in me egli vivrà ed io in lui, per l'eternità. » 'Amen', cioè: 'vero'.

Pajār significa di solito una specie di grande aquila; qui sta per il greco *πελεκάν*; cfr. PITRA, cap. VI, p. 343; EPIPHANIUS, cap. VIII, col. 523; HOMMEL, cap. 4, p. 49; LAND, cap. 27. In forma leggermente mutata, questa leggenda ritorna per il Picchio (cap. XIV). Si dice nella variante che l'uccello è in continua guerra co' serpenti, e che i serpenti gli uccidono i figliuoli; ma questi si fanno rivivere, come qua sopra. Cfr. PITRA, cap. VI: la seconda φύσις.

III. *Della Finix.*

Questa Finix è il più bell'uccello fra tutti gli uccelli, più bello perfino del pavone. Il pavone par fatto (ha una figura) d'oro e d'argento, ma la Finix pare un imperatore, piena di pietre preziose e con una corona sulla testa e con calzari a' piedi, come un imperatore. Abita in vicinanza della città di Eleopul. Siede nove anni senza cibo sui cedri del Libano ed è nutrita dallo Spirito Santo. E dopo nove anni si riempiono le sue ali di profumi. Ma quando il sacerdote di Eleopul bussa (per la preghiera), viene l'uccello ed entra con quello nella chiesa e si pone sopra l'altare ove brucia e va in cenere. Il giorno appresso il sacerdote ci va e trova una Finix giovine e al terzo giorno ella è al tutto com'era prima. Allora baciala il sacerdote ed ella se ne ritorna novellamente al luogo suo.

Epperò guai a coloro che non credono nella risurrezione di G. C., come i miserabili Giudei, che misconobbero la risurrezione del terzo giorno e gli empj che nella risurrezione non credono. E poni mente come si rinnovella questo uccello Fenice. Ammaestri (esso) l'uomo. E ponete mente, o cristiani, e (lo) imitate, perchè non rimanghiate in dannazione: o se vi rimarrete, si giudicherà in cielo che sarebbe stato meglio che non foste nati.

È redazione più estesa che non sia I *a*, e più vicina alla greca. Cfr. PITRA, cap. IX del testo, p. 345; EPIPH., cap. XI, col. 526; HOMMEL, cap. 7, p. 52; LAND, cap. 29. — I nove anni invece de' cinquecento si spiegano per uno sbaglio del copista, che scambiò la cifra *φ'* dell'alfabeto cirillico per *θ'* (*φ* e *θ* suonano entrambi *f* nello slavo, onde *θ* spesso occorre per *φ*), cioè un 500 per un 9.

IV. Del Pil.

a. Il Pil nasce in montagna. Quando egli trova *manguruane* (cioè maggiorana: *origanum majorana*), egli ne mangia e ne va in amore e si accoppia. Partorisce il figliuolo nell'acqua ed esso vi rimane finchè può stare sui suoi piedi. Quindi diventa il Pil un poderoso animale, senza articolazioni nei ginocchi.

b. Egli va intorno per la montagna e cerca alberi curvi, per appoggiarvisi e riposare. Ma i cacciatori fanno il luogo suo di riposo; e viene un cacciatore e tanto tagliuzza l'albero, che stima ch'egli abbia a rompersi e cascare insieme col Pil, se questi gli si appoggi, ond'egli lo potrà allora pigliare. Or quando il Pil viene per riposare, s'appoggia egli a quell'albero e cade. I cacciatori a questo modo lo pigliano vivo.

V. Ancora del Pil.

Cadde il grande Pil e gridò molto forte; allora ne venne un altro per sollevarlo e non poté, e così anche gli altri dodici che vennero.

Il grande Pil è Adamo; quello più piccolo è poi Mosè; e i dodici sono gli Apostoli, che vennero e non poterono; ma G. C. liberò Adamo dall'inferno.

Manca nella narrazione che ne venne poi uno piccolo e sollevò il Pil grande; e appunto il piccolo raffigura Cristo, come nella *Moralisatio* si vede.

I capitoli IV e V ne formano in tutte le altre versioni uno solo, con diversa *φύσις*. Cfr. PITRA, cap. XLIV, pp. 364-366; HOMMEL, p. 43, p. 87 e segg.; LAND, cap. 15, pp. 143-145. EPIPHANIUS, cap. IV, col. 521, ha solo la I *φύσις* della nascita e nulla delle ginocchia senza articolazioni, ne del modo in cui vien preso.

Il nome della pianta (*matraguna*) è corruzione del greco *ματ-δραγόρας*. — Nella versione slava (NOVAKOVIC' p. 498), l'ordine è capovolto. Prima si racconta il rum. IVb, poscia IV a; viene poi un paragrafo, seguito dal rum. V, e solo alla fine si dice la nascita nell'acqua, e che i figliuoli tanto sono tenuti sull'acqua da' genitori con la proboscide, fin che essi han forza di stare in piedi. Del serpente che lo insidia e che è calpestato dall'elefante, non vi si fa neppure menzione. La pianta vi è chiamata *mandorar*.

VI. Del Cervo.

Il Cervo vive cinquant'anni; va poi a cercare serpenti e quando li ha trovati, li annusa tre volte, poi li ingoja e va a bere dell'acqua; poichè allora più non muore, ma vive altri cinquant'anni. Però dice il profeta: « come il cervo desidera le sorgenti delle acque, così anche ha desiderio di te l'anima mia, o Signore. »

Così anche tu, o uomo, hai in te tre rinnovamenti: il battesimo, la confessione, la penitenza; se pecchi, corri alla chiesa, dove è la sorgente della vita, la dottrina de' libri sacri, la lettura de' profeti e bevi l'*acqua di vita*, cioè la comunione; e camperai in eterno.

Una lezione abbreviata, che è in PITRA, cap. XXXII, pagine 358-359, risponde al II. Più s'accosta EPIPH., cap. V, dove pur segue al cap. IV (dell'elefante). LAND, cap. 16, cfr. 147-148, non l'ha; nè HOMMEL, dove il cap. 30 del 'Capriolo' è uguale a PITRA, cap. XXII, 1.

VII. Dell'Aquila (Vultur).

L'Aquila vive cent'anni e il becco le cresce tanto che non può nè cacciare nè nutrirsi, e gli occhi le si accecano, sicchè più non vede. Allora vola in alto e di là si precipita da una rupe, sicchè il suo becco si rompe ed ella si bagna in un lago puro come l'oro. Poscia s'innalza incontro al sole; e quando ne è riscaldata, le cadono le penne e ridiventa un' aquila giovane.

Parimenti anche tu, o uomo, se crescerai e invecchierai nel peccato, levati sopra le altezze della umiltà; e pensa a piangere i tuoi peccati e ti lava con le lacrime tue; e ti scalda in chiesa col fervore dello spirito e ripudia poi da te ogni malvagità e sozzura e diverrai candido, conforme al detto del profeta: « nel novissimo di sarai più mondo della neve, (libero) d'ogni (peccato) che avrai avuto. »

Cfr. I b. Più s'avvicina a questa redazione il cod. Δ in PITRA, p. 344, EPIPHANIUS, cap. VI, col. 523. Cfr. la vers. slava di No-

VAKOVIĆ, p. 499. L'episodio del *becco* verisimilmente deriva da una redazione che si continua solo nelle greche.

VIII. *Della Vipera (Aspidà).*

Il maschio della Vipera vive in oriente, la femina in occidente. E al tempo della loro unione, s'incontrano e si accoppiano. La femina mangia il capo al maschio, diviene gravida e partorisce due figliuoli. Questi, appena nati mangiucchiano la madre, che muore. Ma cresciuti, di nuovo si separano, come i loro genitori: il maschio ad oriente e la femina a occidente.

Così anche tu, o uomo, che cerchi il male e ti allontani da Dio, corri con penitenza e con lacrime e unisciti a Dio, perchè non ti trovi il nemico tuo, allontanato dal diritto cammino, e ti ucciderà e sarai cacciato dal regno di Dio. Chè non v'ha altra cosa più rea dello allontanarti da Dio e dal regno del cielo.

Non del tutto identici, ma strettamente affini: PITRA, cap. XII, p. 347; HOMMEL, cap. 10, p. 55; LAND, cap. 47, pp. 161-162.

IX. *Della Gorgonia.*

La Gorgonia è un uccello spaventoso e micidiale. Il suo aspetto è quello di una donna ed è lasciva; e la sua chioma è come di un dragone (*balaür*) ed il suo sguardo è mortale. Essa canta e balla a suo tempo (?). Vive nei vortici del mare in occidente. Quando giunge il tempo della sua fecondazione e essa debba concepire, chiama uomini e animali e fiere e parla con loro; se alcuno viene e la vede e ascolta, si muore. Intende essa le lingue di tutti gli animali e li incanta in ogni lingua come una fata; intende l'arte che spiega le stelle. Il suo amore dura un giorno, e ella poi ritorna al posto di prima; e allora chiama leoni ed altri animali. Il cacciatore la sente e la persegue, fin che la raggiunga. Allora egli scava un buco, dove si nasconde, perchè essa non lo veda e non lo uccida. Le risponde egli poi nella sua lingua: Io verrò e ti starò allato. Poscia le si avvicina, senza guardarla, chè altrimenti dovrebbe morire, e le taglia via la testa e la ripone in un vaso. Tosto che un cattivo uomo o una bestia selvatica lo veda, impietra e si fa immobile.

Così tu pure, o uomo, se con tutto l'animo amerai Dio, vincerai il tuo nemico e l'affanno dell'anima e tutti quelli che ti osteggeranno e il tuo male.

Di questa leggenda, che è indubitabilmente una leggenda 'gorgoniana', modificata e connessa con quella delle Sirene, non trovo

se non una sola corrispondenza tra le versioni orientali: PITRA, cap. LIII. Riappare veramente la *Sirena* in PITRA, cap. XV, p. 350, HOMMEL, cap. 13, p. 59, LAND, cap. 14, p. 142; ma affatto brevemente e con poca affinità colla presente versione rumena. Ho preso da A, ed aggiunto come variante, la leggenda del *basilisco*, fusa qui con quella della *gorgone*; cfr. PITRA, cap. LXI.

X. Dello Zâmbbru (Il bisonte).

Lo Zâmbbru è il più potente di tutti gli animali, è bello e molto pauroso. È mirabile il suo pelo; e così pur la fronte molto più poderosa che in tutti gli altri animali. Mirabile è il suo aspetto. Quando s'attacca forte ad un albero, mena le corna; e nessun animale può superarlo. Tollera anche molto la sete, standosi presso l'acqua, e odora sempre la terra. Quando poi beve dell'acqua, s'ubbria, diventa allegro e si curva contro il suolo, come un bue. Se s'imbatte in tronchi ramosi ed è allegro, resta egli preso nei rami con la testa e le corna. Sopravviene allora il cacciatore e lo trova impigliato; se ne impossessa e l'uccide.

Dunque così anche tu, o uomo, che senza senno vivi, pon mente che corno ti ha dato Iddio: la croce e la legge, perchè non si approssimi a te il nemico. Perchè dice il profeta Davide: « noi pungeremo col corno i nemici nostri. » Ricordati dello impacciarsi di questa fiera e del cacciatore che viene, che è il diavolo; ch'ei non ti trovi, giungendo, ne' flutti fallaci del mondo. Perchè è detto di Dio che tutto il mondo si giace nel male. Fuggi dal mondo e ti salverai, come capriola dal cappio, che sopra di te è steso.

Cf. PITRA, cap. II, p. 341; dove l'animale è chiamato Ἐδρωψ; il qual nome ritorna qui nel rumeno, al cap. XI, sotto la forma di Edrop, applicato a un animale affatto diverso, laddove il contenuto della redazione greca più o meno coincide col cap. X del rum. Tal quale il rumeno: EPIPHANIUS, cap. 3, περὶ τοῦ οὔρου. Altrove s'ha l'*Antholops*; v. HOMMEL, cap. 36, p. 82-83 e in ispecie l'*Introduzione*, p. XXIV segg.; LAND, cap. 19 e p. 148-9. Molto poi si approssima: NOVAKOVIC', pp. 497-98; dove l'animale è chiamato Zubr ŭ. Rispetto all'*Antholops*, cfr. ciò che si dice dell'*Edrop* al cap. seguente.

XI. Dell' Edrop.

L'Edrop è nel mare, quasi un destriero ed è molto bello; dal mezzo in giù fino alla coda, è simile a un pesce ed è di colore (?)

oscuro, e percorre tutto il mare come un eroe del mare e de' pesci. E c'è inoltre un pesce d'oro in un paese, e giace (sempre) in uno stesso luogo. Ora l'Edrop ci va ogni anno, insieme con tutti gli altri pesci, a fargli omaggio come a un imperatore. Poi tutti i pesci se ne ritornano separatamente. I maschi vanno innanzi e lascian libere le ova; le femine che vanno dietro, raccolgono quelle ova e le inghiottono. In questa maniera si moltiplicano.

Si chiamano Edrop i maestri della chiesa, e pesci gli uomini; e pesce d'oro è detta la legge cristiana. E vanno gli uomini e s'inchinano alla chiesa, non una volta sola nell'anno, ma ogni giorno. E per questo conviene che giorno e notte noi preghiamo Dio, perchè ha detto Iddio: « non temete quelli che uccidono il corpo, ma non possono uccidere l'anima; ben è più ragione che temiate chi e il corpo e l'anima uccide; perchè chi uccide il corpo solo, all'anima non fa danno. »

Il parallelo non si trova in nessun altro *Physiologus*, fuorchè nello slavo: NOVAKOVIC', p. 499, cfr. anche MIKLOSICH, nel *Lexicon*, p. 259 s. v. *inŭdropŭ*. — LAND, cap. 78, si accosta lontanamente alla *migrazione de' pesci*, ma senza coincidere ne' particolari.

Il nome Edrop o Endrop (in slavo) è senza dubbio il greco Ἐδρωψ che occorre come titolo del cap. II in PITRA (cap. X rum.). La immediata successione di codesti due capitoli (IX e X rum.) e l'assoluta mancanza del secondo nel greco e nelle versioni che ne derivarono direttamente, pare che accennino all'essersi questo ivi perduto e mantenuto solo nello slavo e nel rumeno, dove il nome, Ἐδρωψ, meglio conviene a un animale acquatico. Nella versione greca, il nome fu poi dato erroneamente all'animale che precede. In EPIPHANIUS manca pur questo nome, il quale verisimilmente non avrà nulla a che fare con *Antholops*, nonostante HOMMEL, nel l. c.

XII. Del Vip.

Il Vip è straordinariamente astuto e più abile che tutte le creature (tutti gli uccelli?). Quando non trova niente da mangiare, egli digiuna per quaranta giorni. Ma quando trova da mangiare, tanto mangia allora, quanto ha digiunato ne' quaranta giorni.

Così anche l'uomo goloso digiuna quaranta giorni; ma quando è passata la quaresima, satisfà egli tutta la sua ghiottornia e desidera malvagità.

Nella 'variante' è una specie di aquila che mangia 40 vi-

vande, cioè quaranta volte. Quest'animale non si ritrova se non presso EPIPHANIUS, cap. VII, col. 524: *περὶ τοῦ γυπὸς*. Dal greco γύψ si ebbe lo slavo *vyp*, onde il rum. *vip*. MIKLOSICH cita questa parola dal *Physiologus* slavo (*Lexicon Palaeoslovenicum*, p. 115). — Il racconto par mancare a tutte le altre versioni.

XIII. Ancora del Vip.

Il Vip se ne sta sopra una rupe immobile e guarda verso mezzodi. Quando in alcun luogo cada una carogna, per quel sangue gli diventano caldi gli artigli nella parte destra, e di ciò accorgendosi, sale egli in alto, e per ciò si chiama Vip. E l'esercito diviene innanzi a lui come una gran cosa bianca; ed egli ha una penna in testa, che lo guida alla carogna.

Perciò tu pure, o uomo, se cadi in peccato, leva il pensiero a Dio e corri al medico, cioè alla Santa Chiesa, perchè tu sani. Chè Iddio sendo ricco, per noi si è fatto povero, per arricchirne.

Nessun riscontro m'è qui dato citare. Lontanamente affine pare il racconto del 'δορυχορ': PITRA, cap. XLIII, p. 364; HOMMEL, cap. 41, p. 86; LAND, cap. 18, p. 147.

XIV. Del Picchio (Ghionoae).

a. La femina del Picchio ama i suoi piccini, e per il grande amore li uccide; ma quando giunge il Picchio, fa egli scorrere il proprio sangue sopra le loro ferite e li richiama in vita.

b. Il Picchio vola d'albero in albero, scava il legno e tende l'orecchio. Se trova l'albero sodo e sano, vola oltre. Ma se ne trova uno debole e vuoto, allora egli lo scava tutto e vi fa dentro la sua abitazione; là fa nascere i suoi piccini e ivi dimora.

Così anche il diavolo va da uomo ad uomo, cercando con l'astuzia sua; e se egli trova uomo fiacco, fa sua dimora in lui; ma se lo trova che digiuni e preghi e faccia carità, ei fugge, perchè non gli piace. Parimenti anche l'uomo malvagio nasconde i suoi pensieri e le sue male arti, fin che si presenta l'occasione; poscia fa ciò che gli viene in pensiero, ponendo in non cale e la ragione sua e gli insegnamenti (avuti).

La prima parte, a, è tolta al Pellicano (cap. II), e verisimilmente s'è qui intrusa per l'accento al grande amore ai figliuoli. La versione greca presso EPIPHANIUS (vedi sopra, al

cap. II), meglio conviene con la presente. Ivi pur si dice che il nido è custodito da tutt'e due a vicenda, come qui alla fine di *b*.

b esattamente = PITRA, cap. XLVIII; EPIPHANIUS, cap. XXIV, col. 533; NOVAKOVIC', p. 499. Non l'ho rinvenuto altrove.

XV. *Del Colombo.*

a. Il Colombo è il più mite fra tutti gli uccelli. Volano tutti insieme e così si guardano da' falchi, perchè non li prendano.

Così anche tu, o uomo, ti guarda dal diavolo, ch'ei non ti prenda, perchè allora Dio ti sarà nemico. Difenditi con diligenza e vieni alla chiesa a pregar Dio con tutto il cuore e soffri i flutti (le agitazioni) e le afflizioni e avrai da Dio onore e premio, se sarai integro come colombo.

b. Non possono vivere in nessun luogo impuro.

Così tu, o uomo, ama la purità e sii misericordioso, non ti insuperbire del dono di Dio, di ciò che hai in tuo potere. Perchè ciò che hai raccolto resterà, ma tu te n'andrai co' peccati sotterra e solo con tre braccia di tela, secondo l'uso nostro cristiano.

Vi somiglia: *a* ap. PITRA, cap. XLI, p. 363; ma in HOMMEL solo la chiusa del cap. 36, p. 81-82. Miglior corrispondenza in NOVAKOVIC', p. 409. Manca a LAND.

c. Il Colombo è il migliore e il più mite fra tutti gli uccelli. Se vuol mangiare e piglia in bocca un granello, non lo inghiotte subito, ma si guarda attorno se lo sparviero non si voglia precipitare sopra lui e pigliarlo. Solo se ha visto che non c'è nessuno sparviero, lo manda giù.

XVI. *Del Pavone.*

Il Pavone è come d'oro e argento; è come un angelo (?) ed è superbo a cagione della sua bellezza. E quando vuole pompeggiarsi, si curva e guarda abbasso.

Così anche tu, o uomo, non ti insuperbire per la ricchezza, ma ricordati che terra sei e in terra ritornerai e resterà la ricchezza ad altri.

.
(prima) rallegrasi il Pavone e si fa bello; poi quando guarda a' suoi piedi, si accora e si umilia e dice: perchè non sono i miei piedi come il mio corpo?

Così tu pure, o uomo, preservati dalla superbia, anche se sei in grande onoranza e ti vedi indosso abiti preziosi; recati a mente quel

detto: « nella umiltà nostra si è ricordato di noi il Signore ». E quanto più sei grande, tanto più ti conviene di umiliarti. Perchè, come se ti ammalassi del corpo e tu cerchi di guarirlo con medicina, così anco l'anima ha il suo farmaco, la chiesa. O fratelli! sei giorni ne sono stati dati da Dio per il lavoro, ma il settimo stattenne innanzi a Dio pregando per i tuoi peccati; e principalmente lo onora per la risurrezione del Signor Nostro G. C., perchè, risuscitando, Nostro Signore ne ha redenti anche noi dalle mani del nemico.

S' hanno corrispondenze, in EPIPHANIUS, cap. XII, col. 528; PITRA, cap. 41, pp. 368-9; in un ms. siriano del Museo britannico, Add. 258-78, fol. 43 (LAND, l. I. p. 123); PSEUD. EUSTATIUS, *Hexaemeron*, ed. Leyden, 1629, p. 25.

XVII. Della Cicogna.

Ama molto i suoi figliuoli e i suoi genitori. La sua figura è questa: dal mezzo in giù è molto sottile, ma il petto è molto grosso (forte). Non esce mai dal suo nido, sicchè i piccini rimangano soli; ma quando va via il maschio, la femina rimane e riscalda i piccini.

E così non si diparte G. C. dalla sua creatura e la riscalda e nutre. Ma tu, o uomo, lasci la purità e servi di continuo al peccato. Or che risposta darai per le tue colpe? Se farai adirare il Signore Iddio, con che preghiera lo placherai? Chè Dio s'è fatto povero per toglierti al tuo travaglio.

Senza riscontri. Si accosta alla seconda metà: LAND, cap. 44, p. 65, *De cornice*; dove Land rimanda a BASILIUS, *Homilia*, VIII, p. 76, D e al cap. 25 (p. 51), in cui si parla della *ossifraga*, che assume la prole abbandonata dall'*aquila*.

XVIII. Ancora della Cicogna.

Quando le Cicogne invecchiano, cadon loro le penne, e non possono più andare a caccia e nutrirsi da sè. Si raccolgono allora (tutti) i loro figliuoli, e le coprono con le ali e le scaldano e le nutrono, finchè di nuovo le penne lor siano cresciute e di nuovo si siano riavute.

E così tu, o uomo, onora i genitori tuoi nella vecchiezza e nella gioventù e ti benediranno e camperai anni molti. Ma se ti malediranno, la maledizione ti coglierà. E la maledizione dei genitori distrugge fino alla terza generazione.

PITRA, cap. X, p. 346; HOMMEL, cap. 8, p. 53-54; LAND, cap. 30, pp. 56-57. Ma in tutti questi riscontri si ha l'*upupa* (ὑπού), non la cicogna come nel rumeno.

XIX. *Della Gru.*

La Gru è un uccello di voce forte. Di sera si raccolgono tutte a passar la notte e una di loro è posta in sentinella, perchè le guardi. Questa prende una pietra e la tiene in uno dei piedi, mentre sta sull'altro, per non addormentarsi. Quando s'appisola, le cade la pietra dall'artiglio. Grida essa allora con gran voce e sveglia le altre gru, perchè si guardino dai cacciatori.

Così anche tu, o uomo, se odi la chiamata della chiesa, destati dal sonno della morte e ti consegna (ad essa). Chè la chiesa è (come) sentinella perchè tu sfugga alla saetta ardente del nemico; e la misericordia di Dio ti riparerà. La campana è la sentinella, come la gru, che ti difende dal sonno della morte. L'albero è ornato di fronde e l'uomo lo taglia per uso della chiesa, che si chiamino i giusti a salvezza e i peccatori a vera penitenza, perchè non perdano l'anima loro.

Qualche somiglianza è solo in LAND, cap. 41, p. 65: *de gruibus*. Vi manca lo stare su un piede, tenendo la pietra.

XX. *Del Riccio di mare* (Aricū de mare).

Il Riccio di mare è un pesce grande e non ha piedi, ma solo pun-
giglioni, come un istrice; e giace sempre in uno stesso luogo. Quando vede che le onde del mare sono commosse, raduna delle pietre e se ne copre, perchè l'acqua del mare non lo getti all'asciutto, chè non potrebbe egli più tornare al luogo suo.

E così anche tu, o uomo, ama di ben vivere davanti al signore Iddio; sii dolce con gli amici tuoi; perchè se ti incoglierà sventura o difficoltà alcuna, ti cureranno i tuoi amici e, grazie a Dio, non perirai. Perchè cui Dio ajuta lo aiutano anche i santi; e non dire: io sono ricco ed ho autorità presso il re, abbandonando que' che sono più piccoli (fra') tuoi. Perchè tu non sai quando t'abbia a colpire una sventura, e allora que' che sono grandi tutti ti lasceranno. Epperò ama e onora così i piccoli come i grandi.

Cfr. LAND, cap. 79, p. 92: *De echino*, e p. 175.

XXI. *Del Serpente.*

a. Il Serpente è il più crudele di tutti gli animali, perchè è velenoso, e Dio ha stabilito che sia nemico dell'uomo, e tuttavolta egli desidera vederlo.

b. Quando il Serpente va a bere acqua, sputa fuori il suo veleno sotto a un sasso, perchè non vada nell'acqua e muoja ognuno che ne beva. Dopo aver bevuta l'acqua, risugge il suo veleno.

E così tu, o uomo, se hai contro un tuo fratello invidia e livore, non andare alla chiesa, finchè tu non sia con esso pacificato, perchè tu non faccia adirare lo Spirito Santo; e caccerei via da te l'angelo tuo e allora t'incoglieranno tutti i mali, e il tuo dono (?) non sarà accolto da Dio.

c. Il Serpente fugge via davanti all'uomo, perchè se l'uomo lo raggiunge, l'uccide; attornia poi la sua testa col proprio corpo, sì che essendogli spezzato il corpo, rimanga tuttavia intera la testa; perchè quando la sola testa gli rimane intera, anche il (resto del) corpo risana.

Così anche tu, o uomo; se tutto il corpo sarà vulnerato e l'anima tua sarà retta e integra (innanzi) a Dio, tutto il corpo tuo si risanerà; ma se perderai l'anima, che frutto s'avrà? tutte le cose tue periranno, e che risposta darai al terribile giudice nostro G. C., davanti al suo trono?

A *b* e *c* corrispondono: PITRA, cap. XIII, pp. 347-8, nn. II e IV; HOMMEL, cap. II, p. 57, nn. 2 e 4. Nello PSEUD. EPIPH. il cap. XV=*c*, il cap. XVI=*b*; e *a* par corruzione del cap. XIV, PITRA *ῥύσις* III, HOMMEL n. 3, dove si dice che il serpente ha paura dell'uomo *nudo*.

Nella variante a *c*, pare che sia contenuto pure *a*, dicendovisi che il serpente desidera vedere l'uomo, perchè è l'*immagine* di Dio, ma ha insieme timore di lui, custodisce la sua testa, ecc.

XXII. *Del Bue.*

Il Bue rende servigi all'uomo, e non è punto cattivo, ma desidera il bene dell'uomo. È però anche molto lascivo e caparbio. Se vede in terra il sangue d'un altro bue, lo fiuta, sospira profondamente e dice: sia lode a te, o Signore, che ci hai fatto di terra e in terra noi ritorniamo. E gli altri buoi sentendolo, pregano anche loro.

Così anche tu, o uomo, recati in mente che sei terra e in terra ancora ritornerai. Perchè non piangi tu per l'amico tuo con pianto e duolo? ma tu ti allegri e ti pare un bene la morte di lui, come quando hai guadagno di gran momento. Ma non sai che ancor tu sei mortale e t'aspetta la morte? Ama gli amici tuoi come te stesso e non ti pigli avversione per esso (!); chè, per quella invidia che hai, perderai l'anima tua e ti priverai del regno di Dio. E come il bove, quando vede il sangue di un altro bove ed odora la terra e sospira, così anche tu come il bove sospira, e piangi l'amico tuo, almeno, se con la bocca non puoi, col cuore.

Cfr. la vers. siriana in un codice del Museo britannico (Add. 25878, fol. 16 v. = LAND, p. 121, il quale rimanda a PSEUDO EUSTATH., pp. 35 e 39).

XXIII. *Del Rinoceronte.*

Il Rinoceronte è un poderoso animale, di corpo grande e con un naso che sorpassa la bocca e giunge fin sotto al mento; e coglie colla lingua l'erba e se ne pasce così, stando ritto; e quando vede un (altro) animale, subito lo persegue e lo trapassa col suo corno; e se l'animale è piccolo, lo porta di continuo egli sul suo corno, finché sia bene trapassato ed infracidi. Il grasso dell'animale scorre così nella bocca e sulla lingua del Rinoceronte e forma l'alimento suo.

Però sappi o uomo che quest'animale non si prende briga per il suo nutrimento e pur vive. Nè è da farne meraviglia, perchè tre volte il giorno egli si leva a guardare verso oriente e ringrazia Dio del cibo e lo prega con sospiri. In ciò si distingue da tutti gli altri animali e loda sè (1).

E così anche tu, o uomo, rendi grazie a Dio che ti ha creato per la vita e per la salute e per il bene; e il male che t'incoglie (è) per i peccati tuoi. Chè tutti i beni, quanti sono, per te li raccolse (?) fra tutti Iddio; e ti umilia. Non ti magnificare per ricchezza o per potenza, o per grandezza di famiglia o per ingegno; chè tutte queste cose non ti furono date da Dio perchè le usassi a superbia ed orgoglio, che non piacciono a Dio.

Non ci ho ancora trovato alcun riscontro.

XXIV. *Del Grifo.*

Il Grifo è il più grande degli uccelli. Egli vive nel paese di *Avial* sul fiume *Achean* (all'oceano). Quando il sole sorge dalle profondità del mare e diffonde i suoi raggi, il Grifo stende le sue ali e raccoglie quei raggi. Viene un altro Grifo, gli si pone davanti e entrambi esclamano: O dispensatore della luce, vieni e danne la tua luce. Quanto tempo il Grifo si sta così, e anche l'arcangelo Michele e la madre di Dio se ne stanno e pregano Dio misericordioso per la pace dei Cristiani.

Perciò anche tu, o uomo, riconosci da chi ti è (data) la vita e dà lode e grazie a Dio in tutti i giorni della tua vita.

Risponde a PITRA, cap. LII, p. 369, e a una redazione siriana, che sta in un codice del Museo britannico (LAND, p. 121, il quale rimanda anche a CAHIER, *Mélanges*, II 226, libro che al Museo britannico non si trova).

In un codice rum. miscellaneo (tra il 1750 e il 1780) appartenente alla biblioteca dell'Accademia rumena di Bucarest, si trova un riscontro di questa narrazione. È in un *dialogo* ossia disputa religiosa, che mi propongo di studiare altra volta, insieme col *Lucidarius* rumeno.

XXV. *Delle Rane.*

Vi hanno due qualità di rane: rane di acqua e rane di terra. La Rana d'acqua, quando l'acqua asciuga, corre via di là e cerca uno stagno più grande. Invece la Rana di terra, quando manca la pioggia e la terra si secca, resta al luogo suo e non muore, ma prega da Dio la pioggia (ferma) al luogo suo.

Così anche il religioso cattivo e ghiottone, se mancano al monastero i cibi o la bevanda, se ne fugge ad altro monastero, per ingrassare il corpo suo, cibo de' vermi. Ma il religioso buono e giusto, il quale non si fa religioso per saziare il suo ventre, nè per ricchezza, ma per salvezza dell'anima sua, tollera egli afflizione e pena, come la Rana di terra, e sempre prega Dio, perchè (egli) gli dà tutte le cose che gli bisognano.

Cfr. PITRA cap. XXVIII, p. 361; EPIPHANIUS, capitolo XXII, col. 532; HOMMEL, cap. 29, p. 74; LAND, cap. 51, p. 165-6. Non corrispondono in tutto al testo rumeno.

APPENDICE.

XXVI. *Del Coccodrillo.*

Il Coccodrillo è un animale che vive nell'acqua e s'assomiglia al camello. Quando piglia un uomo, prima lo mangia tutto; poi si ripone accanto al capo dell'uomo, e lo piange per tre giorni.

Gregorio teologo assomiglia questi animali agli uomini prestì all'ira, che prima fanno e poi si pentono.

Non ho trovato finora alcun riscontro. È possibile che ritorni nel siriano, fol. 52^a e 53^a del cod. cit. in LAND, p. 123.

XXVII. *Della Lince.*

È un animale il quale ha la vista tanto acuta, da vedere attraverso le pareti.

XXVIII. *Della Salamandra.*

È un animale che somiglia molto alla lucertola, ed è così freddo che mangia il fuoco e spegne le fiamme.

Cfr. PITRA, cap. 39; LAND, cap. 52; HOMMEL, cap. 31, p. 76, e *Introduz.*, pp. XIV e XXXII.

XXIX. *Dello Struzzo (Gripsor).*

Lo Struzzo è un uccello grande e più destro di tutti gli altri uccelli. Quando vuol far nascere le sue uova, non si pone sopra di esse per riscaldarle col suo corpo, come fanno gli altri uccelli, ma le pone nell'acqua e le custodisce acutamente coi suoi occhi e guarda ad esse senza tregua giorno e notte, finché siano schiuse. Se volge via gli occhi o l'attenzione e guarda a qualche altra parte, vi ha un altro animale, detto *aspidă*, d'aspetto simile al serpente, il quale, non appena vede che lo struzzo custodisce le propria ova, s'avvicina molto a queste e aspetta che egli volti via lo sguardo, e allora soffia sopra le uova e le guasta del tutto.

Cfr. PITRA, cap. XLIX (στρουθοκίμηλος).

XXX. *Della Tortorella.*

Quando le muore il compagno, si lamenta amaramente; non si pone mai sopra un albero verde, ma solamente sopra alberi secchi; e quando vuol bere acqua, la intorbida prima coi piedi, e il suo cuore non è mai lieto.

Sembra che due racconti siano stati fusi insieme. Corrispondono infatti: PITRA, cap. XXIX e XXX; LAND, cap. 35-36 e 40; HOMMEL, cap. 27-28; dove queste cose si contano delle cornacchie e poi della tortorella. Più esattamente risponde: NOVAKOVIC', p. 499.

Molti riscontri si trovano nella poesia popolare rumena. Cfr. HASDEU, *Cuvente den bătrâni*, II 443, e S. F. MARIAN, *Ornitologia poporană română*, vol. II, Cernăuți 1883, p. 200 segg., dove è raccolto un gran numero di canti popolari da ogni contrada rumena.



Rumänische Beiträge zur russischen Götterlehre.

In meinem Kodex Rum. Nr. 73 findet sich eine anonyme Geschichte der Russen, die mit Noah anfängt und mit dem Fürsten (Kniaz) Teodor Alexievič von Kiev endet. Diese Schrift wird von V. A. Ureche dem Rum. Chronisten Nicolae Costin zugeschrieben, der zu Anfang des XVIII. Jh. in der Moldau geblüht hat. Ich weiß nicht, worauf Ureche sein Urteil stützt, indem er dieses Werk Costin zuschreibt. Es ist ohnehin unendlich schwer, seine Werke von denen seines berühmten Vaters Miron Costin zu scheiden. Noch viel schwieriger ist es, die Frage von der literarischen Tätigkeit des einen oder des andern zu begrenzen. Wenn nun die Geschichte der Russen einen Costin zum Verfasser hat, was auch mir nicht sehr zweifelhaft ist, so würde ich sie eher dem Vater als dem Sohne zuschreiben. Der ältere Costin hatte ein viel tieferes Wissen und war mit den slavischen Sprachen gut vertraut.

Ein Kapitel dieser Geschichte handelt nun von den Göttern der Slaven. Ich teile es hier in wörtlicher Übersetzung und zwar aus einem doppelten

Grunde mit. Soweit mir bekannt ist, ist das der einzige Hinweis auf die slavische Mythologie, den ich bisher in alten rumänischen Schriften gefunden habe, und der Nachweis seiner slavischen Quelle wird auch Licht auf die Quellen dieses rumänischen Werkes werfen. Andererseits ist es ein nicht uninteressanter Beitrag zu den slavisch-rumänischen kulturgeschichtlichen Beziehungen. Der Zusammenhang zwischen diesen beiden Völkern und der Übergang von einem Volke zum andern wird an der Hand dieses und eines zweiten ähnlichen Textes aufs Neue bezeugt. Ich habe nämlich außerdem in einem kleinen Kodex miscellaneus in der Bibliothek der rumänischen Akademie eine merkwürdige Parallele gefunden. Es ist eine in allgemeinen Grundzügen der Version des Costin oder Version A, wie ich es vorziehen würde sie zu nennen, ziemlich ähnliche Darstellung der heidnischen Götter. Diese Version B weicht aber in manchen Punkten von A ab und beweist dadurch ihre Unabhängigkeit von A. Nicht nur sind die Slaven zu »Elenen« geworden, sondern (und darin liegt die Bedeutung dieses Textes) für den Verfasser derselben haben diese Götter und diese heidnischen Sitten auch in Rumänien Eingang und Nachahmung gefunden. Er giebt Beispiele und Sitten an, die ihm als heidnisch erscheinen und die er auf jene alten zurückführt. Ich muß es unbestimmt lassen, ob wir es hier mit einer Homilie oder mit einem Pastoral Schreiben zu tun haben. Der rumänische Ursprung der letztern Version im Text B kann nicht bestritten werden. Es sind lauter rumänische Sitten und Gebräuche und auch die Namen der Spiele und Personen sind rumänisch, wie ich das nachher ausführen werde. Der Kodex der Geschichte der Russen dürfte ca. 1740—1750 abgeschrieben worden sein, vielleicht aus einem Texte aus dem Ende des XVII. Jhs., und Text B, den ich im November 1884 kopiert habe, aus einer 12^o.-Hs., die in der rum. Akademie vergraben liegt, ist in 1754 geschrieben. Das betreffende Kapitel aus A habe ich seinerzeit in meiner *Chrestomatie Română* Vol. II, 1891, p. 50—53 veröffentlicht. Ich lasse nun die wörtliche Übersetzung dieser beiden Texte folgen.

A. Von ihren Götzen.

Zuerst haben sie einen großen Götzen errichtet mit Namen Perun, den Gott des Donners und des Blitzes und der Regenwolken, auf einem hohen Hügel in der Nähe des Flusses Buriu, in Menschengestalt. Sein Körper war gegossen aus Silber, die Ohren waren von Gold, die Füße von Eisen, in den Händen hielt er einen Stein und zwar den Donnerstein,

geschmückt mit Rubinen und Anthrax (ein Stein dem Feuer ähnlich). Vor ihm brannte immer ewiges Feuer. Wenn aber durch die Nachlässigkeit des Ministranten das Feuer ausging, so bestraften sie ihn mit dem Tode als einen Feind Gottes. Der zweite Götze war Volos, der Gott der Tiere. Der dritte Pozvizdu, einige nannten ihn Pohvint, andere Vihor, denn sie bezeugten, daß er der Gott der Luft, des guten und schlechten Wetters sei. Der vierte Götze war Lado, den hielten sie als den Gott der Hochzeit und alles Glückes, und alle, die sich verheiraten wollten, brachten ihm Opfer, indem sie hofften, daß mit der Hilfe von Lado sie eine gute Hochzeit und ein Leben voller Liebe haben würden. Und dieser Greuel stammt von alters her, von den alten Götzendienern, welche einige der Götter Lelie und Polelie nannten. Dieser von Gott gehaßte Name hat sich noch bis heute in einigen Plätzen erhalten, wo sie in Versammlungen und in Spielen singen Lelio, Lelio und Polelio, wie sie bei uns auch noch singen »Lelio, Lelio«, und wo sie auch die Mutter von Lelia und Polelia, Lado besingen und zwar »Lado, Lado«. Und diese alte teuflische Täuschung dieses Götzen hat sich noch erhalten bei Hochzeitsfeierlichkeiten, wo sie in die Hände klatschen und auf den Tisch klopfen und singen. Davor muß jeder orthodoxe Christ sich in jeder Weise in acht nehmen, damit er Gottes Strafe nicht auf sich ziehe.

Der fünfte Götze war Cupálo, den sie betrachteten als den Gott der Erdfrüchte und in dem Dunkeln, durch die Täuschung des Teufels brachten sie Danksagungen und Opfer am Anfange der Ernte. Bis heute hat sich noch die Erinnerung an diesen Gott Cupálo, oder wie ich ihn besser nennen soll, Teufel, in einigen Teilen von Rußland erhalten, besonders am Abend der Geburt des heil. Johannes des Täuflers. Die jungen Knaben und Mädchen versammeln sich und flechten sich Kränze von einer gewissen Pflanze und setzen sie sich aufs Haupt und machen sich auch Gürtel davon. Und bei jenem teuflischen Spiel zünden sie Feuer an und indem sie sich bei der Hand fassen, tanzen sie um das Feuer herum und laufen herum wie Unreine und singen Lieder dem unheiligen Cupálo, und indem sie ihn häufig anrufen und über das Feuer springen, bringen sie sich selbst als Opfer jenem Teufel Cupálo. Und sie tun auch andere gottlose Sachen in jenen unheiligen Versammlungen, die kaum zu beschreiben sind. Der Teufel stellt auch seine Falle durch die Schaukel, von dem Feste des Johannes des Täuflers bis zu der Feier der heiligen Apostel Peter und Paul. Denn es trifft sich, daß manche von denen, die sich mehrmal schaukeln, hinunterfallen auf die Erde und so ihre Seele auf

elende Weise ohne Reue aufgeben. Darum muß jeder Gläubige sich hüten vor diesen Schaukeln als Schlingen des Teufels, daß er nicht hineinfalle und sich darin verwicklele.

Einige von den Heiden brachten in alter Zeit Opfer den Quellen und Teichen zur Vermehrung der Früchte des Bodens und manchmal haben sie Menschen dafür im Wasser ertränkt. In einigen Teilen Rußlands hat sich bis heute noch die Erinnerung an diese gottlose Tat frisch erhalten; denn an dem Tage der Auferstehung Christi versammeln sich Jung und Alt, Männer und Frauen und einer wirft den andern ins Wasser als eine Art von Spielerei. Und es trifft sich manchmal durch das Werk des Teufels, daß manche von denjenigen, die hineinfallen, auf einen Stein oder ein Holz anstoßen und elendiglich ihre Seele aufgeben. Andere, wenn sie auch nicht ins Wasser geworfen werden, werden mit Wasser begossen. Auf diese Weise bringen sie wieder das Opfer denselben Teufeln nach alter Gewohnheit. Und wenn dieses auch nun geschieht in der Form eines Spieles und nicht als Götzendienst, so wäre es doch besser, wenn es nicht weiter geschähe.

Der sechste Götze Coleada, der Gott der Festlichkeit, dem sie eine große Feier brachten am 24. Dezember, und obzwar das russische Volk durch die heilige Taufe erleuchtet worden ist und seine Götzen zerstört hat, so haben doch einige bis heute nicht aufgehört den Teufel Coleada zu erwähnen. Anfangend von dem Tage der Geburt unseres Herrn, während aller heiligen Tage, versammeln sie sich zu Spielen, die Gott verhaßt sind, und singen Lieder. Und wenn sie darin die Geburt Christi wohl erwähnen, so fügen sie hinzu auch die Erinnerung an Coliada, die alte Täuschung des Teufels und wiederholen häufig seinen Namen. Auch bei diesen sündhaften Versammlungen erwähnen sie noch den Satan, einen gewissen Tura und andere schimpfliche und gottverhaßte Sachen. Andere wieder verdecken ihre Gesichter und den ganzen Schmuck des Menschen, der in dem Ebenbilde Gottes geschaffen wurde, mit grenlichen Figuren in der Ähnlichkeit des Teufels, wodurch sie manche erschrecken und auch manche ergötzen, aber sie spotten ihres Schöpfers, als ob sie das Werk seiner Hand hassen und verachten würden. Jeder Christ ist verpflichtet solches zu unterlassen und nur zu wandeln in der Gestalt, in welcher Gott uns gemacht hat, denn wir dürfen Nichts erfinden, was häßlich ist und Gott widerspricht.

Außer jenen Götzen und teuflischen Figuren gab es noch andere viele Götzen u. z. Uslead, Kursha oder Hors usw. Soweit Text A. ¹⁾.

Nun lasse ich Text B folgen und der Unterschied zwischen beiden, trotz inhaltlicher Ähnlichkeit, wird in die Augen springen.

B. Kurze Lehre gegen die vielen schlechten Beispiele, welche einige Christen befolgen, und der Beweise, woher sie stammen und was sie bedeuten.

Wir wissen sehr gut, daß jedem wahren Christen verhaßt ist, selbst nur mit dem Namen einen Götzen oder Teufel zu erwähnen oder an sie zu glauben oder den Beispielen der Götzendiener zu folgen. Da wir alles das wissen, wollen wir nichts sagen oder erwähnen von diesem Übel und von dem Zorn, den Gott gehabt und hat, gegen die Götzen und Teufel und gegen solche, die ihnen gedient haben und noch dienen und welche Strafe für sie vorbereitet ist. Noch sagen wir etwas gegen diejenigen, die sie vorher angebetet haben. Denn vor dem Anfang unseres orthodoxen Glaubens, bis Christus im Körper auf der Erde erschienen ist und nach seiner herrlichen Himmelfahrt und durch die Botschaft der Apostel, und nachher durch alle die heiligen Väter waren die meisten, die zum Glauben gekommen sind, Götzendiener und es sind jetzt ihre Seelen in Gottes Hand. Aber wir sprechen von denjenigen, die im Unglauben an die Wahrheit und im Irrtume gestorben sind, und von denjenigen, welche, obzwar sie glauben und sich orthodox nennen, doch manches tun, was die Götzendiener getan haben, und zwar folgendes:

Kap. I. Die »elenischen« Völker hatten viele Götter, unter diesen war einer, der hieß Perun, welcher genannt wurde der Gott des Feuers, und er hielt in seiner Hand einen Edelstein, welcher in der Art einer glühenden Kohle leuchtete, und Feuer brannte immerfort vor ihm. Seine Anbeter pflegten Feuer zu machen und über dasselbe hinweg zu gehen, und darstellten, daß sie sich selbst als Opfer gebracht haben jenem Götzen Perun.

Einige von den Christen folgen denselben Beispielen bis auf den heutigen Tag, indem sie die Feuer »Cubali« an dem Tage von Groß Donnerstag (Gründonnerstag) anzünden und darüber hinweg schreiten (oder hinweg gehen), ohne zu wissen, was es darstellt.

Kap. II. Es gab einen anderen Götzen, der Lado hieß. Diesen

¹⁾ Vergl. mit dieser Darstellung das Kapitel aus der »Gustinskaja Lêtopis«, abgedruckt in Полное Собрание Б. II, S. 256—257, wo am Rande die in latein. Sprache abgefaßten Parallelen zitiert werden (Cromer, Guagnini u. a.).

nannten sie den Gott der Freuden und des Glückes. Diesem brachten Opfer alle diejenigen, die Hochzeiten oder Feste geben wollten, indem sie sich einbildeten, daß sie mit der Hilfe von Lado schöne Freuden und ein Leben voller Liebe gewinnen würden. Dieselben besingen die Christen auch jetzt bei Hochzeiten. Darum muß jeder Christ sich hüten vor so etwas, damit er vom Zorne Gottes nicht gestraft werde.

Kap. III. Einige dieser Götzendiener pflegten auch Opfer zu bringen den Gewässern nämlich, den Teichen und Quellen und nannten auch diese Gottheiten. Wenn irgendwo ein Wasser in der Nähe war, pflegten sie sich einmal im Jahre dort zu versammeln und warfen einer den andern ins Wasser. Wo aber Wasser weit entfernt war, gossen sie Wasser einer auf den andern. Das sehen wir auch jetzt einige von den Christen tun am zweiten Tag nach Ostern und sie nennen das (*»Trasul in Vale«*) »Hinunterziehen« in die Ebene, von welchem Ziehen oder Schleppen durch den Einfluß des Teufels viele Streitigkeiten und Schlägereien entstehen.

Kap. IV. Sie hatten auch eine andere Gottheit, die sie *»Coleda«* nannten und wenn sie sich versammelten bei ihren heidnischen Feiertagen und Versammlungen, sangen sie Lieder zu Ehren des Götzen Coleda und erwähnten seinen Namen sehr häufig. Wir sehen nun, daß bis heute dieses sich erhalten hat bei einigen Christen und am Tag der Geburt Christi empfangen sie Zigeuner, die sie *Colindatori* nennen, daß sie ihnen Lieder singen. Außerdem empfangen sie in ihren Häusern *Tsurca* oder *Prezae*, welche auch mit sich führen Mummer und Possenreißer, welche ihre Gesichter verstellen, die im Ebenbilde Gottes geschaffen sind, sie reden mit ihrem Munde häßlich ekelhafte Worte und mit ihrem Körper machen sie schreckliche und verworfene Figuren, so daß sie unvernünftigen Leuten Vergnügen machen, aber die unschuldigen Kinder erschrecken.

Kap. V. In der Stadt Rodostol, in der Nähe des Wassers Istru, gab es zur Zeit der alten Götzendiener einen Götzen mit dem Namen Cron, nämlich den Gott der Toten. Dieser war ein toter Elen, in welchen sich der Teufel eingenistet hatte und er hielt ihn längere Zeit unversehrt und machte auch viele Täuschungen. Diesem opferten jene verirrtten Menschen in folgender Weise; sie schlugen nämlich ihre Körper, bis Blut rann, und schrien und jauchzten und begingen auch andere Sünden, und durch das Blut, das sie vergossen, bildeten sie sich ein, Cron ähnlich zu sein. Denn er erschien immer mit rotem Gesichte, und die Sünden, die sie begangen, sagten sie, daß Cron sie nicht sehen kann, denn er hielt

die Augen geschlossen: auch konnte er ihr Schreien nicht hören, denn er war taub.

Dieselben Verirrungen sehen wir jetzt bei einigen Christen, die, wie jene sich versammelten bei einem Toten und sich schlugen und jauchzten und andere Sünden begingen, so tun es auch jetzt die Christen bei ihren Toten. Es versammelt sich ein Haufen von Verrückten und schlagen sich den Rücken mit Schaufeln und jauchzen und tanzen und treiben allerlei Possen, welche nicht einmal beschrieben oder erwähnt zu werden verdienen. Alle müßten doch einsehen, daß das keine anständige Tat ist, Lachen und Spaß zu treiben zur Zeit von Weinen, und wenn alle zusammen kommen um zu Gott zu beten und ihm zu weinen, daß sie da tanzen und jauchzen sollen. Und wenn es eine Pflicht ist, der Seele die Sünden zu erleichtern durch Almosen und Gebet, daß sie gerade damals sich besudeln sollen mit den obenerwähnten unwürdigen Taten. Umgekehrt müßten sie bei dem Toten sich versammeln und weinen, nicht so sehr darüber, daß jener gestorben ist, sondern um die Vergebung seiner Sünden, und damit seine Seele Ruhe finde unter den Gerechten. Und bei der Nachtwache bei jenem Toten sollen die Geistlichen lesen und auch Laien sollen Wache halten mit Ehrfurcht, und nur reden von Sachen, die der Seele von Nutzen sein könnten, aber nicht eitle weltliche Worte oder Tänze und Sprünge und andere Possen. Von jetzt ab weiter müßten diese aufhören.

Kap. VI. Andere beten einen Götzen an mit dem Namen Cupal, den nannten sie den Gott der Früchte der Erde, dem sie Opfer brachten an einem von ihnen bezeichneten Tage bei dem Beginne der Ernte. Und Männer und Weiber versammelten sich und flochten Kränze von Kräutern und setzten sie sich auf das Haupt und umgürteten sich mit wilden Kräutern. Und die Männer kleideten sich als Weiber, so daß sie wilder und frecher als Weiber tanzen könnten und so die Zuschauer und das Volk zur Leidenschaft reizen konnten wie es den Teufeln gefiel, die in dem Götzen wohnten, und während sie tanzten und sprangen, riefen sie häufig Cupal, Cupal. Dieses verhaßte Beispiel hat sich noch bis jetzt erhalten hier in unserem Lande in einigen Städten und Dörfern, wo die Männer sich Weiberkleider anziehen und sich mit einem Namen nennen, der dem Namen Cupal ähnlich klingt, und zwar Cuci oder Calucei. Diese machen sich auch Kränze von Kräutern und zwar von Wermuth, und viele von jenen, die nicht mehr tanzen, stecken sich doch Wermuth in den Gürtel und auf diese Weise stellen sie ganz genau jenes alte teuflische Fest und heidnischen Gebrauch dar.

Andere wieder folgen einem andern teuflischen Beispiele und teuflischer Erfindung, indem sie zur Zeit der Dürre einen Menschen nackt ausziehen, grüne Kräuter auf Fäden aufziehen und sie um ihn herum vom Kopf bis zu den Füßen wickeln und setzen ihm eine Kräuterkrone auf den Kopf, und diese Menschen tanzen vor den Häusern und alle gießen Wasser auf sie und stellen vor, als ob sie von ihnen Wasser verlangten, d. h. Regen. Auf ähnliche Weise täuschen sich die Narren, indem sie glauben, daß sie von den Cuci geheilt werden von allen Krankheiten, wenn jene auf sie treten. Und von dem Papaluga glauben sie, daß er die Macht hat, den Wolken zu gebieten, daß es regnen soll. Und es gibt keine größere Götzendienerei als in diesen beiden Fällen, dadurch, daß sie denken, ebenso wie die Gläubigen überzeugt zu sein, daß genau so wie die heiligen Apostel, als sie die Kranken berührten im Namen Christi und ihnen Heilung gebracht haben, so könnten auch sie geheilt werden durch das Getretenwerden von den unreinen Füßen der Cuci, und diese zumeist sind nur schmutzige Zigeuner. Und wiederum, wie der Prophet Elias und viele andere Heilige durch vieles Fasten und Gebet und durch Aussprechen des göttlichen Namens den Regen herabsteigen ließen, so könnte auch jener täuschende Possenreißer von einem Papaluga den Wolken befehlen, daß der Regen herunter komme, wann er wünsche . . . Deshalb müßt ihr, die ihr den christlichen Namen traget, auch im Leben und in Thaten als Christen euch zeigen, so daß nicht einige von diesen durch ihre Unwissenheit den Tieren ähnlich seien in dieser Welt und in der andern Welt Teil haben sollen an den Strafen der Elenen. Manche von ihnen, wenn sie eine Reise antreten, und ihnen entgegenkommt ein Zigeuner oder irgend ein bestimmtes wildes Tier, dann ziehen sie fröhlich weiter, überzeugt, daß sie eine glückliche Reise haben werden. Wenn nun aber ein Geistlicher ihnen entgegenkommt, dann kehren sie häufig um und schimpfen und fluchen auf die Gabe und Würde des Priesters.

In den andern Fällen, die ich vorher erwähnt habe, obzwar sie teuflische Erfindungen sind und Überbleibsel heidnischer Gebräuche, so sind sie doch verdeckt und gering an Bedeutung, denn die meisten, die sie machen, wissen nicht, was sie vorstellen, aber das Letztere, wer daran glaubt und das tut, weiß, daß es eine Sünde ist und daß Gott darüber zürnen wird. Trotzdem glauben viele und tun, wie ich gesagt habe, daß, wenn ihnen ein Geistlicher entgegenkommt, wenn sie ihn auch nicht öffentlich beleidigen und auch nicht umkehren, so setzen sie ihre Reise fort mit Zweifel im Herzen und glauben nicht, daß ihre Reise eine glück-

liche sein wird, während umgekehrt, wenn ihnen ein Zigeuner oder ein Jude oder ein bestimmtes wildes Tier entgegentritt, so glauben sie, daß es ihnen gut gehen wird und daß ihre Reise eine glückliche sein wird. O elende Christen deshalb fordere ich euch auf und belehre euch darüber, daß ihr von jetzt ab weiter davon ablassen sollet. *

Diese hier erwähnten Sitten und Gebräuche haben sich trotz allen Widersprüchen bis heute unter den Rumänen erhalten. Papaluga oder wie das Wort in der Walachei genannt wird Paparuda, schon vom Fürsten Kantimir in seiner Beschreibung der Moldau erwähnt, kenne ich aus persönlicher Erfahrung, und die darauf bezügliche Literatur, sowie die Lieder, die bei der Gelegenheit des Begießens mit Wasser gesungen werden. Cf. G. D. Teodorescu, *Poesii Populare Romane Bucureşti*, 1885, p. 208—212.

Aus Lelio ist im Rumänischen häufig Lerio oder Leroi geworden, nebenbei hat sich auch die Form Leo Lerom erhalten und nicht selten wird das Wort Doamne (Herr) hinzugefügt, ohne daß diejenigen, die diese Namen aussprechen, eine Ahnung mehr davon haben, daß darin der alte verpönte slavische Gott Lelia steckt. Eine große Anzahl der von Teodorescu veröffentlichten Colinde, in welchem Worte der Namen des Gottes Coliada, oder mit nasaler Aussprache, Colêda, steckt, beginnt mit dem Anrufe Lero, Leroi, Lerom, Leroi Leo und Leroi dai Leroi (S. 18, 19, 20, 25, 26, 28, 30, 65, 82, 95 usw.)

Turca und Brezaia werden von S. Mangiuca in seinem *Calindariu Braşiovu* 1881, S. 39—40 ausführlich beschrieben. Sie tanzen am ersten Tag Weihnachten und Neujahr und es sind Leute, die sich ver mummen und auf dem Kopf die Maske eines Tieres oder eines Vogels tragen. Diese Masken tanzen zu der Melodie eines Geigenspielers und recitieren auch Verse und Gesänge, die häufig zotenhaft sind und ahmen auch das Geschrei der Tiere und Vögel nach, deren Masken sie tragen. Ich lasse dahingestellt, ob Turca (variante Tsurca) in direktem Zusammenhang mit dem Gotte Tura steht. Eine weitere Untersuchung der Sitten und Gebräuche unter den Rumänen würde auch Parallelen liefern zu den in Text B erwähnten Bräuchen. So sind ferner die Schaukeln A noch heute im Gebrauch. Auf einen Vergleich mit älteren Sitten und Spielen, sowie auf den Zusammenhang zwischen Weihnachtslied, -spiel usw. mit den alten und mittelalterlichen Mimen und Mysterien einzugehen ist hier jetzt nicht die Gelegenheit. Es handelt sich momentan nur darum, den Spuren slavischer Götterlehre und Sitten in der rum. Literatur und im Völkerleben nachzugehen.

Istorie nebunului Pavăl ci era și pe cât era nebun atâta era și înțelept, carile au ucis muște cu buzdu-gan având ferman de la împărăție cu volnicie.

Iara un om foarte sărac la țara Vodanii carile ave trii feciori și ave și o vacă cu un vițal. Unul din cii trii feciori ci'l chiema Pavăl iara foarte nebun și foarte înțelept. Intr'o zi marsă acel nebun la tată-său, cerând ca să'l de vițalul să să'l tae și să facă negușitorii cu carne să să chivernisască. Iar tată-său au zis : fatul meu ! cum să poate aciaștă ? să'ți dau eu vițalul să'l tai să rămăe vaca fără vițal, starpă. Iar nebunul a zis : mă rog tată să mi'l dai căci nedându'l ți'l voi fura și tot l'oi tăe. Ne-având tată-său ce să facă cu el au zis ca să'si ei vițalul și să'l tae. Și luând nebunul vițalul l'au tăet și belindu'l au spânzurat carne în căsăpie, și șede el lângă carne păzindu-o. Au venit vr'o trii câini adecă dulăi au început a să gudură ei ca niște câini lângă el. Iar nebunul văzându-i că fac din coadă au socotit că ei sânt mușterii și cer ca să li de carne. Numai ci sări nebunul și luă carne de sus începu a tăe câte o bucată și a da la câini bucuroși că i-au venit mușterii. După ci au apucat fie-care câni câte un cîfert de carne au început a fugi fie-care încotr'o ; iar nebunul după dănșii zicând : mozcilor ce santeți iar nu negușitori ! parale dați pentru carne ci ați luat, eu m'am luat cu alți mușterii iar voi atunce ați fugit ! Iar câinii au

început a să îndărjă și a hărăi la dănsu. Iar ei au zis :
 mări ! dar voi vinovați și încă voi dărji ? și cum apucă
 pe un câne l'au trântit jos și l'au legat și pe altul ase-
 mine au legat așa au legat vr'o trii câni zăcând : eu v'am
 făcut bini ca unor neguțitori v'am dat carne și acum voi
 nu vreți să'mi plătiți. Și îndată au alergat acasă la tată
 său să viiă să'i agiute a duci neguțitorii la zabet ca să să
 giudici cu dănșii. Și au venit îndată doi frați de ai lui la
 căsăpie întrebându'l care sânt acii neguțitori să le arăti.
 El au zis : acești trii legați sânt și au început a să plân-
 gi înainte lor. Iar frații lui au zăs : să lipsască nebunul
 că au prăpădit vișalul l'au dat la câni de l'au mâncat.
 văzând câni legați. Atunce nebunul au încărcat pe că-
 ni asupra lui în spate, și s'au dus la zabet, ca să să giu-
 dici cu el și intrând înăuntru la giudecători cu câni în-
 cărcat au început a spuni pricina. Giudecători au zis da-
 ți'l afară că acista e un nebun, au venit la mini să să
 giudice cu câni în batjocură. Atunce nebunul văzând că
 nu 'și au aflat nici o dreptate la giudecători iarăși au în-
 carcat în spate și s'au dus la împărăție cu dănși să se
 giudece. Iar acel împărat zisese : cine să va afla să mă
 facă să răd, să'si cîară de la mini trii daruri si i voi da,
 care mulți s'au ispitit din filosofi și alți omeni mari cu
 multi chipuri ca să facă pe împăratul să răză și nu l'au
 putut face să răză cu un chip. Iar acel nebun după ci au
 agiuns la poartă împărătească ce dintăi și vrând să între
 în lăuntru portarii nu l'au lăsat opriindu l la poartă, au
 început a'l întreba ci om este și ci trebuință are la 'mpă-
 ra'tul văzându'l cu tri câni incarcat. Au început nebunul
 a istorisi pricina ci are cu acii neguțitori legați, fiind că
 el zăce că sânt neguțitori iar nu câni. Cunoscu portariul
 că împăratul de așa lucru a să răză și i-a da și celi trii
 daruri, au zis cătră nebunu, di va împărți giumătate cu
 dănsul din celi ce i-a da împăratul va da drumu. Iar ne-
 bunu au zis : ci să 'mpărțesc cu tîni că eu n'am nimică
 de la împăratu ci încă am să dau zăciuală pentru p'linire
 banilor. Iar portarul zise că dacă a împărți cu el ce i-a

da împăratu i-a da drumu în nuntru. Iar nebunul neștiind pricina au zăș portarului că va împărți cu el celi ci i va da împăratu făcând contractul la mână portarului l'au lăsat portariul în nuntru. Și după ci au agiuns la al doile poartă iarăși asemenea i-au cerut dobândă în gîumatate și au făcut contract după cum și la cel dipi urmă. Dănd-i drumu și acolo s'au dus și la al treile poartă. Și acolo și alți cu mărturie l'au oprit fiind poarta ci mai de pe urmă, și cerându'i dobândă în parte, iarăși s'au primit și acolo să de în parte dobândă, făcându'și contract. Au intrat nebunu în nuntru suindu-să sus la împăratu cu cănii legați după cap. Imdată l'au văzut împăratu ca este un cimpoeși, întrebându'l ci caută cu acii căni legați după cap? Iar el înainti împăratului zăcând : aceștienu sânt căni ci sânt neguțitori mari, dar fiind-că au făcut ca niști căni, ca niști căni vor păță. Au început a istorisă pricina înainti împăratului precum s'au întâmplat dintru'nceput și cum el i-au legat și au venit înainti împărății sale să să gîduice cu dănșii, căci la zabet al împărății sale au fost și nici o dreptate nu și-au aflat, zăcând : acum am venit înainti împărății tale ca să'mi aflu dreptate. Atunce împăratul s'au zămbit a răde și a zăș să de cănii afară, zicând cătră nebun : acum ci dar să-ți dau pentru că m'ai făcut de am răș? Iar nebunu a zis : împărate ! eu n'am venit să-ți ceiu dar, eu am venit să'mi faci gîudecată driaptă cu aciști neguțitori ci'm sânt datori. Iar împăratul au zis : ba cere de la mini un dar să-ți dau. Iara nebunul neștiind pricina de ce zăce împăratu să'si ciară un dar de la împărăție sa el au cerut de la împăratu ca să'i dea o mie de toegi. Împăratul iarăși s'au zămbit a rădi zăcând : vezi nebunul unde să'si ciară milă de la mine el au cerut o mie de toege la talpe. Și imdată au poroneit imăpratul să aducă falangă și toegi după cum au cerut însusi nebunul zăcându'i să să culce să'l bată. Iară nebunul atunce a zis : pre înălțate împărate ! nu mă hati căci mai am tovarăși, trimite să chame pe portariul al eile că mi este tovarăși, a m să împărțesc cu el în gîumă-

tate bătăile aceste. Și chieamară pre portariu înainte împăratului și i-au zis nebunul: ei arhon portari! acum au venit vreme să împărțim amândoi celi ci mi-au dat împăratul. Iară portariul zisă: nu frate, eu am săguit. Iar nebunul a zăs: ba nu ți'au fost aciastă vorbă în sagă, pentru ci ai luat contractul de la mână mea? poftim frate, beji partea ta că și eu încă oi bea partea mea. Și îndată luă pe portariul și-i dedă cinci sute toegi la talpă. Și mai rămasă cinci sute. Atunce zăsă împăratul să'l bată și pe dănsu. Iar el iar au zăs: stăi împărate că mai am încă un tovarăși; și trimasă de aduseră și pe portarul al doile înainte împăratului, zăse: ei parte după contractul ci au dat. Și luă pe portariul al doile și-i dedă două-sute cinci zeci toegi. Apoi vrând să pue și pe nebunu, iară el au zăs precum că mai are un tovarăș pre portariul cel mare, pre carile aducându'l înainte împăratului i-au dat parte după zapisul că didesă doa-sute cinci zăci de toegi. Apoi vrând să'i dea și lui parte ci mai rămăsăsă, iar el au zăs: pre 'nălțate împărate! n'ai zăs împărăția ta ca să ceiu trii daruri de la împărăția ta? Împăratul au răspuns: așa am zis! Iar nebunul au zis: până acum dar am cerut numai un dar și încă mai am doi; deci dar pentru rămășața bătăilor ci au mai rămas fie pentru darul al doile. Iar pentru al triile dar, mă rog împărății tale să'mi dai un ferman cu cari în toată țara împărății tale unde voi merge eu să nu aibă nime voea a izgoni musca ori unde ar fi nici a omoră fără numai eu, iar care ar îndrăzni a calca poronca împărătiască să i să tae capul. Și făcu împăratul după cerere lui poronci logofătului și i scrisă un ferman după a lui cerire. Deci luind Pavăl fermanul cu pecete împăratului l'au purtat pre cap dizvălit ca să'l citiască ori cine ar vide că este poronca împărătiască. Si purciasă Pavăl cu fermanul prin orașă și prin toată țară ce este sub stăpânire al acelui împărat și unde vedea muscă șezând pe cini-va îndată numai ci striga la dănsul, să nu cum-va îndrăzniască a o izgoni de pre dănsul, arătând fermanul cel împărătesc în ce ship scrie, ca nimene să nu

îndrăzniască a goni musca ori unde ar fi ci numai însuși nebunul. Vine la om și găse musca șezând pe frunte unui om si nime nu pute să o goniască de pe a lui frunte, ci vine nebunul și făcea: Pac ! în cap și omoră și omul și musca cu topuzu ; și i da oamenii și mai vărtos boerii mulțime de bani ca să nu dea tare să'l omoare, cu care fermăman nebunul au făcut mulțime de bani soamă nenumărate, și atâta s'au îmbogățit în cât pot să zăc că nu să putea ca să mai fie cine-va bogat asemenea lui, carile pe urn au agățuns de au luat fată de împărat și s'au făcut si veziri la acel împărat.

Translation.

Editor's Note: Dr. Gaster has been kind enough to send me for publication in *Sezatoarea*, what in all probability is the oldest tale or jest known in our literature. The text, which is written in the Moldavian dialect, has been reproduced with its peculiar orthography and has been taken from a manuscript in his possession of about the middle or end of the 18th cent.

THE STORY OF PAVĂL, THE FOOL, WHO AS MUCH AS HE WAS A FOOL SO MUCH WAS HE ALSO WISE, WHO KILLED FLIES WITH THE CLUB WITH THE PERMIT OF AN IMPERIAL FERMAN (DECREE).

(CODEX GASTER NO. 6, fol. 141 to 144 a.)

Once upon a time there lived a very poor man in Vodanii. He had three sons, a cow and a little calf. One of them, called Pavăl, was both foolish and very wise. One day he went to his father and asked him to give him the little calf, for he wanted to cut it up and sell the meat and so make a living for himself. But his father said "My son, how can this be? How can I give you the calf to be killed and thus leave the cow barren?" But the fool said "You had better give it to me for otherwise I shall steal it and kill it, and it will be just the same". Not knowing what to do with him, he allowed him to take the calf and kill it. So he took the calf, killed it, and skinned it; then he cut up the meat, hung it up in a butcher's shop and sat down close by watching

There came three dogs, or rather mastiffs and began to play near by as dogs generally do. But the fool, seeing them wagging their tails, thought they were purchasers who had come to buy meat. So he at once jumped up and cut slices of the meat and gave them to the dogs, rejoicing that purchasers had come. When each of the dogs had had a big piece they each started

running in different directions and the fool after them saying; "You are low fellows and no true business men. Pay for the meat which you have taken. Whilst I was busy with other purchasers you have run away." But the dogs started snarling at him. But he said, "You are guilty and you are still impertinent", and getting hold of one dog, he threw him down to the ground and tied him up. Then he got hold of a second and did likewise and so to a third, saying, "I have been kind to you and I have given you meat as to purchasers, and now you don't wish to pay. And he went home to his father and asked him to help bring these fellows to the court to be judged. And the two of his brothers immediately came to the butcher's shop and asked him to show them where these merchants were. So he said "These three tied up are the people", and he started complaining to them. But his brothers said, when they saw the dogs tied up "Get thee off, thou fool. You have killed the calf and given the flesh to the dogs." So the fool took the three dogs on his back and brought them into court for judgement. And with the three dogs on his back he addressed the judge with his complaint. The judge ordered him to be turned out saying "That fool with the three dogs on his back who comes to ask for judgement is acting sheer tomfoolery." When the fool saw that he could not get judgement, he again took the dogs on his back and went to the emperor to ask for justice. But the emperor had said "Whoever will succeed in making me laugh, let him then ask for three gifts and I will willingly give them to him." Many philosophers and clever men had tried in many ways to make the Emperor laugh but not one had succeeded. And when the fool came with the dogs on his back to the place, the porters would not let him enter and asked him who he was and what kind of business had brought him to the Emperor with the dogs on his back. So he started telling them the whole story about these merchants, for he persisted in calling them merchants and not dogs. The porter felt that this story of the dogs would make the Emperor laugh and that he would grant him those three gifts.

So he said that if he would divide with him whatever the Emperor would give him, he would let him enter. But the fool said "How can I divide with you? I have not got anything from the Emperor yet and I am already asked to give a tenth part of my money." But the porter said that if he would give him half of what the Emperor would give him he would let him go in. But the fool, not knowing exactly what it all meant, said he would divide with him whatever he would get from the Emperor, and after he had put his sign-manual to the agreement the porter let him in. And so when he came to the second gate the same thing happened. He made a contract and was allowed in and so at the last gate. And there again the porter would not let him go in unless he signed a contract with witnesses offering half of what he would receive from the Emperor. So he made also a contract with the last and they let him go in through the third gate. So he went in and went up to the Emperor with the three dogs hanging from his head. The Emperor saw at once that he was a jester and asked him what he wanted with the three dogs hanging from his head. Then he drew near to the Emperor and said "These are not dogs but great merchants. But as they have acted like dogs, like dogs shall they be treated." So he started and told the Emperor everything that had happened from the beginning and how he had caught and tied them up and that he had brought them now to the Emperor for justice, for he had been before His Majesty's tribunal but had not received any justice, and he added: "and now have I come before your Majesty to find justice. Then the Emperor started laughing and said 'Turn the dogs out' and said to the fool 'Now what shall I give you for making me laugh', but the fool said 'Your Majesty, I have not come here for any gifts, but you should give me justice against these merchants who owe me money'. But the Emperor said 'You had better ask me for a present which I am willing to give to you'. But the fool, not knowing the reason why the Emperor wanted to give him a present, asked the Emperor to give him one thousand strokes

with the rod. The Emperor again started laughing and said "Look at that fool who instead of asking a favour from me, asks for one thousand strokes of the bastonade on the sole of his feet." And the Emperor at once ordered the rods to be brought, as he had asked, and told him to lie down to receive the strokes. But the fool then said "Most high Majesty, do not beat me for I have some partners. Call the porter, who is my companion, for him to receive half of these strokes." And so they called the porter before the Emperor and the fool said "O Sir (arhon) porter. The time has now come for us to divide that which the Emperor is giving me." Then the Porter said "No brother, I was only joking". But the fool said, "This was not a joke, for if so, why hast thou made a contract with me signed by my hand? Now brother, drink your share for I shall have to drink mine". They at once got hold of the porter and gave him a bastonade of 500 strokes. And there remained still another five hundred strokes. Then the Emperor ordered him to be beaten. He again said, "Hold, O Emperor, for I have another partner. So he sent for the second and they brought the second porter to whom he said „Now take your share according to the contract which we have made". Then they got hold of the second porter and gave him two hundred and fifty strokes. As they now wanted to put the fool down, he said "I have another partner still, the great porter". When they brought him before the Emperor he got half of the other two hundred and fifty, the half of which he had given him according to his contract. Now they wanted to give him the remaining half, but he said "O High Majesty, Did your majesty not say that I am to ask for three gifts from your Majesty." The Emperor replied "I have thus spoken". Then the fool said "So far I have only asked for one, and I have still two more left. So let the second gift be to let me off the remaining strokes. But as for the third gift, I ask your Majesty to grant me by imperial ferman (decree) that no one in the whole country shall have the right to drive away the flies wherever they be and to kill them except myself, and whoever would have

the audacity of acting against this ferman, his head should be cut off". And the Emperor did according to his request and he gave orders to the secretary and a ferman was drawn up as he had asked. Then Pavál took the ferman with the Emperor's seal upon it and tied it round his head so that everybody could see that it was a royal decree. And so Pavál went through all the towns and countries which were under the command of the Emperor and wherever he saw a fly sitting upon a man, he shouted to him not to dare to drive away the fly, and showed what was written on that ferman, that no one should dare drive away a fly wherever it be, except Pavál. Thus when he came to a man who could not drive away the fly that was sitting upon his forehead Pavál the fool came and with a club crushed both the man's head and the fly. And the people and especially the "boeir" (the nobleman) gave him a large amount of money not to strike them hard and kill them and in this way, by the ferman, the fool made a large amount of money and he became so rich that there could not be found a man so wealthy and at the end he married the daughter of the Emperor and became also a vezir to that Emperor.

cf. Sacchetti No. 195, Straparola (Piacevoli nolti) 7.3.

Dunlop-Liebrecht, p. 257, 283 and p. 491, No. 300.

2. Giufa.

In den sicilianischen Märchen von L. Gonzenbach (Leipzig 1870) wird (I 260) von Giufà erzählt: „Eines Tages schickt die Mutter den Giufà in ein anderes Dorf, wo eben Jahrmart gehalten wurde. Unterwegs begegneten ihm einige Kinder, die frugen: ‘wohin gehst du, Giufà?’ ‘Auf den Jahrmart.’ Willst du mir auch ein Pfeifchen mitbringen? ‘Ja!’ ‘Mir auch?’ ‘Ja!’ ‘Mir auch?’ ‘Mir auch?’ frugen eins nach dem Anderen und Giufà sagte Allen: ‘ja.’ Zuletzt war noch ein Junge, der sagte: ‘Giufà bringe mir auch ein Pfeifchen mit. Hier hast du einen Gran!’ Als nun Giufà vom Jahrmart zurückkam, brachte er nur ein Pfeifchen mit und gab es dem letzten Jungen. ‘Giufà, du hattest uns ja Jedem eins versprochen’ riefen die anderen Kinder. ‘Ihr habt mir ja keinen Gran mitgegeben, um es zu kaufen“ antwortete Giufà.

A. Köhler, der diese Märchen mit den werthvollsten Parallelnachweisen begleitete, kennt hierzu keine Parallele. Eine solche findet sich in den rumänischen Schwänken des Nastratin Hogeä, die A. Pann aus dem Türkischen übersetzt hat. Hier heisst es No. 36: Hogeä wollte einst auf den Jahrmart gehen, da versammelten sich rings um ihn die Nachbarn, theils um ihm Glück auf die Reise zu wünschen, theils um ihm Aufträge zu geben. Einer sagte: ‘Kaufe mir ein paar Ringe, ich werde dir schon das Geld ersetzen.’ Der andere bittet um fünf Ellen groben Tuches, das Geld wird für ihn schon bereit liegen, wenn er heimkehrt. So bat Jeder um etwas und Jedem antwortete er: gut! gut! Zuletzt gibt ihm Einer drei Pfennige und sagt: ‘Lieber Nachbar! bringe mir dafür eine Schellentrommel.’ Nach einigen Tagen kehrt Hogeä zurück und alle Nachbarn umringen ihn. Der fragt nach den Ringen. ‘Was hast du mir denn aufgetragen?’ ‘Um Ringe hatte ich dich gebeten.’ ‘Glaube mir ich habe ganz darauf vergessen.’ Auch das Tuch hatte er vergessen. Inzwischen kommt derjenige, der ihm die drei Pfennige gegeben, diesem gab er sogleich seine Trommel unter den an die Umstehenden gerichteten Worten: ‘Nur beim Tone der Schalmei tanzt man, und mit Geld wird der Kauf besorgt.’ ‘Wer Geld hinzählt, der spielt auch auf der Schellentrommel’ ‘wer baares Geld gibt, spielt die Flöte, wer keines gibt, der pfeift mit den Lippen.“

Zu bemerken ist noch, dass dieser Streich des Nasreddin in der nach dem Türkischen gefertigten deutschen Uebersetzung von Camerloher fehlt.

Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Sagen- und Märchenkunde.

Einleitung.

Mit einer kleinen Summe von Elementen operirt die Natur unbewußt, der menschliche Geist aber bewußt und freithätig und schafft die mannigfaltigsten Gebilde. Aus einer kleinen Anzahl von Stämmen, entwickelt sich mit der fortschreitenden Vernunftthätigkeit die Sprache mit ihrem reichen Schätze von Worten und Bildern; aus einer kleinen Anzahl ursprünglicher Erzählungen, entwickelt sich die unendliche Mannigfaltigkeit der Sagen und Märchen, der Erzählungen und Novellen, die trotz ihrer Verschiedenheit untereinander, den Zusammenhang mit den Urgebilden jedoch mehr oder minder deutlich erkennen lassen. Benfey zuerst hatte es in der Einleitung zu seiner Uebersetzung des indischen Fabelbuches Panchatantra (Lpzg. 1859), unternommen, diese ganze Fülle auf einige Urformen zurückzuführen, indem er alle Entwicklungen nach den verschiedensten Seiten hin verfolgte, und ihren Zusammenhang nachwies. Ein Zweig der Weltliteratur wurde aber von ihm so gut wie gar nicht berücksichtigt, obzwar darin diese Seite der geistigen Production sehr reich vertreten ist. Ich meine die jüdische Literatur, von welcher Benfey hin und wieder nur auf das jüdisch-deutsche Simchoth-hanefesch hinweist. Die hebräische Sprache, in welcher diese Literatur abgefaßt ist, hat Zeden von deren Untersuchung abgeschreckt und dadurch auch von der Würdigung derselben entfernt. Und gerade für diese Literatur der Märchen und Sagen haben die Juden das größte

Interesse an den Tag gelegt, und ich stehe nicht an, sie zum großen Theil als Vermittler zwischen Orient und Occident zu bezeichnen. Drei getaufte Juden haben die beliebtesten Volksbücher des Mittelalters geliefert, während es einem vierten ungetauften übrig blieb, ein nicht minder beliebtes und sehr weit verbreitetes Volksbuch vom Orient nach dem Occident zu übertragen. Petrus Alfonsus, der erste derselben, Verfasser der *Disciplina clericalis*, der früher Moses hieß, taufte sich im Alter von 44 Jahren, im Jahre 1106; als Pathe fungirte König Alphons, dem zu Ehren er den Namen: „Alfonst“ annahm. S. Val. Schmidt, Einleitung zu seiner Ausgabe der *Disciplina clericalis*, Berlin 1827, S. 3—8.

„Für die Culturgeschichte wichtigste Uebersetzung, (von *Rasila* und *Dimna*) ist aber eine hebräische geworden“ (Bensley I, 10), die vor 1250 zu setzen ist. Aus dieser hebräischen Uebersetzung, — als Uebersetzer spuckt überall ein gewisser R. Joel herum, über den sonst Nichts bekannt ist — floß die lateinische, unmittelbare Quelle aller späteren occidentalischen Uebersetzungen und Bearbeitungen. Der Uebersetzer ist *Johann von Capua*, der, ebenfalls ein getaufter Jude, fast Zeitgenosse des hebräischen Uebersetzers war, und um die letzte Hälfte des XIII. Jahrhunderts lebte“ (Bensley a. a. D. I, 15).

Als Dritten nenne ich den Franciscaner: *Johannes Pauli*, Verfasser des beliebten Schwankbuches „*Schimpf und Ernst*“. Gegen 1455 von jüdischen Eltern geboren, trat er früh in den Franziscanerorden, wurde später (1506—1510) Guardian des Barfüßerklosters in Straßburg, gab dann sein Werk heraus und starb circa 1530 daselbst. S. Desterley in der Einleitung zu seiner Ausgabe von Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst*. S. 1—2.

„An der Spitze eines überaus umfassenden und einflußreichen occidentalischen Literaturkreises“ (Bensley a. a. D. I, 14)

stehen schließlich neben der hebräischen Uebersetzung von Kalila und Dimna, die „Mischle Sendabar,“ die, wie sich jetzt nach der Ausgabe der syrischen Uebersetzung von Baethgen („Sindban, Lpzg. 1878“) herausstellt, wahrscheinlich aus dem Arabischen übersezt und nicht als die Quelle des griechischen Syntipas anzusehen ist, wie es noch Sengelmann: (das Buch der sieben weisen Meister. 1842 S. 19) annahm, aber nichtsdestoweniger Quelle aller übrigen occidentalschen Bearbeitungen geworden ist. Vgl. Nöldeke's Recension der oben erwähnten Schrift von Baethgen, *J. D. M. G. XXXIII*, S. 513 ff.

Abgesehen nun von diesen durch Uebersetzungen bekannten Werken, wobei auch noch auf Ibn Chisdai's Prinz und Derwisch (Barlaam und Josaphat) hinzuweisen ist, die am besten Zeugniß ablegen, für die Wechselwirkung, in welcher die jüdische Literatur zu der anderer Völker stand — begegnen wir in der specifisch hebräischen Original-Literatur, die sich also als unabhängig von jeder fremden ankündigt, einer großen Menge Sagen, Märchen und Erzählungen, die gleichsam die jüdische Volksliteratur repräsentiren. Dieser sind nun die folgenden Untersuchungen gewidmet, die, wie der Titel derselben lehrt, weit entfernt etwas Abgeschlossenes liefern zu wollen oder zu können, nur auf den Namen „Beiträge“ Anspruch machen. Ich bezwecke auch nur hier den Zusammenhang nachzuweisen, in welchem diese jüdische Volksliteratur mit der anderer Völker stand, und habe es aber unterlassen, irgendwo die Priorität betonen zu wollen. Der Charakter dieser Erzählungen schließt den Beweis der absoluten Priorität aus, nur relativ könnte eine solche bezeichnet werden, die sich dann auch nur auf die schriftliche Aufzeichnung derselben beschränken müßte.

Die Erzählungen, Sagen, Märchen leben lange vorher im Volke, ehe sie aufgezeichnet werden, und wandern oft mündlich von Volk zu Volk, ohne viel an ihrem ursprünglichen Charakter

Einbuße zu erleiden. Wohl behandelt sie jedes Volk subjectiv — und auf diesen Punkt möchte ich das größte Gewicht legen, weil er mir geeignet erscheint, die Ansicht von Grimm und die von Benfey über den Ursprung der Märchen einigermaßen mit einander zu versöhnen — das Volk substituirt je nach der eigenen religiösen Anschauung andere über- oder unterirdische Gestalten und macht sie sich angemessen. Die Rakshasa's, Dschinen, Teufel, Riesen repräsentiren ebensoviele Zweige der indogermanischen Mythologie. Im Judenthume treten oft, in älterer Zeit, Schedim, Geister, später Elia und der Todesengel an deren Stelle auf, die manchen, ihnen ursprünglich fremden mythologischen Zug nicht ganz abstreifen konnten, aber in ihrer ganzen Erscheinung als Produkt des jüdischen Volkslebens aufzufassen sind. Es sind daher nicht unmittelbare Entlehnungen mit Haut und Haaren, sei es von jüdischer, sei es von fremder Seite, die wir hier im wesentlichen vorzuführen gedenken, als vielmehr mehr oder minder subjectiv gefärbte Erzählungen, die, wenn auch manchmal ursprünglich fremd, in der Form jedoch, in welcher sie uns entgegenreten, als aus dem Volksleben geschöpft zu betrachten sind. Es lag dem Tradenten wahrscheinlich keine andere als eine mündliche oder hebräisch abgefaßte Quelle vor. Uebersetzungen, wo sie sich als solche ankündigen, werden auch von mir als Uebersetzungen bezeichnet. Ich habe daher manche Punkte, welche für die vergleichende Mythologie von Interesse sein könnten, wie z. B. über Blut, Baum 2c. ausführlicher gesprochen und Material zusammengetragen. In der Bibel, wie es in neuerer Zeit von Noth an bis auf Goldzieher herunter geschah, suche ich dagegen keine Mythologie. Diese konnte nur auf dem Standpunkte der naiven Weltbetrachtung entstehen, es ist die Kindheit des menschlichen Geistes, die die Elemente verkörpert und anbetet; die Bibel dagegen stellt den höchsten Standpunkt der Reife dar und schließt dadurch jede mythologisirende Weltansicht aus. Die Bi-

teratur, mit welcher wir uns hier beschäftigen, ist größten Theils im Exile, weit von Palästina entfernt, in allen Ländern und unter den mannigfachen Einflüssen entstanden, die sich auch darin spiegeln. Dieses nachzuweisen ist Hauptgegenstand gegenwärtiger Untersuchung, die, wie ich nochmals bemerke, nur als Versuch gelten mag, darauf hinzuweisen, welche Schätze für die vergleichende Sagenforschung in der jüdischen Literatur noch ungehoben liegen, ja bis jetzt unbeachtet geblieben sind. Die wenigen Ausnahmen, wie Steinschneider und Perles, haben den Gegenstand auch nicht von diesem weiteren Gesichtspunkte gefaßt. Ersterer hatte in den Nachweisungen zum „Manna“ einen Anfang dazu gemacht, der sich nur auf Notizen beschränkte, während Letzterer nur den „Einfluß der rabbinischen Agada's auf 1001 Nacht“ (Breslau 1873) zum Gegenstande seiner Untersuchung gemacht. Nachträge habe ich im Laufe der Untersuchung noch manche gegeben, so wie ich überhaupt hin und wieder biblisch-jüdische und biblisch-muslemische Legenden mit einander verglichen habe. Ich muß aber gestehen, daß ich diese Vergleichung noch weiter hätte ausdehnen können und es vielleicht noch unternehmen werde, da fast jeder Zug der muslemischen Legenden, die sich um biblische Personen drehen, in der jüdischen Literatur sich nachweisen läßt. Diese ebenso wie weitere Untersuchungen, die jüdisch-deutsche Sagen- und Märchenliteratur betreffend, muß ich noch für die Zukunft vorbehalten, und erst den Erfolg dieser ersten Schrift abwarten, die sowohl meinerseits, als auch von Seiten des behandelten Gegenstandes als erste der Nachsicht competenter Beurtheiler empfohlen werden darf.

I.

Die Kästchen.

A.

Benfey theilt in seiner Einleitung zum Pautschatantra (Leipzig 1859) I, S. 407 folgende aus Vikramacaritra geschöpfte indische Erzählung mit.

Ein reicher Kaufmann hat vier Söhne; als sein Tod naht, sagt er zu ihnen: „Seid einig, trennt euch nicht! Wenn sie sich aber nicht vertragen könnten, so würden sie unter seinem Bette vier Gefäße mit ihrem Namen bezeichnet finden, welche das Erbtheil eines jeden enthielten.“ Nach seinem Tode fangen sie nach einiger Zeit an, sich zu streiten; sie holen nun die Gefäße; in dem des Ältesten ist Erde, in dem des zweiten Kohle, in dem des dritten Knochen, in dem des vierten Stroh. Keiner weiß, wie das zu deuten sei; auch Vikramāditya nicht. Da hört es das wunderbare Schlangenkind Śālivāhana in Pratiśthāna, kommt in den Gerichtssaal und entscheidet: Wer das Gefäß mit Erde hat, erbt die Ländereien; wer die Kohle, alle acht Metalle: Gold, Silber u. s. w.; wer Knochen, alles Lebende: Elefanten, Pferde, Büffel, Ziegen, Widder, Sklaven; wer das Stroh, alle Frucht, Getreide u. s. w. Mit dieser Entscheidung sind die Brüder zufrieden.

Einer fast wörtlich übereinstimmenden Erzählung begegnen wir im Talmud Tr. Baba Bathra 58 a.

„Ein Vater hinterläßt drei Söhne und vertheilt ihnen auf dem Todtenbette sein Vermögen in drei Kästchen, indem er einem Sohne das mit Erde gefüllte, dem zweiten, das mit Knochen gefüllte und dem dritten das voller Fesen giebt.

Diese, die dessen Bedeutung nicht verstanden, kommen zu R. Bannaah und bitten ihn, daß er ihnen dieses Räthsel löse. R. Bannaah fragt sie nun: „hat euer Vater Ländereien hinterlassen?“ „Ja!“ „Hat er euch Vieh hinterlassen?“ „Ja!“ „Hat er euch kostbare Gewänder hinterlassen?“ „Ja!“ Nun! dann hat er dieses mit den drei Kästchen gemeint.“

Die Abweichung, die im Fehlen eines vierten mit Kohle gefüllten Kästchens besteht, beruht gerade auf die jüdische Anschauung, die die Kohle nicht mit unter die Metalle zählte, und beweist hierdurch den durchaus volksthümlichen Character dieser Erzählung, die erst aus dem Volksmund in den Talmud gelangt war.

B.

Eine weitere Reihe von Erzählungen, die ein Kästchen und dessen Inhalt einerseits und den Scharfsinn des Ueberbringers andererseits behandeln, theilt Benfey a. a. O. pag. 408 ff. mit. Wir greifen die zweite aus Eufasaptati geschöpfte Erzählung heraus, da sie in der Entwicklung der von uns beizubringenden Parallele am meisten entspricht.

„In der Stadt Saneravati war ein König Somila, dessen Minister, mit Namen Sugila, einen Sohn Namens Vishnu hatte, welcher von dem Könige zu einer Gesandtschaft wegen Kriegs und Friedens verwendet ward. Er fiel aber in Ungnade bei dem Könige und verlor seine Stelle, aber, obgleich arm, blieb er voll Selbstbewußtsein und Stolz, weshalb der König nicht einmal mit ihm sprach. Einst sagte der Minister zu dem Könige: „Mein Sohn liebt den

König, ist wohlgesinnt und der Staatsgeschäfte kundig, deshalb bitte ich, ihn zu einer Gesandtschaft zu verwenden.“ Der König, welcher anderer Meinung war, that Asche in eine Büchse, siegelte sie zu und sagte zu dem Sohne des Ministers: „Gändige dieses Geschenk dem Könige von Anga ein!“ Als Vishnu kam und die Büchse geöffnet ward, zeigte sich, daß unglückbedeutende Asche darin war. Darüber wurde der König erzürnt. Als Vishnu dies sah, sprach er voll Geistesgegenwart: „Mein König hat ein Pferdeopfer vollzogen und sendet dir diese Asche vom Opferaltar, da sie heilig, heilbringend und Sünden vertilgend ist.“ Als dies der König hörte, stand er auf, verehrte sie und nahm sie gnädig an; erfreut ehrte er den Vishnu und schickte ihn mit großen Geschenken zurück.“

Ganz enge schließt sich daran die im Talmud (Synhedrin 108 b—109 a und Taanith 21 a vgl. Jalkut II § 302 fol. 49 b) von Nahum Iſch-Gimzo mitgetheilte Sage, die einer Volksetymologie des Namens zu Hülfe kam, indem Gam-zu als abgekürzte Redensart für: gam-zu l'toba („auch dieses gereicht mir zum Guten“), die er immer im Munde geführt haben soll, angesehen wurde, während Gimzo nur in Wirklichkeit ein Ortsname ist.

Die Sage erzählt zur Erklärung seines Namens Folgendes von ihm.

„Einst wollten die Juden dem Caesar ein Geschenk schicken und einigten sich schließlich dahin, Nahum damit zu betrauen, weil sich ihm Wunder zu ereignen pflegten. Sie übergaben ihm daher ein Kästchen gefüllt mit Edelsteinen. Als er Abends in ein Wirthshaus einkehrte, um dort die Nacht zuzubringen, fragten ihn die Wirthsleute nach dem Inhalte des Kästchens, das er mit sich führte. Er antwortete ihnen und sagte: „Ich führe ein Geschenk mit mir, um es dem Caesar zu

übergeben.“ Nachts standen die Wirthsleute auf, sprengten die Bänder des Kästchens, leerten es aus und füllten es mit Staub. Als Nahum zum Caesar kam, und das Kästchen geöffnet wurde, fand sich darin Nichts als Staub. Darob erzürnt, rief der Caesar: „Treiben die Juden etwa ihren Spott mit mir?“ und befahl, den Ueberbringer zu tödten. Als man ihn hinausführte, sagte er: „auch dieses zum Guten.“ Da kam der Prophet Elia, nahm die Gestalt eines Römers an und sagte: „Vielleicht ist das von dem Staube A b r a h a m ' s , das sich ihm zu einem Schwerdte verwandelte, und dessen Stroh zu Pfeilen wurden, als er gegen die Könige kämpfte, um Lot zu befreien?“ (Eine Anspielung auf Jesajah 41, 2, das hier eigenthümlich gedeutet wird.) Darauf versuchten es die Römer und es erwies sich als wahr. Sie hatten nämlich schon lange vergebens gegen ein Land, das ihnen bis dahin siegreich Widerstand geleistet hatte, Krieg geführt, als sie aber von diesem Staube dagegen Gebrauch machten, besiegten sie es. Hoherfreut über diesen Erfolg, führte Caesar den Nahum in seine Schatzkammer und sagte ihm: „Nimm was dir gefällt.“ Er füllte das Kästchen mit Gold und kehrte in seine Heimath zurück. Als er wieder zu jenen Wirthsleuten kam, frugen sie ihn: „Was hast du dem Könige gebracht?“ Er antwortete ihnen und sprach: „Was ich von hier mitgenommen habe, habe ich hin gebracht.“ Da führten sie auch Staub zum Könige und sprachen: „Es ist derselbe Staub, den Nahum gebracht hat.“ Als man aber einen Versuch damit gemacht und derselbe ungünstig ausgefallen war, wurden sie hingerichtet.“

So weit die Erzählung im Talmud, die als Sage auffallend mit der oben mitgetheilten indischen Relation übereinstimmt, nur ist hier der Prophet Elia, der die Rolle der Geistesgegenwart des Boten übernimmt und den Ueberbringer rettet.

Der zweite Theil mit den Wirthsleuten erinnert an den in

den Märchen so oft vorkommenden betrügerischen Wirth, der dann gerade durch denselben Gegenstand bestraft wird. So Grimm Nr. 36 (Tischchenbeckdich, Goldesel und Knüttel aus dem Sack), und die Parallelen III 3, 65 f. Vgl. namentlich: *Gonzenbach*, *Sicilianische Märchen*, Lpzg. 1870 Nr. 52 und die sehr reichhaltige Anmerkung dazu von *H. Köhler* pag. 235. *Schott*, *Walachische Märchen* Nr. 20.

Ueber die weitere Verbreitung dieser Sage in Europa, die uns durch Shakespeare's „Kaufmann von Venedig“ so bekannt ist, s. die Nachweisungen Desterley' in seiner Ausgabe der „Gesta Romanorum“ (Berlin 1872), zu Cap. 251, p. 747. Hier ist die Erzählung aus dem geistlichen Roman Barlaam und Josaphat entnommen.

Die talmudischen Sagen scheinen die Vermittelung zwischen Orient und Occident darzustellen, da außer indischer, bengalischer und talmudischer Parallelen keine sonstigen orientalischen bekannt, und anderweitige, verbindende Glieder dieser Sagenkette, bis jetzt nicht aufgewiesen worden sind.

Das Verhältniß von Barlaam und Josaphat, wo diese Sage in einer A näheren Fassung enthalten ist, zur jüdischen Literatur muß noch einer tieferen Untersuchung unterworfen werden. Auffallend ist jedenfalls, daß einige der schönsten Parabeln aus B. u. J. sich in derselben finden, die unzweifelhaft unabhängig, wahrscheinlich sogar älteren Datums sind. S. weiter unten.

II.

Der Schatz im Baumstamme.

Eine weitere Gestaltung dieser Sage ist cap. 109 der *Gesta romanorum*. Ausnahmsweise behandle ich hier eine jüdisch-deutsche Parallele, da ich dem in dieser Sprache vorhandenen Märchen- und Sagen-Schatz eine besondere Behandlung zu widmen beschäftigt bin. Der Zusammenhang jedoch, in welchem diese

Erzählung zu den beiden oben mitgetheilten steht, bestimmt mich, sie schon hier mitzutheilen und zu vergleichen.

In den „Gesta rom.“ wird erzählt: Es lebte einst ein Schmied in einer am Meere gelegenen Stadt, der sehr geizig und schlecht war. Er hatte aber viel Geld zusammengebracht und damit einen Baumstamm angefüllt, welchen er vor Aller Augen an's Feuer stellte, so daß Niemand Verdacht schöpfen konnte, daß derselbe Geld enthielte. Nun begab es sich einmal, daß während Alle im Schlafe lagen, das Meer in's Haus eindrang, so daß der Stamm mit dem Gelde zum Schwimmen kam. Wie nun das Meer wieder zurücktrat, nahm es den Stamm mit fort, und so schwamm derselbe auf dem Meere viele Meilen weit, bis er an eine Stadt kam, in welcher ein Mann wohnte, der eine gemeine Herberge hielt. Dieser Mann sah, als er in der Frühe aufstand, den Stamm und zog ihn an's Land, weil er meinte, er sei nichts weiter, als ein Stück Holz, welches von irgend Jemandem hineingeworfen oder zurückgelassen worden sei. Nun war aber dieser Mann sehr freigebig und wohlthätig gegen Arme und Fremde; es begab sich daher eines Tages, daß Reisende in seinem Hause einkehrten und es gerade sehr kalt war. Der Wirth zerhieb also mit seiner Art das Holz, und vernahm nach zwei oder drei Hieben einen Klang, und als er darauf den Stamm gespalten hatte, fand er das Geld und freute sich sehr, legte es aber in Verwahrung, ob nicht vielleicht irgend einer käme, dem es gehörte, und welchem er es zurückgeben könnte. Der Schmied aber zog von Stadt zu Stadt, um sein Geld zu suchen, und kam auch zu der Stadt und zu der Herberge jenes Wirthes, der den Stamm gefunden hatte. Wie er nun erwähnte, daß er einen Stamm verloren habe, und sein Wirth dieses hörte, so merkte er, daß diesem das Geld gehöre. Er dachte also bei sich. Ich will jetzt eine Probe machen, ob es der Wille Gottes ist, daß ich ihm das Geld zurückgebe. Der Wirth ließ also drei

Pasteten von Brodteig machen, die eine füllte er mit Erde, die zweite mit Todtengebein, die dritte aber mit dem Gelde an, das er im Stamme gefunden hatte. Wie er das gemacht hatte, sprach er zu dem Schmied: Wir wollen drei gute Pasteten verzehren, die aus dem besten Fleische, welches ich habe, bereitet sind: Du magst nehmen, welche du willst, immer wirst du genug haben. Der Schmied aber hob eine nach der anderen auf, fand, daß die mit Erde gefüllte Pastete schwerer war und wählte sie, und sprach hierauf zum Wirth: Wenn ich noch mehr bedarf, werde ich mir noch jene zweite auslesen, und dabei legte er seine Hand auf die mit Todtengebeinen gefüllte Pastete. Die dritte magst du für dich behalten. Wie das der Wirth sah, sprach er in seinem Herzen: jetzt sehe ich deutlich, daß es der Wille Gottes nicht ist, daß dieser Elende sein Geld bekomme. Als bald rief er Arme und Kranke, Blinde und Lahme zu sich herein, öffnete in Gegenwart des Schmiedes die Pasteten und sprach: siehe du elender Kerl, hier ist dein Geld, welches ich deinen Händen überlieferte; du aber hast lieber die Pasteten mit Erde und Todtengebeinen gewählt, und das ist gut, weil es Gott nicht gefällt, daß du jenes Geld wieder bekommest. Sogleich vertheilte er vor seinen Augen das ganze Geld unter die Armen und so ging der Schmied wieder mit großer Bestürzung seiner Wege. Vgl. Bensley: Pant-schat. I, 603 aus Anvar-i-Suhaili, die Erzählung, die darin gipfelt, daß das Schicksal eine Summe Geldes stets ihrem ehrlichen Besitzer zurückbringt. Der letzte Theil derselben stimmt näher mit unserer Erzählung überein. „Ein Hirte steckt das Geld, das er auf unrechtmäßige Weise von einem Pächter erworben, in einen ausgehöhlten Stock. Dieser fällt in's Wasser und schwimmt fort. Der Pächter findet ihn und nimmt ihn mit sich; seine Frau kocht gerade; er zerbricht ihn zum Brennen; da kommt das Gold zum Vorschein.“ Geld in einen ausgehöhlten Stock stecken, kennt auch der Talmud Nebar 25 a. S. Levit. r. sect. 6,

Jalkut I § 475 f. 128 b. S. Weil, Bibl. Legend. S. 214. Vgl. Alfab. Siracib ed. Steinschneider f. 21 a das Experiment mit einem ausgehöhlten Stocke; 40 Beziere v. Behrnauer p. 62--63.

Die jüdisch-deutsche Erzählung, die sich an diese anschließt, findet sich in der Sammlung: Sippure happelaoth (Lemberg 1851 fol. 11 a f.,) welche aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach einen Auszug aus dem bekannten Maasse-Buch, das mir unzugänglich geblieben ist, bildet. Das Buch kündigt sich selbst als Wiederabdruck jenes an, entspricht aber dem alten Maasse-Buch, soweit ich es nach zahlreichen Citaten bei Tendlan, Junz u. vergleichen konnte, weder an Zahl, noch an Reihenfolge der Erzählungen. So viel aber steht fest, daß es nur aus jüdischen Quellen geschöpft ist, dafür zeugt der ganze Charakter dieser Sammlung von Erzählungen, von denen die Meisten auf solche Quellen zurückgeführt werden können.

„Es lebte einst ein reicher Mann nahe von Jerusalem. Eines Tages kam ein Mann zu ihm und bat ihn, ihm einiges Geld zu leihen. Der Mann hieß seine Frau hinaufgehen und Geld aus dem Kasten zu holen; aber wie sie den Kasten öffnet, hört sie eine Stimme, die ihr zuruft: „Laß das Geld liegen, denn es ist nicht dein!“ Erschreckt, lief sie hinunter und erzählte es ihrem Manne, der nun selbst hinaufging um das Geld zu holen. Aber wieder erscholl die Stimme und rief: „Laß das Geld liegen, denn es ist nicht dein!“ Nachdem er sich ein wenig vom Schreck erholt hatte, fragte er: „Wenn das Geld nicht mein ist, wem gehört es denn?“ Und die Stimme antwortete: „Das Geld gehört H. Abraham Drechsler in Jerusalem.“ Darauf sprach der Mann: „Wenn es nun nicht mein ist, will ich es auch nicht haben“, höhle einen Baum, der im Garten stand, aus, und legte alles Geld und alle Kostbarkeiten hinein. Er selbst zog mit seinem Weibe weg und fügte sich in sein Schicksal. Nicht lange nachher entstand eine große Ueberschwem-

mung. Das Wasser riß Häuser weg, entwurzelte Bäume, so wurde auch jener Baum von seiner Stelle gerissen und fortgeschwemmt. Ein Fischer fischte den Baum auf und dachte: „Der Baum wird für einen Drechsler sehr gut sein. Ich werde den Baum nach Jerusalem mit meinen Fischen am nächsten Freitag bringen und R. Abraham Drechsler zum Kaufe anbieten, er wird mir gewiß einen guten Preis dafür bezahlen.“ Als er nun Freitag mit den Fischen auf den Markt kam, kam auch R. Abraham um Fische zu kaufen. Der Fischer sagte: „Ich habe Euch einen schönen Baum mitgebracht, aus dem Ihr hübsche Sachen dreheln könnet.“ R. Abraham besah sich den Baum und sie wurden Handels einig. Wie erkaunte dieser, als er zu Hause den Baum spaltete und das Geld darin fand. Er dankte Gott für diesen Fund und wurde von da ab ein reicher Mann. Der Mann, der das Geld in den Baumstamm gesteckt hatte, war inzwischen sehr arm geworden und wanderte im Lande umher, um Almosen zu sammeln. Eines Tages sagte er zu seiner Frau: „Liebes Weib! gehen wir doch einmal nach Jerusalem, um zu sehen, ob das Geld wirklich, wie die Stimme uns gesagt hat, zu R. Abraham Drechsler gekommen ist?“ Sie machen sich auf den Weg und kommen zu R. Abraham Drechsler; sie thaten aber, als ob sie von nichts wüßten. Freitag Abend wurden nun silberne Leuchter und silbernes Geschirr auf den Tisch gestellt, das sie gleich als das Ihrige erkannten und darüber in Thränen ausbrachen. Der Wirth, als er sie weinen sah, fragte sie nach der Ursache. Sie wollten es aber nicht sagen. Darauf kam die Wirthin und drang so lange in sie, bis sie die ganze Geschichte, wie es ihnen ergangen, erzählten, und daß sie jetzt das silberne Geschirr erkannt hatten. Die Frau, die das hörte sagte: „Betrübet Euch nicht, denn wir werden Euch all das Euer wiedergeben, wir sind jetzt reich genug geworden.“ Die Armen antworteten: „Wir wollen das Geld nicht wieder. Wir

sehen, das Geld ist Euch bestimmt, gewiß haben wir gesündigt und uns um dasselbe gebracht.“ Darauf verbrachten sie einen fröhlichen Sabbath miteinander und wollten nichts von ihren Wirthsleuten annehmen. Als H. Abraham das sah, berieth er sich mit seiner Frau, und ließ einen Kuchen backen, in den er hundert Goldgulden steckte, um ihn den Leuten mitzugeben. Sonntag früh machen sich die Leute auf den Weg und nehmen erst nach langem Bitten den Kuchen mit. Als sie in die nächste Stadt kommen, fordert man von ihnen Zoll. Sie haben aber kein Geld und geben den Kuchen an dessen Stelle. Der Zollauffseher konnte ihn auch gleich verwenden, denn wie er sagte, feierte ja H. Abraham Drechsler in Jerusalem bald die Hochzeit seines Sohnes, und diesen Kuchen wollte er ihm als Hochzeitsgeschenk schicken. Auf diese Weise bekam H. Abraham Drechsler den Kuchen mit dem Gelde zurück.“

„Moral. Wem Gott geben will, diesem kann Niemand mehr wegnehmen, und wenn es nicht von Gott bescheert ist, dem hilft auch alles nicht; daher habe jeder Vertrauen zu Gott, und Er wird ihm helfen. Amen!“

Ich habe diesen Schluß auch noch hinzugefügt, weil diese „Moralisationes“ auch in den Gesta rom. hinter jeder Erzählung stehen, aber nicht etwa in dieser Form, sondern dort wird vielmehr die ganze Erzählung umgedeutet und allegorisiert; jede Person und jede That wird in's Religiöse übergesetzt und sie werden zu Repräsentanten der Heiligen oder der Ceremonien der Kirche. Die Moral dagegen, wie sie uns in den jüdischen Erzählungen entgegentritt, erklärt uns leichter den Ursprung oder die Ursache der Verbreitung und Erhaltung derselben durch den Lauf der Jahrhunderte. Die Erzählungen bekamen einen ethischen, erziehenden Hintergrund, den sie nur illustriren sollen, wenn sie auch ursprünglich nicht zu diesem Zwecke gedichtet wurden. In den übrigen von mir hier weiter behandelten

Beispielen habe ich diese „Moralisatio“ weggelassen, und habe mich mit diesem hier gleich Anfangs gegebenen Beispiele begnügt. Sie stehen auch nur bei den am meisten verbreiteten und bis in die neuere jüdisch-deutsche Literatur eingedrungenen Erzählungen. In den ältesten Beispielen dagegen fehlen sie zumeist, und treten mit der weiteren Verbreitung und in je jüngeren Werken immer zahlreicher auf.

Auf eine merkwürdig genau übereinstimmende rumänische Parallele: Pann, Povestea vorbii Bucur. 1852 III p. 81 ff. werde ich an einem anderen Orte ausführlich zurückkommen.

III.

Das sodomitische Urtheil.

Vorwegnehmend nenne ich das Urtheil sodomitisch, nach der Parallele, die der Talmud enthält. Bensley a. a. O. I, p. 391 bis 406 und nach ihm Simrod in der zweiten Auflage der „Quellen des Shakespeare“, I, p. 225—236, theilen eine ganze Reihe eigenthümlicher Urtheile mit, Letzterer auch mit der Absicht, die uns ebenfalls von Shakespeare her so bekannte Schuldverischreibung, die dem Gläubiger nach dem Verfalltage das Recht einräumt, seinem Schuldner ein Pfund Fleisch aus dem Leibe zu schneiden, als eine juridische, auf europäischem Boden entsprungene Sage, unabhängig von dem von Bensley behaupteten orientalischen Einflusse, zu erklären. Aus dieser Reihe theile ich nun eine orientalische Fassung mit, da nur von einer solchen ausgegangen werden darf, wenn wir Talmudisches damit vergleichen wollen. Am meisten stimmt die aus Lutfullah im Auszug gegebene Erzählung (Bensley a. a. O. 402—3), mit den talmudischen Beispielen überein.

„Im dritten Jahrhundert der Hebräa war in Rairo ein Richter, Mansur ben Mussa. Unter ihm borgte ein Soldat von

einem Juden Geld und verschrieb ihm ein Pfund Fleisch. Als er nicht bezahlen kann, will ihn der Jude vor Gericht schleppen; doch er entflieht. Auf der Flucht stößt er auf eine schwangere Frau, welche er umstößt, so daß sie eine Fehlgeburt macht (entspricht in der tibetischen Fassung Nr. 5, in der russischen Nr. 2); weiter stößt er auf einen Reiter; er giebt dem Pferde einen Stoß, so daß es ein Auge verliert (entspricht tibet. Nr. 2); er flieht weiter und springt in einen Steinbruch; hier aber stürzt er auf und durch eine Hütte auf einen Mann, den er dadurch erschlägt (entspricht tibet. Nr. 3, russisch Nr. 3). Der Jude, der Vetter der Frau, der Reiter und der Sohn des Getödteten führen ihn nun zum Richter. Vor dessen Hause sieht er einen alten betrunkenen Mann, und einen Menschen lebendig begraben. Der Richter entscheidet nun gegen den Juden in der bekannten Weise; in Bezug auf die Frau wie im Tibetanischen und Russischen, d. h.: „er soll ihr Mann werden und ihr ein anderes Kind zeugen.“ Was den Reiter betrifft, so fordert dieser die Hälfte des Werthes seines Pferdes, welchen er zu 200 Goldstücken angiebt; der Richter entscheidet, daß das Pferd der Länge nach durchgesägt werden soll; den unverletzten Theil solle der Kläger behalten, den verletzten gagegen der Verklagte nehmen und dafür die Hälfte des angegebenen Werthes, 100 Goldstücke, zahlen. In Bezug auf den Sohn urtheilt er wie im Tibetanischen und Russischen, d. h.: „Verklagter soll sich an den Platz stellen, wo der Zerdrückte lag, als er auf ihn fiel; Kläger müsse sich von oben herab auf ihn stürzen und ihn dafür billigerweise wieder erdrücken.“ Alle stehen natürlich von der Verfolgung ihres Rechtes ab, müssen aber eine Buße bezahlen. Nach Beendigung des Processes fragt der Verklagte den Richter wegen der beiden auffallenden Ercheinungen vor seiner Thür. Der Richter erklärt ihm, „daß der betrunkene Alte (nach moslemischem Gesetze ist ja sonst der Rausch

verboten) als Borkoster gebraucht sei, weil die geistigen Getränke oft mit Gift versetzt seien; was den lebendig Begrabenen betreffe, so hätten früher zwei Zeugen bezeugt, daß er gestorben sei, jetzt sei er trotzdem zurückgekehrt, durch die Zeugenaussagen stelle sich jedoch heraus, daß er wirklich gestorben sei, und es könne also der Zurückgekehrte nicht der Wirkliche sein, sondern nur ein Geist; um allen Streit zu schlichten, habe er daher befohlen, ihn zu begraben.“

An diese Recension schließen wir noch einen aus der russischen entnommenen Zug an, der hier im Reiter verbunkelt erscheint, und der der talmudischen Parallele besser entspricht. Es ist der Anfang der Erzählung:

„Es lebten in einem Lande zwei Brüder. Davon war der eine reich, der andere arm. Einst kam der letztere zu dem ersten und bat ihn, ihm sein Pferd zu leihen, um damit Holz aus dem Walde zu führen. Der Reiche wollte anfänglich nicht daran; endlich gab er es ihm doch, aber ohne Geschirr. Dem Armen blieb nichts übrig, als den Schlitten an den Schweif des Pferdes zu binden, und so fuhr er in den Wald. Er lud so viel Holz auf, daß es das Pferd kaum fortschleppen konnte. Indessen kam er damit glücklich nach Hause; als aber das Pferd mit dem Fuder über die hohe Hausschwelle setzen wollte, riß es sich den Schweif aus. Der Bruder, erzürnt darüber, führt ihn zum Richter Schemäka Der Beklagte stand hinter ihm (dem Kläger) und hob, so daß es Schemäka wohl sehen konnte, ein Tuch, worin ein großer Stein lag, in die Höhe. Dieser meinte, daß darin ein hübsches Sümmlen liegen möchte, welches ihm zugebach wäre. Er entschied daher: „Beklagter solle so lange das Pferd behalten und gebrauchen, ja nicht an den Kläger zurückgeben, als bis ihm der Schweif wieder gewachsen sei.“

So weit die russische Erzählung.

An Stelle ausgeführter Erzählungen, in denen die einzigen Züge Thaten eines Einzelnen darstellen, enthält der Talmud (Sanhedrin 109 b, daraus Jalkut I § 70 fol. 18 d. S. Tendlau: Sagen und Legenden, 3. Auflage 1873 Nr. 39 S. 170—175 „Sodoms Art“; Koszarski, Sagen des Morgenlandes 1852 Nr. 15—18 S. 55—67) eine Reihe unter sich unzusammenhängender Urtheile, die das Gerechtigkeitsgefühl der Sodomiters veranschaulichen sollen und zwar: Wenn Jemand die schwangere Frau eines Andern schlug und sie machte eine Fehlgeburt, entschieden die vier, dort genannten Richter, „daß er sie heirathen und ihr ein anderes Kind zeugen müsse.“ רמתי ליה לאחתי דחבריה „ומפלא כיה אמרו ליה יהבה ניהליה דניעברה ניהלך.“ Dieses entspricht vollständig der oben mitgetheilten Erzählung des Iutfullah.

Ein anderes Urtheil, welches im Talmud unmittelbar folgt, ist: „Es riß Jemand dem Esel eines Anderen ein Ohr ab. Vor Gericht gezogen, entschieden die vier Richter: „daß der Kläger dem Beklagten den Esel so lange geben müsse, bis das Ohr wieder gewachsen sei.“ רמסיק ליה לאורני דחמרא „דחבריה אמרו ליה הבה ניהליה ער דקרחא.“ Ganz wie Schemäfa.

Wir übergehen einige Urtheile und an derselben Stelle mitgetheilte sodomitische Bräuche, um zu Folgendem zu gelangen.

„Wenn ein Sodomiters einem Anderen ein Loch mit einem Steine schlug, mußte er dem Schläger vier Sus bezahlen, da er ihm doch unnützes Blut abgezapft hatte. Als einst Eliezer, der von Abraham an Lot gesandt worden war, nach Sodom kam, wurde er ebenfalls durch einen Steinwurf blutig geschlagen und sollte die vier festgesetzten Sus bezahlen. Er aber weigerte sich und wurde vor den Richter gebracht, der ihn auch dazu verurtheilte. Da hob Eliezer einen Stein und warf ihn

dem Richter an den Kopf, der nun anstatt dem Eliezer, an seiner Stelle dem Schläger die vier Sus bezahlen sollte."

Wenn auch nicht ganz übereinstimmend, erinnert doch theilweise daran der, in ein Tuch gewickelte, Stein der russischen Erzählung. Ebenso in der tibetanischen Fassung, wo der Brahmane aufgefordert, eine Stute zurückzutreiben, mit einem Steine nach ihr wirft, und ihr ein Bein zerschmettert. Worauf der Richter entscheidet: „Weil der Eigenthümer gerufen: „treibe die Stute her“, soll ihm die Zunge ausgeschnitten werden; weil der Brahmane mit einem Steine warf, soll ihm die Hand abgehauen werden."

Näher steht dagegen der Schwank in 1001 Tag (Prenzlau 1832) XI p. 263—266: „Der weitergegebene Schlag.“ Der Geschlagene kommt vor den Richter, der den Schläger zu einer lächerlich geringfügigen Strafe verurtheilt und den Geschlagenen nun den ganzen Tag auf den Schadenersatz warten läßt. Dieser verliert endlich die Geduld und überträgt dem Richter mit einer tüchtigen Ohrfeige zugleich seine Schuld, die dieser nun für sich in Empfang nehmen kann. Vgl. den rumänischen Schwank: Magaz. f. d. Lit. d. Ausl. 1870 p. 580 b „Gieb sie auch du weiter."

Alle diese Einzelheiten, namentlich aber die Auffassung und die Art der Verwendung dieses Stoffes im Talmud, scheinen darauf hinzudeuten, daß wir es hier wirklich mit einer sehr weit verbreiteten Rechts Sage zu thun haben, die eigenthümlich genug, sich doch andere, aus buddhistischen Anschauungen entstandene Züge, angeeignet hat. Diese Ansicht erhält durch den Talmud noch eine wesentliche Unterstützung, indem an der angegebenen Stelle noch eine Strafe, die die Sodomiter über ein Mädchen, wie die Sage erzählt, über die Tochter Lot's verhängt haben, mitgetheilt wird. Vgl. auch Salkut I § 70 fol. 18 d.

„Die Sodomiter hatten, unter Androhung der Todesstrafe,

verboten, einem Armen Essen zu verabreichen. Ein Mädchen aber hatte einem einst im Wassertruge heimlicher Weise Brod mitgebracht. Als die Sodomiter es erfuhren, bestrichen sie das Mädchen mit Honig und stellten es auf's Dach, damit es von den Bienen und anderen Insekten zerfressen werde.“ **הָיָה רְבִיתָהּ רְחוּהָ קָא** „מִפְקָהּ יִרְפָּתָהּ לַעֲנִיָּה כְּחֻצָּהּ אִיגְלָא מִלְחָה שְׁפִיּוּהּ דּוֹכָשָׁא וְאֻקְמוּהָ עַל אִיגַר שׁוּרָא אֲתָהּ וִיבּוּרִי וְאֲכַלְיָהּ“ In Pirke de R. Eliezer c. 25 ist es, wie oben bemerkt, die Tochter Lot's, die den Namen **מִלְחָה** führt. Daraus auch im Zalkut I § 83 fol. 24 c. In Genesis rab. sect. 49 giebt ein Mädchen dem Anderen Essen und wird deshalb verbrannt, s. Zalkut a. a. D.

Die Todesstrafe durch Bestreichen mit Honig und Aussetzen dem Bisse der Insekten, kennt auch Boccaccio Decamerone II, 9 als orientalisches. Auch Grimm (Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, Göttingen 1828) p. 701 kennt diese Strafe, und nennt außer Boccaccio für neuere Sagen noch: Rosengarten, Legenden II, 233 und Olger Danske p. m. 178, für das Alterthum: Plutarch im Artaxerxes und Anton. Liberal. metam. 2, 17 im Polytechnos. Vgl. außerdem noch: Apulejus VIII, p. 180 ed. Bipont. Grimm theilt sogar (a. a. D.) eine aus Fischart's Gargantua p. m. 207 a geschöpfte deutsche Sage mit, der zufolge ein köln'scher Erzbischof einen Grafen von Berg, auf diese Weise, um's Leben gebracht haben soll.

Auch der letzte Zug der Sage: daß der als todt Bezeugte nicht mit dem Zurückgekehrten identisch sein könne, hat sich obzwar nicht schriftlich, doch mündlich in einer jüdischen Anekdote erhalten, die in mehreren Versionen circulirt und deren eine sich auch darin zuspitzt, daß der Zurückgekehrte nicht mehr am Leben sein könne, da Zeugen seinen Tod ausgesagt haben und seine Frau daher einen Anderen geheirathet hat. Die jüngst erschienene russische Abhandlung von: „Bulgakoff, Powest o Ssudie

Schemiaki.“ St. Pترزbg. 1879 ist mir leider noch nicht genauer bekannt.

IV.

Die neapolitanischen Virgilsagen.

Der große Dichter des Alterthums ist demselben Einflusse des Mittelalters erlegen, wie die Götter des Alterthums. Diese wurden aus Lichtgestalten, Dämonen der Finsterniß und jener wurde aus einem großen Sänger, einem Diener des Apoll, ein gefürchteter Wunderthäter und Zauberer, ein Diener unterirdischer Gewalten. Wie die Sage erzählt, erlangt er sein negromantisches Wissen dadurch, daß er einem eingesperrten Teufel, wenn auch auf kurze Zeit zur Freiheit verhilft und ihm dieser wunderthätige Bücher zum Danke überläßt. Virgil überlistet jedoch dann den Teufel, indem er daran zweifelt, daß der jetzt mächtig vor ihm dastehende Teufel, derselbe sei, der in einen so kleinen Raum gepreßt war. Der Teufel zieht sich immer mehr zusammen und schlüpft da wieder hinein, wo er herausgekommen war. Das hatte Virgil nur erwartet um unmittelbar den magischen Verschuß wieder anzubringen. So bleibt dort der Teufel für alle Zeit gebannt. Schon dieser erste Zug deutet nach dem Orient. Dunlop-Liebrecht (Gesch. der Prosadichtung, S. 185 f.) hat bereits auf das Märchen von dem Fischer und dem Geiste in 1001 Nacht verwiesen. Hier zieht ein Fischer ein kupfernes Gefäß aus der See, das mit einem bleiernen Siegel versehen ist. Der Fischer öffnet das Gefäß, ein dicker Rauch steigt heraus, der sich zu einem riesenhaften Geiste gestaltet. Da dieser nun dem Fischer droht, ihm das Leben zu nehmen, thut der Fischer, als glaubte er es nicht, daß ein solch' mächtiger Geist in einem so kleinen Gefäße eingeschlossen gewesen sei. Der Geist steigt wieder hinein, und der Fischer verschließt sogleich das Gefäß mit dem bleiernen Siegel, das einen Abdruck des Salomosiegels

zeigt. Vgl. zu dem Siegelringe Salomo's Fabricius: *Codex pseudepigr. Veter. Test.* Hamburg 1713 p. 1039 f. Liebrecht vergleicht a. a. O. S. 483 noch einige europäische Parallelen. Ich will hier noch auf eine, dort ungenannte aber auch sonst, von einem anderen Gesichtspunkte, wichtige Parallele im Ardschi-Bordschi (Zülz. Mongolische Märchen des Siddhikür. Innsbruck 1868 S. 204, Schiefner in *Mélanges asiatiques* Bd. III S. 205 f.) verweisen, wo ein kluges Kind einen Kläger, in welchem es einen Geist erkennt, durch List dazu bringt, in ein enges Gefäß zu schlüpfen. Ich bezeichne diese Parallele auch von einem anderen Gesichtspunkte als wichtig, weil es eine Sage ist, die sich auf Wikramaditya bezieht und eine Wechselwirkung zwischen den Sagen von Salomo (oben 1001 Nacht) und Wikramaditya (Ardschi-Bordschi) unverkennbar ist. Benfey *Pantschatantra* I, 129 f. vergleicht beide Personen auch dahin, daß ein Dämon auf einige Zeit ihre Gestalt und ihren Thron einnimmt. Außerdem ist noch zu bemerken, daß der wunderbare Thron des Wikramaditya im ganzen indischen Orient eines eben so großen Rufes sich erfreut, wie der wunderbare Thron des Salomo, bei Juden, Arabern und Persern u. s. w. Ich hoffe ein anderes Mal darauf ausführlicher zurückzukommen, wo ich die Salomosagen theils in ihrem Verhältniß zu indischen Sagen, theils in dem zur Alexander Sage und zu anderen europäischen Sagen und Märchen behandeln werde. Inzwischen verweise ich auch auf einen, demnächst in der „*Germania*“ von Bartsch erscheinenden Artikel, wo ich den Einfluß der jüdischen Salomosage auf die altdeutsche Sibyllen-Weissagung nachgewiesen habe.

In der Erzählung, wie Virgil zu der Wissenschaft der Magie gelangt ist, werden magische Bücher erwähnt. Auch dieses deutet auf den Orient und ganz speciell auf Salomo. S. Fabricius *Codex pseudepigr. Vet. Test.* p. 1042 ff. Nachmanibes in der Einleitung zum Pentateuchcommentar. Asulai: Schem

hagebolim II f. v. **הכחמה רבתי**. Buchstabe **ח** Nr. 87. Wolff Biblioth. hebr. I, p. 1045 ff. und Steinschneider, Catal. Bodlej Nr. 6908 Col. 2289 ff., wo die ganze hierhergehörige pseudographische Literatur aufgeführt ist.

Führt uns also schon der Anfang der Virgilsage nach dem Orient, so wird sich uns derselbe auch als Heimath der anderen Wunder- und Zauberwerke des Virgil zeigen. Wir müssen zuvörderst zwei Gruppen der Virgilsagen, nach dem Orte, wo sie localisirt sind, unterscheiden, und zwar neapolitanische, die auch älteren Ursprunges sind und jüngere römische Virgilsagen. Einige Parallelen zu diesen Letzteren hat schon Liebrecht zur Volkskunde S. 88 im Orient nachgewiesen, dagegen kannte man für die Ersteren nur sehr wenige Anklänge an orientalische Sagen. Ich glaube nun sogar den Ursprung derselben, der bis jetzt ganz unbekannt war, nachweisen zu können.

Bekanntlich werden zehn Wunder aufgezählt, die sich theils im Tempel, theils in Jerusalem ereigneten. Aboth V, 5. Aboth de R. Nathan c. 35, Zoma f. 21 a. Einige derselben scheinen unzweifelhaft die Quelle für mehrere neapolitanische Virgilsagen zu sein. Die Uebereinstimmung ist trotz des großen dazwischen liegenden Zeitraumes (2.—12. Jahrh.) geradezu erstaunlich, und nur von den wenigsten sind noch anderweitige nahe Parallelen bekannt.

Gervasiuz, der älteste Schriftsteller, dem wir die Kunde von neapolitanischen Virgilsagen verdanken, — lebte am Anfange des 13. Jahrhunderts — erzählt nun in seinen „Otia imperalia“ eb. Liebrecht Hannover 1856 S. 14 c. 12 „De carne imputrescibili macelli.“ In der Stadt Neapel war eine Fleischbank, in deren Wand Virgil einen Fleischscharren eingemauert hatte und dieser war von solcher Wirkung, daß, so lange der Fleischscharren eingemauert war, kein Fleisch und mochte es auch noch so alt sein, weder an Geruch, noch

an Aussehen noch an Geschmack, sich irgendwie veränderte oder verdarb. Liebrecht a. a. D. S. 105 Anm. 33 verweist noch auf Vincentius Bellovacensis *specul historiale* 6, 61 und Pseudo-Villani c. 22. S. Maßmann Kaiserchronik Quedlinburg und Spzg. 1854 Bd. III, S. 444 f., die alle später sind.

Entsprechend wird nun erzählt, daß das Fleisch im Schlachthause des Tempels nie in Verwesung übergegangen, oder einen üblen Geruch verbreitet hätte. **לא הסריח כשר הקדש מעולם**. Es ist unschwer, hier die Quelle für das Wunder des Virgil zu erkennen.

Gervasius erzählt a. a. D. c. 10, daß Virgil über einem der Thore eine eiserne Fliege befestigt hatte, die, so lange sie bestand, die wunderbare Wirkung hatte, daß in der ganzen sehr weit ausgedehnten Stadt keine einzige Fliege vorhanden war.

Im Tempel heißt es nun ebenfalls, daß sich im Schlachthause nie eine Fliege gezeigt habe. „**ולא נראה זכוכ כניח המטבחים**.“ Dasselbe wird nun auch anderen Tempeln nachgerühmt, z. B. in dem des Herkules auf dem Forum boarium zu Rom. Plinius hist. nat. X, 29 (Tauchn. 41): „Romae in aedem Herculis in foro Boario nec muscae, nec canes intrant,“ ebenso auf dem Berge Carina auf Areta *ibid.* XXI, 14 (46) Mons est Carina IX M. passuum ambitu: intra quod spacium muscae non reperiuntur. Weitere, wenn auch etwas ferner liegende Parallelen s. Liebrecht a. a. D. Anm. 32 S. 90 f., 104. Vgl. weiter unten: „Titus und die Mücke.“

Im Tempel galt ebenfalls als Wunder, daß der Wind nie die Rauchsäule des Altars verweht, oder auch nur auseinandergeweht hätte, vielmehr stieg

der Rauch als kerzengrade Säule empor. ולא נצחה הרח אר, "עמוד העשן".

Ich vergleiche damit ein auf den ersten Anschein weiter abliegendes Zauberwerk des Virgil. Wir dürfen ja nicht vergessen, daß, wenn wir auch in den Tempelwundern, die erste Quelle anzunehmen haben, diese Sagen doch durch die Wanderung vom Orient nach dem Occident auch eine Wandlung haben erleiden müssen. Virgil soll nämlich auch den Rauch und die Asche des Aetna dadurch von der Stadt abgewehrt haben, daß er auf einem gegenüberstehenden Berge eine Statue aufstellte, die eine Trompete in der Hand hielt und den Wind zurückblies. Gervasius a. a. D. c. 13 S. 16 f. und Liebrecht S. 106 f. Anm. 34, der auch Olympiodor v. Theben aus Aegypten (zu Anfang des 5. Jahrh.) citirt.

So weit sind es Tempelwunder, aber auch Jerusalem war durch Wunder ausgezeichnet. Unter anderem heißt es, daß nie Schlangen oder Skorpione, d. h. also giftiges Gewürm, den Einwohnern durch ihren Biß geschadet hätten. "ולא הריק נחש ועקרב בירושלים מעולם."

Durch Virgils Zaubermacht, war auch Neapel davon befreit, denn wie Gervasius a. a. D. c. 12 erzählt, hatte er alles giftige Gewürm außerhalb der Stadt gebannt und mit einem Siegel verschlossen. Daher fand man weder in den Kanälen, noch unterirdischen Gängen, noch in den die Stadt umgebenden Gärten irgend welches schädliche Gewürm.

Virgil muß zu einem Zaubermittel, zum Siegelring, der uns wieder nach dem Orient weist, greifen, während es in Jerusalem als das unmittelbare Werk Gottes, als ein Wunder hingestellt wird. Diese Eigenschaft aber, giftiges Gewürm zu bannen, wird auch christlichen Heiligen nachgerühmt. So dem heil. Colomba, der in Island alle Ratten, Mäuse und Erdwür-

mer wegbannte. Dieser Bann dauerte jedoch, wie bei Virgil, nur so lange, als der Bloß resp. das Siegel nicht von der Stelle gerührt wurde, womit der Bann gebrochen wurde. In der serbischen und rumänischen Alexandersage befiehlt Alexander, den Körper des Propheten Jeremia in Alexandria zu begraben, nur dadurch werde die Stadt von Schlangen und anderem schädlichen Gewürm befreit werden (s. Zivot Alexandra Belifoga ed. Jagić Starine Bd. III p. 325, Agram 1875) vgl. die älteren Angaben über dieses Wunder des Jeremia in Alexandria bei S. Epiphanius, Fabricius a. a. O. p. 1110 f.; Pseudo-Dorotheus: „De vitis Prophetarum“ f. v. Jeremia (Bibl. max. Patr. Lugd. III, 424) und Ephraem Syrus bei Assemani Bibl. or. Clem. vatic. I, 72 a, Rom 1719; Schmidt zur Discipl. cleric. S. 106; vgl. Migne, Dict. des Apocryphes II, Paris 1858 Col. 365 f. Im Talmud wird übrigens dem Körper des R. Eleazar b. R. Simon ebenfalls die Kraft zugeschrieben, die wilden Thiere von der Stadt, wo er lag, ferngehalten zu haben. Meziah fol. 84 b. „דכל שני דרור נים ר' אלעזר ברכי שמעון בעליהיה לא סליק חיה רעה למחירו“. Ebenso soll, nach einem arabischen Schriftsteller, der Philosoph Belinas (Apollonius von Tyana od. Plinius?), durch einen Talisman alle Skorpionen aus der Stadt Karfan (in Buchara) vertrieben haben. Not. et Extr. II, 495, Liebrecht S. 104 f., vgl. auch S. 98 f. Liebrecht zur Volkskunde S. 88 Nr. 2. Wüstenfeld (Orient und Occident I, 330) theilt unter anderen auf Aegypten bezügliche arabische Sagen, auf welche wir noch zu sprechen kommen werden, eine mit, der zufolge der König Lugim eine Krähe und eine Schlange aufstellen ließ, und dadurch die Krähen aus Aegypten vertrieb. Sehr nahe liegt es in dem Vorgange des Moses, durch Aufrichtung einer ehernen Schlange die anderen zu vertreiben, den Grund zu denjenigen Sagen zu finden, wo ein ähnliches Resultat, ebenfalls durch Errichtung

metallener Figuren erzielt wird. Nicht wie Liebrecht a. a. D. S. 106 f. vermuthet, bedeutet das Metall hierbei eine Art Bann gegen böse Geister, was in anderen Fällen nicht zu bezweifeln ist, vgl. als hebr. Parallele dazu, daß in der Tefusanacht Eisen auf die Wasserbehälter zu demselben Zwecke gelegt wurde. S. ש"ב zu Jore Deah c. 117, § 5 Nr. 6. f. w. u. Unter anderen Beweisen für diesen Glauben, führt Liebrecht auch den so oft erwähnten Zug vom Schwert dazwischen legen an; daß ein blankes Schwert zwischen zwei Menschen verschiedenen Geschlechtes gelegt wurde, wenn sie mit einander schlafen mußten, kommt in der jüd. Literatur, wie wir beiläufig erwähnen wollen, auch vor und zwar in der Chronik des Moses (10. Jahrh.), wo seine Heirath mit der verwittweten Königin von Aethiopien erzählt wird, die er aber nicht berührt, sondern ein Schwert dazwischen legt. Bet-hamidrasch ed. Jellinek II, 6, ebenso ed. Constantinop. 1516 fol. 3 a, ed. Venedig 1544 fol. 6 a. Im Sepher hajaschar dagegen fehlt gerade dieser Zug, der das Trennende ausdrücken soll. Aber schon im Talmud wird dieses Trennungsmittels Erwähnung gethan, Sanhebrin fol. 19 b מה עשה נעץ חרב f. כינו לבינה. Tosaph. Sabbath f. 13 b f. v. מטה חרם. Vermittelt eines dazwischengelegten Schwertes hatte sich Baltiel jedes Umganges mit seiner Frau enthalten. Ueber die weiteren Parallelen in der europäischen Märchenliteratur f. Gervasius-Liebrecht a. a. D. S. 101; Keller zu Diokletian S. 64 und Gonzenbach, sicil. Märchen Nr. 40, Köhler dazu p. 230, der auch auf die reichhaltigen Nachweisungen von Grimm Rechtsalterthümer p. 168—170 verweist. Auch in 1001 Nacht bei Aladin.

Von Simrock: Quellen des Shakespeare I² S. 77—99 wird dieses Schwert dahin gedeutet, daß es ein unübersteigliches Hinderniß zwischen denselben ausdrücke, und deshalb trete auch

oft ein anderes stellvertretendes Bild ein, so die Meeresenge bei Hero und Leander zc.

Diese specifisch neapolitanischen Wunder des Virgil scheinen mir nun nach dem Vorhergehenden unzweifelhaft unter jüdischem Einflusse entstanden zu sein. Ich kann dies um so eher behaupten, als diese Sagen von Virgil erst vom 11. oder 12. Jahrhundert an bekannt werden, und Juden in Neapel von uralter Zeit nicht bloß gewohnt, sondern auch in der Geschichte der Stadt, wo sie sehr thätig eingriffen, eine große Rolle gespielt haben. Graef, Gesch. d. Jud. V (1860) S. 50 f. Die jüdische Ueberslieferung dagegen gehört spätestens dem ersten oder zweiten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte an.

Comparetti (*Virgilio nel medio evo* Livorno 1872) behandelt im zweiten Bande alle virgilianischen Sagen, bringt auch eine Anzahl höchst interessanter Parallelen. Der orientalische speciell jüdische Ursprung derselben ist ihm und Vietor, „Der Ursprung der Virgilsage“ in der Ztschft. f. rom. Philologie I, 165—178 ebenso entgangen, wie allen Forschern, die sich bis jetzt damit beschäftigt haben.

Die Wechselwirkung, in welcher die jüdische Volksliteratur zu der der andern Völker stand, zeigt sich uns am deutlichsten an einem Beispiele, das wir jetzt beibringen wollen. Die jüdische Sage hat einen Zug der virgilianischen entlehnt und keinem geringeren beigelegt als Maimonides. In den „Sippurim“ von Pascheles, Prag 1847 p. 45—50 wird eine Sage erzählt, deren ältere hebräische Quelle ich schon seit Jahren vergebens suche. Vielleicht hat sie der deutsche Bearbeiter (L. Weisell) aus einer jüdisch-deutschen Quelle, — ich habe keine auffinden können. Der Inhalt dieser Sage ist kurz folgender: „Maimonides und sein Schüler Manasse forschen eifrig in den wunderbaren Büchern der Schöpfung und der Heilkunst. Im ersteren wird nun ein Mittel angegeben, um unsterblich zu werden; der Körper

muß vollständig zerstückt und mit einem bestimmten Saft von Kräutern durchtränkt, neun Monate unter einem luftleeren Recipienten gestellt werden. Der Mensch wird dann wiedergeboren, um unsterblich zu sein. Das Loos, das sie werfen, trifft den Schüler und Maimonides zerstückt und bereitet ihn nach Vorschrift zu. Als aber die Zeit der Wiederbelebung, die allmählig vorwärtsschreitet, sich nähert, ergreifen ihn Gewissensbisse über die Folgen, die daraus entstehen könnten, wenn ein unsterblicher Mensch existirte. Er ergreift einen Hammer und zerschlägt den Recipienten am Anfange des neunten Monats, wo die formlose Masse sich zur ersten Gestalt wieder gebildet hatte. Die Masse stürzt leblos zusammen.“ Ich habe außerdem noch zwei Parallelen mündlich gehört, die ich hier kurz mittheilen will. 1. Maim. und Aristoteles. Maimuni steckte Arist. zerstückelt in eine Flasche, wodurch dieser dann ewig leben wird. Ostern saß Maim. bei Tische und sah, wie die Masse in der Flasche Gestalt gewann. Er überlegte nun seine That und fürchtete, jener könnte sich, da er unsterblich sei, für Gott ausgeben. Da Maim. aber fürchtet seinen Schwur zu brechen, rathen ihm seine Schüler, einen Hahn in die Stube zu bringen und zu reizen. Es geschieht, der Hahn springt auf die Flasche und zerbricht sie. Da war es schon ein kleiner Mensch geworden, der mit dem Finger drohete und verschwand. 2. Der Lehrer des Maim. ließ sich von ihm zerschneiden und unter Pferdemist legen, damit er dann ewig lebe. Nach einiger Zeit läßt ihn der König, bei dem er Hausarzt war, suchen. Durch Drohung bringt er schließlich Maim. dahin, ihm die Wahrheit zu erzählen, worauf der König die Stücke zu vernichten befahl, damit jener sich nicht, wenn er zu neuem Leben erwachen sollte, als Gott ausbe.

Die Quintessenz dieser Sagen beruht auf dem Versuche vermittelt der Zerstückelung und Präparirung in einem Gefäße, nach Ablauf einer bestimmten Frist zu einem neuen, unsterblichen

Leben wiedergeboren zu werden. Der Versuch wird aber gestört und mißlingt. Dasselbe wird nun im englischen, holländischen, und deutschen Volksbuche von Virgil erzählt, nur ist hier Virgil derjenige, der von seinem Schüler zerstückt wird und nicht der Schüler vom Meister, wie in der Maimonides'sage. Die englische Fassung, die die älteste zu sein scheint (aus dem Ende des 16. Jahrhds. Comparetti a. a. O. II, p. 150 ff.) lautet kurz folgendermaßen: Virgil fühlte sich alt und da gedachte er sich wieder jung zu machen um noch lange zu leben und viele erstaunliche Dinge zu thun. Er ging daher zum Kaiser und bat ihn um Urlaub auf drei Wochen. Der Kaiser verweigerte es ihm. Da ging Virgil allein mit seinem treuen Diener in das Schloß, das er sich gemacht hatte und führte ihn hinunter in das Gewölbe, wo er eine schöne und stets brennende Lampe gemacht hatte. Und da sagte Virgilius zu dem Manne: „Siehst du die Tonne, welche hier steht?“ „Ja.“ „Hierein mußt du mich stecken, doch erst mußt du mich tödten und in kleine Stücke zerhauen und setze dann die Tonne unter die Lampe, daß sie Tag und Nacht hineintropfe und neun Tage lang mußt du an jedem Tage die Lampe füllen, und fehle nicht!“ Der Diener that, wie ihm Virgilius geheißsen. Als der Kaiser den Virgilius sieben Tage lang vermißte, zwang er den Diener, der allein zuletzt mit Virgil gesehen wurde, ihn in den Keller zu führen, wo der Leichnam des Virgil im Fasse lag. Da fragte der Kaiser den Mann: „Wer ihn so verwegen gemacht habe, seinen Herrn Virgilius so zu tödten?“ Und der Mann antwortete dem Kaiser kein Wort, und der Kaiser zog im großen Zorn sein Schwerdt und tödtete des Virgilius Mann. Und als dies gethan war, sah der Kaiser und all sein Volk ein nackendes Knäblein dreimal um die Tonne herumlaufen, welches sagte: „Bermünscht die Zeit, als ihr hieherkamet“ und mit diesen Worten verschwand das Knäblein und wurde nicht wieder gesehen; und so blieb

Virgilius tobt im Jasse. (Epazier. Altenglische Märchen I, Braunschweig 1830 S. 134—139. S. Dunlop-Liebrecht Gesch. d. Prosadichtungen 187 f.). Auf Paracelsus wurde diese Sage ebenfalls übertragen, nur sollte ihm der Diener zu einer bestimmten Zeit eine gewisse Flüssigkeit in's Ohr gießen, wodurch er zu einem neuen Leben erwachen würde. Der Diener versäumt die Zeit und Paracelsus muß sterben. Einige orientalische Parallelen s. bei Nothholz, Deutscher Glaube und Brauch I, 1867 S. 258 ff., der aber weder die Virgilsage noch die Maimonidesage erwähnt.

Bei Gelegenheit sei noch einer anderen Sage erwähnt, die Gedalja ibn Jachja (Schalschelet hakabala ed. Venedig 1587 fol. 44 a) mittheilt, da sie, ebenfalls fremden Ursprunges, auf Maimonides übertragen worden ist. Es heißt nämlich, daß Räuber seinen Sarg rauben wollten, aber obzwar sie an dreißig an der Zahl waren, konnten sie ihn doch nicht von der Stelle bewegen. Sie erkannten daran, daß es der Leichnam eines Heiligen sein müsse und ließen ihn unberührt. Diese Sage ist auch in die jüdisch-deutsche Fortsetzung des Josipon *שארית ישרא* übergegangen. Ed. pr. Amsterdam 1743 c. 16 fol. 64 a hebr. Uebersetzung Warschau 1874 c. 14 p. 31, ebenso im Sefer haboroth von Jechiel Heilprin ed. Karlsruhe 1769 fol. 54 c f.

Dasselbe wird nun von einer Anzahl christlicher Heiligen ausgesagt, so vom heil. Johann zu Schkobra in Albanien (Hahn, Albanische Studien, Jena 1854 I p. 83) vom heil. Demetrius in Bukarest 2c. 2c. Aehnlich lautet die jüdische „Anram Sage“, Tendlau, Sagen und Legenden, 3. Auflage 1873 Nr. 4, f. S. 354 f. Dieselbe Sage findet sich außerdem noch in der jüdisch-deutschen Uebersetzung des Rab hajaschar von Raibanower c. 6.

V.

Der Mann mit der Wolke.

Perles hat schon in überzeugender Weise den Einfluß, den die rabbinischen Sagen auf die Entstehung der 1001 Nacht ausgeübt haben, dargethan. Wie ich es in der Einleitung angekündigt, will ich auch nach dieser Seite einen Beitrag liefern. Die Erzählung, die ich jetzt folgen lasse, ist geschöpft aus den „Nachträgen zu 1001 Nacht“ von Hammer und Zinslerling (Stuttg. und Tübing. 1823) Bd. I p. 281—4, 470—471 N. An Stelle des Titels „der fromme König“, den unsere Erzählung dort führt, habe ich „den Mann mit der Wolke“ vorgezogen, da dieser die Hauptperson und der Gegenstand der Vergleichung ist.

„Es war einmal unter den Kindern Israel ein außerordentlich heiliger Mann. Er that kein Gebet, das nicht erhört worden wäre, und sein ganzes Leben war ein Muster von Tugend. Wenn er reisete, war er immer von einer Wolke begleitet, die ihm nicht nur Schatten gewährte, sondern ihm auch den Weg zeigte, indem sie vor ihm herging und regnen ließ, so oft er Regen wünschte. Sie war also zu gleicher Zeit sein Führer, sein Regenschirm und sein Wasserkrug. Diese Wolke blieb ihm eines Tages aus. Er wurde darüber so betrübt und wußte gar nicht, womit er die Ungnade Gottes verdient habe. Des Nachts hörte er aber eine Stimme im Traume, die ihm sagte: Wenn du deine Wolke wiederfinden willst, so gehe zu einem gewissen König, erzähle ihm deinen Unfall, bitte ihn, daß er für dich bete und Gott wird nicht ermangeln, dir auf dein Gebet deine Wolke wiederzugeben.“

„Der heilige Mann, der seine Wolke nicht mehr zum Wegweiser hatte, mußte unterwegs viel fragen, um die Stadt zu finden, wo der König regierte. Endlich kam er daselbst an.

Vor der Thüre des königlichen Palastes saß ein Kammerherr in großer Pracht, der fragte jeden, der hin kam, was er wolle? Ich bin der heilige Mann, sagte dieser; ein armer Unglücklicher, der dem Könige seine Noth klagen muß. Das geht nicht, sagte der Kammerherr. Es ist heute Freitag, wo der König mit den Doktoren und Theologen streitige Fragen untersucht. Er kam am folgenden Morgen und erstaunte über die Menge der Großen, die sich um den Eingang des Palastes drängte. Wie läßt sich das, sagte er, mit der Heiligkeit dieses Königs vereinigen, der mir wieder zu meiner Wolke verhelfen soll? Endlich trat der Wesir in seiner Amtskleidung heraus und kündigte an, daß die Supplikanten hereintreten könnten. Der heilige Mann ging also mit den Andern hinein und sah den König auf seinem Throne sitzend, wo er mit Hilfe seines Wesir's die verschiedenen Angelegenheiten vernahm und abthat. Endlich kam die Reihe an den heiligen Mann. „Ich grüße, sagte der König, den Herrn der Wolke. Er möge warten, bis ich diese Leute abgefertigt habe.“ Als der Divan geendigt war, nahm der König den heiligen Mann bei der Hand und führte ihn in die inneren Zimmer des Palastes. Sie gingen auf diesem Wege vor einer kleinen Thür vorbei, die von einem schwarzen Eunuchen in voller Rüstung bewacht wurde. Endlich kamen sie in ein fast völlig verfallenes Zimmer, in welchem weder Tapeten, noch Sophas waren. Der König legte seine königlichen Kleider ab, zog einen groben wollenen Rock an, setzte eine Derwischmütze auf den Kopf und legte statt des gewöhnlichen Gürtels einen härenen Derwischgürtel an.

„Hierauf rief er seine Gemahlin an: „Weißt du, wer heute unser Gast ist?“ „Ja, antwortete eine Stimme hinter einem Vorhange, es ist der Gebieter der Wolke.“ Die Königin trat hervor. Sie war schön wie der Vollmond, aber statt Purpur und Gaze war sie ebenfalls in ein sehr grobes

wollenes Zeug gehüllt. „Du bist verwundert, mein Bruder, sagte der König, uns in diesem Aufzuge zu sehen, aber höre auch die Ursache. Da ich durch meine Geburt genöthigt war, den Thron meiner Vorfahren zu besteigen, so beschloß ich, wenigstens ein einfaches religiöses Leben mit den Pflichten meines Standes zu vereinigen. Ich beschäftige mich am Tage mit den Angelegenheiten meines Reiches und umgebe mich, wie ihr gesehen habt, mit allem Glanze der Majestät. Aber des Abends entferne ich mich, und verberge mich und meine Frau vor den Augen der Welt. Wir bringen dann die Nacht mit Arbeiten, Fasten und Beten zu. Gegen den Morgen sammelt ein Slave unsere Arbeit, um sie zu verkaufen und für das daraus gelöste Geld Brod und Bohnen einzukaufen, was unsere einzige Nahrung ausmacht. Auf diese Art leben wir von der Arbeit unserer Hände. Ihr seid hieher gekommen, eure Wolke zu suchen, und meine Frau wird euch darüber Auskunft geben.“ Sie hob das Haupt gegen den Himmel und sogleich erschien die Wolke wieder, die der Wegweiser, Regenschirm und Wasserkrug des heiligen Mannes war.

Dieser sah daraus, daß sein Verdienst noch gering sei im Vergleich mit diesem heiligen Könige, der von Bohnen lebte, und das Geld noch obendrein mit der Arbeit seiner Hände verdiente.“

So weit die arabische Erzählung, die, wenn wir genauer zusehen, Lücken in der Darstellung aufweist. Der Grund, warum der heilige Mann die Wolke verloren hat, wird uns nicht angegeben, ebensowenig erfahren wir, daß er den König um sie gebeten habe. Auch der sinnige Zug, daß er die Wolke auf die Bitte der Frau wieder erhält — denn so müssen wir ihr Heben des Kopfes gegen den Himmel verstehen — wird aus der arabischen Erzählung nicht erklärt. Vielmehr

müßte es ja der sich kasteiende König sein, auf dessen Bitte die Wolke zurückkommt. Führen wir diese Erzählung auf die (vermuthliche) talmudische Quelle zurück, und fassen wir sie in demjenigen Zusammenhange auf, in welchem sie im Talmud steht, dann wird uns Alles klar, nur müssen wir eine Umstellung der Personen vornehmen. Bevor ich den Vergleich antrete, will ich noch eine Bemerkung vorausschicken, die für das Verständniß der Erzählung von Wichtigkeit ist. Als ein Land, das seinen Wasservorrath nur aus dem Regen hat, dessen Ausbleiben die größten Gefahren mit sich bringt, mußten die Einwohner von Palästina auf das rechtzeitige Eintreffen des Regens bitten; daher wird auch den meisten wunderthätigen Männern das Regenerflehen hoch angerechnet; es beschränkt sich daher auch im Allgemeinen ihre Wunderthätigkeit darauf. Taanit fol. 23 a—24 b werden eine Anzahl Männer genannt, die bei eintretendem Regenmangel zu Gott gefleht, und auf deren Bitte es regnete. Einer darunter ist das Vorbild zur arabischen Erzählung geworden und zwar Abba Chilkijah, von dem die Sage (Taanit fol. 23 a—b vgl. jerusch. Taanith fol. 64 b ohne Nennung des Namens und kürzer ausgeführt) Folgendes erzählt:

„Einst herrschte ein großer Regenmangel. Es wurden daher zwei Gelehrte zu Abba Chilkijah geschickt, damit er um Regen bitte. Da sie ihn nicht zu Hause trafen, gingen sie zu ihm auf's Feld, wo sie ihn mit dem Umgraben des Feldes beschäftigt fanden. Sie grüßten, er antwortete aber nicht. Sie setzten sich daher schweigend nieder und warteten, bis er, mit der Arbeit fertig, nach Hause gehen würde. Als es dunkel wurde, nahm er das Bündel Reisig auf die eine Schulter und den Mantel auf die andere; den ganzen Weg ging er barfuß, als er aber an ein Wasser kam, das sie durchschreiten mußten, zog er Sandalen an. Als sie an Dornen vorbeiging, hob er die Kleider auf. Sein Weib kam ihm geschmückt aus dem Hause

entgegen und ging zuerst hinein, darauf folgte er, und hinter sich ließ er die Gelehrten eintreten. Als sie sich zu Tische setzten, lud er die Letzteren nicht ein, am Essen theilzunehmen. Dem älteren Sohne gab er nur ein Stück Brod, dem jüngeren jedoch zweie. Darauf sagte Abba Chilkijah zu seinem Weibe: „Ich weiß, die Gelehrten kommen gewiß, um Regen zu erbitten; steigen wir zuerst auf's Dach und bitten wir vorher darum, vielleicht wird uns Gott erhören und Regen schicken, so daß sie uns dann nicht mehr zu Dank verpflichtet seien.“ Sie stiegen daher auf's Dach und baten, und an derjenigen Seite, wo die Frau stand, stieg die erste Wolke auf. אמר לה לרביהו: יענא דרבנן משום מטרא קא אתו, ניסק לאינרא וניבעי רחמי אפשר דמרצי הקב"ה וייתי מטרא ולא נחויק מיכוחא לנפשא. סמו לאינרא; קם איהו כחרא וייתא ואיהו כחרא וייתא, קרום סליק ענני מהך וייתא דרביהו. Darauf wendete sich Abba Chilkijah zu seinen Gästen und fragt sie nach ihrem Begehre. „Wir wurden von Seiten der Weisen geschickt, um durch dich Regen zu erstehen.“ „Gelobt sei Gott, daß Ihr des Gebetes des Abba Chilkija nicht mehr bedürfet.“ Sie aber sagten: „Wir wissen wohl, daß wir nur deinem Gebete den Regen verdanken. Mögest du uns aber deine Thaten erklären, die uns so sehr in Erstaunen gesetzt haben. Warum hast du uns auf unseren Gruß auf dem Felde nicht geantwortet?“ „Ich arbeitete als Tagelöhner, daher wollte ich meine Arbeit nicht unterbrechen.“ Sie fragten dann: „Warum trugest du das Bündel Reisig auf der einen Schulter, und den Mantel auf der anderen?“ „Weil es ein zum Tragen geliehener Mantel ist, und nicht um Reisig darauf zu legen.“ „Warum gingest du den ganzen Weg barfuß, und zogest Schuhe nur beim Durchschreiten des Wassers an?“ „Weil ich im Wasser nicht sehen kann, worauf ich trete,

muß ich mich durch Schuhe schützen.“ „Warum hobst du deine Kleider, als du durch das Dornengebüsch gingest?“ „Weil die Wunde geheilt, der Riß aber nicht geheilt werden kann.“ „Warum kam dir deine Frau geschmückt entgegen?“ „Damit ich meine Augen nicht auf eine andere Frau werfe.“ „Warum hast du uns nicht zu Tische geladen?“ „Weil wir kaum für uns genug hatten, und nicht unverbienten Dank ernten wollten.“ „Warum gabst du dem größeren Knaben nur ein Stück, dem kleineren aber zwei?“ „Weil der jüngere den ganzen Tag in der Schule zubringt, und erst Abends hungrig nach Hause kommt, während der ältere den ganzen Tag zu Hause bleibt.“ Sage uns schließlich: „warum stieg die Wolke an derjenigen Seite auf, wo deine Frau stand?“ „Ihr Gebet wird eher erhört, weil sie beständig im Hause weilend, den Armen gleich mit Speise und Trank labt, während ich ihm doch nur Geld geben kann, sich Speise dafür anzuschaffen; oder auch, weil die Frau, als Bösewichter in ihrer Nähe wohnten, und ihr Gatte Gott um die Vertilgung der Freveler bat, sie nur um die der Frevel.“

Durch diese talmudische Sage wird die arabische Erzählung erst klar. Der Mann mit der Wolke, dem sie abhanden kommt, und der sie durch die Bitte des frommen Königs wiedererhält, ist an die Stelle der zwei Gelehrten getreten, die Abba Chilkijah, aus welchem „der fromme König“ geworden ist, um Regen bitten. Die Armuth und dabei die Tugendhaftigkeit des Abba Chilkijah und seines Weibes sind auf den „frommen König und sein Weib“ übertragen worden, und nun verstehen wir auch, warum auch dort die Wolke gerade an jener Seite aufsteigt, wo die fromme Königin ihren Blick gen Himmel hebt. In einem Zuge einigermaßen ähnlich lautet die Erzählung in der tibetanischen Sammlung buddhistischer Legenden: „Dsanglun ober

der Weise und der Thor“ (deutsch v. Schmidt, St. Petersburg 1843 c. XXIII, p. 184), wo Folgendes erzählt wird:

„Ein Brahmane zieht aus, um für den jüngsten Sohn des Ministers eine passende Jungfrau zu finden. Während seiner Wanderung durch alle Länder erblickte er im Lande Schiritita eine Gesellschaft von fünfhundert Jungfrauen, welche spielend schöne Blumen pflückten und davon Gewinde zum Opfer für Buddha flochten. Der Brahmane folgte den Jungfrauen, um sie zu beobachten, auf dem Fuße nach. Sie kamen an ein kleines Flößchen, welches ihnen den Weg versperrte; da zogen Alle ihre Stiefel aus, um den Fluß zu durchwaten, bis auf Eine, welche die Stiefel anbehielt. Als die Anderen die Kleider schürzten, um durch einen Bach zu waten, blieb sie in den Kleidern ungeschürzt, und als die Anderen auf die Bäume klettern, um Blumen zu pflücken, pflückt sie die am Boden wachsenden. Da näherte der Brahmane sich ihr und sprach: „Ich möchte einige Fragen an dich richten, um einen Zweifel zu lösen; beantworte sie mir doch!“ Die Jungfrau erwiderte: „Wenn du über etwas in Ungewißheit bist, so frage!“ Der Brahmane fragte: „Als du Jungfrau das Flößchen durchwatetest, zogst du allein die Stiefel nicht aus, während alle Uebrigen ihre Stiefel auszogen, welchen anderen Gedanken als Jene hattest du dabei?“ Die Jungfrau erwiderte: „Dein Zweifel ist von keiner großen Wichtigkeit! Wenn ich auf der trockenen Erde wandle, so sehe ich mit den Augen Alles, was unter meinen Füßen befindlich ist, es mögen Dornen, Gestein, Scherben oder andere schädliche Dinge sein, ich kann ihnen ausweichen, weil sie vor Augen liegen, was aber auf dem Grunde des Wassers befindlich ist, kann man

mit den Augen nicht erkennen. Weil ich nun befürchten muß, beim Durchwaten vielleicht auf Stacheln, Schlangen oder giftiges Gewürm zu treten und mir die Füße zu verletzen, so behielt ich die Stiefel an den Füßen.“ Ebenso flug beantwortet die Jungfrau auch die anderen Fragen des Brahmanen.

Mit dem einzigen Unterschiede, daß es im Tibetischen eine Jungfrau ist, welche es thut und wie Abba-Chiltijah antwortet, stimmt diese Erzählung mit unserer talmudischen sehr genau überein, in so weit nämlich es diesen Zug betrifft. Ein weiteres Moment der Vergleichung zwischen diesen beiden Erzählungen ließe sich vielleicht noch darin finden, daß die Mutter der Jungfrau, als sie von ihr Abschied nimmt, der nun in die Fremde ziehenden Tochter folgende Lebensregeln mitgibt: „Von nun an trage beständig schöne Kleider, iß die schwächhaftesten Speisen und beschaue dich Tag für Tag in dem Spiegel“ (ibid. p. 186). Wie die Schwiegertochter bei Gelegenheit ihrem Schwiegervater, der sie darüber zur Rede stellt, erklärt, haben diese Lebensregeln eine ganz andere, tiefere Bedeutung, als es den Anschein hat. Die Mutter empfiehlt nämlich mit diesen Worten der Tochter: „Das Oberkleid beständig rein und sauber zu tragen, es nicht zu beschmutzen, damit, wenn Gäste kommen, sie stets eine Auswahl unter vielen habe; daß sie nach Allen esse, und der Hunger jede Speise schwächhaft mache; und daß sie endlich vor Allen aufstehe, Alles lehren, reinigen, putzen lasse. Das ist der Sinn der Ermahnungen der Mutter. In der talmudischen Erzählung wird auch das hervorgehoben, daß die Frau schön gepuht im Hause herumging und wie es sich später herausstellte, auf Wunsch des Abba Chiltijah.

Diese buddhistische Erzählung ist noch insoweit von Interesse,

als sie, durch die darin enthaltenen doppelsinnigen Ermahnungen der Mutter eine Analogie zu dem (Moeb kat. fol. 9 b) enthaltenen Segen bietet, der ebenfalls etwas Anderes besagen will, als die Worte bedeuten.

R. Simeon b. Jochai läßt seinen Sohn durch zwei Gelehrte segnen, die ihm wünschen: „Er möge säen und nicht ernten, hineinbringen und nicht hinausführen, hinausführen und nicht hineinbringen, sein Haus möge zerstört, seine Herberge stehen bleiben, sein Tisch sei in Verwirrung, und er möge nie ein neues Jahr sehen.“ אמרו ליה: יהא רעוא, דחורע ולא מחצר, מעיל ולא מיפוק, מיפוק ולא מעיל, ליחרב ביתך וליחוב אושפיד, לכלכל פחודך, ולא חריוי שפא חריוי. Als der Jüngling betrübt nach Hause kam und seinem Vater diesen mehr einem Fluche ähnlich sehenden Segen erzählte, tröstete ihn der Vater und erklärte ihm den tiefen Sinn, der in diesem Segen lag. Die Weisen hatten ihm nämlich gewünscht: er möge Kinder säen und sie nicht zum Grabe ernten; die Bräute seiner Söhne bei sich aufnehmen, und sie nicht, durch den Tod der Söhne verwittwet, in ihr väterliches Haus zurückschicken; er möge seine Mädchen verheirathen und sie nicht als Wittwen wieder zu sich nehmen. Sein Haus, sein Grab möge zu Grunde gehen und die irdische Wohnung, die Herberge möge lange bestehen. Sein Tisch sei durch zahlreiche Kinder in Verwirrung, und er möge sich nicht mehr mit einer neuen Gattin ein neues Jahr freuen. Ein doppelsinniger Segenswunsch kommt auch Genes. rab. sect. 26 und Talfut I f. 12 b § 43 vor. R. Gamliel wünscht seiner Tochter bei der Verheirathung, sie möge nicht mehr zurückkehren, d. h.: verwittwet, und bei der Geburt eines Kindes: der Beheruf möge nie aufhören, d. h. der Ruf der liebenden, besorgten Mutter. מינו דאח דרי. שלם בביתך לא רוי לך מחור לרובא; ומן דריו בריך קיים לא ישרי ווי, מן פומך: ווי דלא אבל כרי, ווי דלא שמי וכו, Bgl. auch die Lösung

des Traumes jerusch. Maaser scheni f. 55 c. Einem Schüler des R. Akiba träumte, er würde im Abar sterben, Nissan nicht mehr sehen und das Gesäete nicht mehr ernten. Der Traum wurde ihm anklingend an ähnlich lautende Worte gut ausgelegt, und das Letzte dahin gedeutet: er werde seine Kinder (das Gesäete) nicht begraben. ומה רמז רמז לי רמז כנש : מה רמז מלד לרמז קבר.

Ein wenig anders lautet dieser Traum b. Berachot fol. 56 b, wo gerade dieser letzte Passus fehlt. Dagegen stimmt die Erzählung im Tanchuma Genes. c. 13 genau mit dem jerusal. Talmud überein. Doch ich will mich hier nicht weiter auf Träume und Traumdeutungen einlassen, da sie nicht in das Gebiet der vergleichenden „Sagen- und Märchengeschichte“ gehören, wenn auch ein Zusammenhang nicht geleugnet werden kann zwischen denselben und der pseudepigraphischen Literatur, die oft die Quelle von Volksbräuchen, Sitten und Aberglauben geworden ist. Darüber ist genauer bei dem „Aberglauben“ zu handeln, wo sich auch nicht wenige Punkte der Vergleichung darbieten, wenn wir die jüdische Superstition mit der der anderen Völker einer genauern Untersuchung unterziehen wollen. Ja, ich glaube sogar, daß die Beeinflussung auf diesem Gebiete eine um so größere war, als es meist Schutzmittel waren, um der drohenden Zukunft vorzubeugen, oder diese vorher wenigstens erkennen zu können, um welche sich der Aberglauben dreht. Er will den Schleier der Zukunft lüften und in diesem Bestreben begegnen sich alle Menschen.

VI.

Das Gold im Stocke.

Oben S. 12 f. habe ich flüchtig auf eine Erzählung hingewiesen, die sowohl im Talmud Nedarim 25 a f., Schebuoth 29 a, wie auch im Midrasch Levitic. rab. sect. 6 und Jalkut I, fol.

128 b § 471 vorkommt. Da diese Erzählung wahrscheinlich die Quelle oder zum Mindesten eine interessante Parallele zu einer in mehreren Literaturen wiederkehrenden Erzählung und bis jetzt allen Forschern unbekannt geblieben ist, so will ich sie hier ausführlicher behandeln.

Ausführlicher als im Talmud und mit Nennung des Namens lautet diese Erzählung im Midrasch a. a. O. wie folgt: „Einst übergab ein Mann dem Bartholomäus hundert Sus zum Aufbewahren. Nach einiger Zeit kam jener Mann und verlangte sein Geld wieder.“ Bartholomäus aber sagte: „Das Geld, das du mir anvertraut hast, habe ich dir schon längst wiedergegeben.“ „Wenn du die Wahrheit sprichst, entagnete jener, nun so bekräftigte deine Aussage durch einen Schwur!“ Was that Bartholomäus? er höhlt einen Stock aus, steckte die hundert Sus hinein und ging, sich darauf stützend, in die Synagoge. Dort sagte er zu seinem Gegner: „Halte mir einen Augenblick den Stock, während ich schwören will!“ Und er schwor: „Beim Namen des Herrn dieses Hauses schwöre ich, daß ich das mir anvertraute Geld dem Eigenthümer in die eigene Hand gegeben habe.“ Darob entrüstet, stieß jener den Stock, den er vom Bartholomäus zum Halten bekommen hatte, heftig auf den Boden. Der Stock zerbrach und die darin enthaltenen Sus rollten auf den Boden hin. Der Eigenthümer fing an sie aufzuklauben und Bartholomäus rief ihm zu: „Sammle sie nur! denn du sammelst nur das Delnige.“

„עוכרא הוא ראפקד חד חכרא נבי ברחלמין ק' דינרין אול בעא
להון מיניה; אמר ליה: מה ראפקד בידי מסרית ביד; אמר ליה: אשחבע
לי. מה עבד בר חלמין? נטל חד קנה וחקקה וידיב ביה הלך דינרין ושרי
מסכך עליה, אמר צור הדין קניא בידך ואנא משחבע לך; כן דמטא לבי
כנשחא אמר: מריה דהדין ביהה מנא! מה דמסרה בידי מסרחה בידך.
הווא מן רבידיה נסחיה לקניא ואקשיה לארעא, שרין הלך דינרין מתבררין.
ושרי הווא מלקס, אמר ליה: לקס! לקס! רמן רידך אנא מלקס.“

Wie wir im Verlaufe sehen werden, scheint uns hier wieder eine orientalische Rechtsfrage vorzuliegen, wie oben bei dem „Sodomitischen Urtheil,“ die aber in ihrer Wanderung vom Orient nach dem Occident weniger Umwandlung als diese erlitten hat. Nur die arabische Parallele weicht entschiedener ab. Dagegen schließt sich die Erzählung bei Stobaeus (Florilegium ed. Meineke Spzg. 1855 Bd. I, S. 357 f.) ganz eng an die talmudisch-midrassische an. Chronologisch vorweggreifend lasse ich hier die Uebersetzung dieser Erzählung wörtlich in der Form folgen, in welcher sie zuerst in deutscher Sprache von Fröhlich (Basel 1551 fol. 166 f.) erschienen ist, da diese Uebersetzung die unmittelbare Quelle des Hans Sachs gewesen ist, wie es schon Goedeke in seiner Ausgabe der geistlichen und weltlichen Lieder des Hans Sachs (Deutsche Dichter des XVI. Jahrhds. IV) Spzg. 1870 Bd. I, S. 297 zu dem betreffenden Liede (Nr. 147: Das Gold im Stab Cybiae) bemerkt.

„Dann man sagt, Archetimus sey auß Erythrea ainer Statt Sonie, gen Tenedum kumen, und hab seinen würt Cybie, ain groÙe summa goldts zu treuwes handen hinterlegt, und sich kains argen noch gewalts bei jme befaret, als bey dem neulich mit freundschaft verwandt worden. Da hab aber der geiz dem Cybie ain bösen rathe eingeblasen. Dann als das hinder jn erlegt goldt, von jin erfordert ward, hat ers frauenlich verleugnet. Wie sye nun miteinander zandten, sind sye ainig worden, der sachen ganz und gar auff den ayb ze kumen. Als nun Cybias am dritten Tag darnach, seinen ayb zu den göttern volnsfüren solt, ist er wieder anhaims gangen, und hat ain solchen list erdacht. Er hat das goldt alles in ain außgeholtten stab geschloffen, und das ort, so die handt begreiff, hat er mit ainem facelen allenthalt umbwickelt, damit der betrug verborgen blib. Nachdem aber der bestimbt tag vorhanden ward, hat sich Cybias ainer schweren Brandthait angenommen, und ist sich an den stab stützende

bahin gangen, und vor dem tempel, damit er seinen ayd betheuren wolt still gestanden, und den stab darinn all sein boßhait verborgen lag, dem Archetimo gehalten in die handt geben, biß er seinen ayd volsfürt hett. Darnach hat er mit auferhoben henden gesagt: er hett ja das hinderlegt gelbt vom Archetimo entpfangen, aber jme dasselb widergegeben. Dise lügen aber ward mit listen erdichtet. Durch welche rede, Archetimus mit großem zorn entrüßt warde, und warffe den stab mit ainem starcken strich auff das pflaster, daß er zersprang, und das goldt hauffend heraus fiele. Mit solcher göttlicher fürsehung, ist ye dem Archetimo geholffen worden. Aber Cybias soll ain böß ende seins laebens genommen haben. Darumb soll sich ain yeder fürsehen unnd hüten, daß er den aydschwure nit verachte.“

So weit Frölich resp. Stobaeus. Wahrscheinlich daraus ist diese Erzählung in das *Speculum morale* des Vincentius Bellouacensis libr. III dist. VI pars IV: „de invidia et flibus eius“ Duaci 1624 col. 1162 übergegangen, wo sie dem hl. Nikolaus zugeschrieben wird; die Fassung aber ist eine mannigfach veränderte. Vincentius erzählt nämlich: „Einst wollte ein Christ von einem Juden Geld leihen, hatte aber weder einen Bürgen noch einen, der für ihn gut stand. Der Jude aber achtete nicht darauf und ließ ihm das Geld, nur mußte dieser bei dem hl. Nikolaus schwören, zur bestimmten Frist das Geld zu bezahlen. Als nun der Jude das Geld von ihm zurückforderte, läugnete der Christ überhaupt, je von ihm geliehen zu haben. Da ließ jener den Mann vor das Gericht fordern. Der Christ höhnte nun einen Stab aus und steckte das Geld, das er dem Juden schuldete, hinein. Der Jude hatte weder Schuldscheine noch irgend welche Bürgschaft aufzuweisen, und der Christ mußte daher bei dem hl. Nikolaus schwören, den er zum Zeugen des Darlehns angenommen hatte. Bevor dieser den Eid leistete, gab er dem Juden den Stab zu halten, was der

Jude auch that, ohne sich dabei etwas Arges zu denken. Der Christ schwor nun, daß er dem Juden Alles, was er ihm schulde, wiedergegeben habe. Nachdem er den Eid geleistet hatte, ging er wieder seiner Wege, den Stab mit dem Gelde mit sich tragend. Auf dem Wege ergriff ihn ein Schlaf, und er legte sich auf der Straße hin. Während er schlief, kam ein Kutscher mit einem schwer beladenen Wagen, fuhr, ohne ihn zu bemerken, über ihn weg und tödtete ihn. Der Stab, der daneben lag, wurde von dem Wagen ebenfalls zerbrochen. Es sammelten sich nun da herum eine Menge Menschen. Unter diesen war auch der Jude, der die List erkannte und der daher sich taufen zu lassen versprach, wenn der hl. Nikolaus, der den Christ für seine List so gestraft hatte, diesen wieder in's Leben zurückrufen würde. Der hl. Nikolaus belebte ihn auch wirklich, und er gestand nun die ganze Wahrheit ein. Der Jude und seine ganze Familie ließen sich taufen.“ Hier wird diese Erzählung schon dogmatisch gefaßt, sie ist nicht mehr eine bloße Darstellung der Thatfachen ihrer selbst willen, sondern sie dient dazu, die Zahl der Wunder des hl. Nikolaus zu vermehren. Daher ist auch der Schluß nicht mehr natürlich, wie in den oben angeführten Parallelen, sondern legendarisch und schließt mit der obligaten Taufe des, durch das Wunder bekehrten Juden. Vincentius, der um die Mitte des XIII. Jahrhunderts († c. 1264) lebt, citirt als Quelle für diese Erzählung die *Vita S. Nicolai* („In vita beati Nicolai legitur“).

Außer der Parallele bei Stobäus giebt es im Alterthum noch eine, die, was das Alter betrifft, vielleicht sogar dem Talmud den Rang ablauft. Conon, der um die Zeit des Julius Caesar und Augustus lebt, erzählt c. 38 seiner *δηγήσεις* (ed. Paris 1695 in: *Historiae graecae scriptores antiqui* p. 280 f.) eine mit der talmudischen sehr nahe übereinstimmende Narratio. „Ein Milesier übergiebt einem Geldwechsler in Teramene in Sicilien sein Geld zur Verwahrung. Der Geldwechsler verweigert

dann die Herausgabe. Vor Gericht gezogen, greift er zu demselben Mittel: er höhlt ein Rohr (*vápθηξ*) aus, legt das Geld hinein und giebt, während des Schwures, dem Eigenthümer den Stab zu halten. Dieser, ob des Meineides ergrimmt, wirft das Rohr voller Wuth von sich. Es zerbricht und das Geld kommt zum Vorschein. Der betrügerische Geldwechsler erhängt sich."

Nach der Angabe des Gödese a. a. O. wäre diese Erzählung auch noch im „Voyage dans le Finistère An. VII, 3, 17“ wiederholt. Mir ist das Buch unzugänglich gewesen. Auch Cervantes kennt diese Erzählung und verlegt sie auf die Insel Sancho's vor seinen Richterstuhl.

Wenden wir uns nun wieder nach dem Orient, so tritt uns diese Geschichte in einer etwas abweichenden Form entgegen. Die im Verhältniß zu den occidentalischen freiere Behandlung in der orientalischen Parallele beweist jedenfalls, daß wir es hier wahrscheinlich mit einem ursprünglich orientalischen Stoffe zu thun haben. Bei Weil: Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner S. 213 ff. hat diese Erzählung folgende Fassung erhalten:

„Schon hatte er (d. h.: David) einen Rath ernennt, der statt seiner alle vorkommenden Streitigkeiten schlichten sollte, als ihm der Engel Gabriel ein eisernes Rohr mit einer Glocke brachte und ihm sagte: Gott hat deine Schüchternheit mit Wohlgefallen gesehen, darum sendet er dir dieses Rohr und diese Glocke, durch die es dir leicht wird, das Recht unter Israel aufrecht zu erhalten und nie ein ungerechtes Urtheil zu fällen. Spanne dieses Rohr in deinem Gerichtssaal auf und hänge die Glocke in die Mitte desselben, stelle den Kläger auf die eine Seite und den Angeklagten auf die andere Seite des Rohres und sprich dein Urtheil stets zu Gunsten dessen, der bei der Berührung des Rohres der Glocke Töne entlockt. David war höchst erfreut über diese Gabe, vermittelst deren der Gerechte stets den Sieg davon trug, so daß Niemand mehr wagte, irgend ein Unrecht zu bege-

hen, weil er gewiß war, durch die Glocke entdeckt zu werden. Eines Tages jedoch kamen zwei Männer vor Gericht, von denen der Eine behauptete, er habe dem Anderen eine Perle aufzuwahren gegeben, die er sich ihm zurückzuerstatten weigere. Der Angeklagte hingegen schwur, sie ihm schon zurückgegeben zu haben. David ließ, wie gewöhnlich, einen nach dem Andern das Rohr berühren, aber die Glocke verstummte inmer, so daß er nicht wußte, welcher von Beiden wahr sprach und an der fernern Bedeutung der Glocke zweifelte. Nachdem er aber Beide zu wiederholten Malen das Rohr berühren ließ, bemerkte er, daß der Angeklagte, so oft er dem Rohre sich näherte, dem Kläger seinen Stab zu halten gab. Er ließ nun diesen nochmals das Rohr berühren, nahm aber den Stock selbst in die Hand und sogleich fing die Glocke an zu läuten. David ließ dann den Stock untersuchen, er war hohl und die bestrittene Perle war darin verborgen. Wegen seiner Zweifel an dem Werthe des ihm von Gott geschenkten Rohres aber ward es nach diesem Vorfalle wieder in den Himmel gehoben.“

Abgesehen nun von der Abweichung dieser Erzählung von der oben beigebrachten, die darin besteht, daß eigentlich der Betrug, den der Angeklagte begeht, nicht durch den Kläger, sondern durch die Aufmerksamkeit des David entlarvt wird, zeigt uns diese Erzählung noch eine Anzahl Züge, die zwar in verwischter Gestalt, aber noch erkennbar genug, auf die von mir oben schon einmal in einem anderen Zusammenhange behandelten Virgilsagen hinweisen. In dem Abschnitte „Die neapolitanischen Virgilsagen“ habe ich, wie ich dort bemerkte, nur einen Theil derselben behandelt, insoweit ich dieselben nämlich auf rabbinische Parallelen zurückführen konnte. Diese muselmännische Legende enthält nun einerseits eine Glocke, die auf wunderbare Weise läutet, und anderseits wird uns erzählt, daß sie in Folge eines absicht-

lichen Betruges ihre Kraft verloren hat, oder wie es dort legendarisch ausgedrückt ist: sie wurde in den Himmel gehoben.

Unter den wunderhaften Werken des Virgil sind nun, da sie in einem Zusammenhange mit dieser Ausschmückung der ursprünglich wahrscheinlich bloßen Rechtsfrage zu stehen scheinen, folgende zwei zu nennen und zwar sind diese Sagen nicht mehr neapolitanische, sondern römische, erstens „*Salvatio Romae*“ und dann die „*Bocca della Verita*.“ Das englische Volksbuch erzählt:

„Der Kaiser fragte nun den Virgilius, wie er Rom glücklich und viele Länder der Stadt unterthan machen und wie er erfahren könnte, wenn irgend ein Land sich gegen dasselbe erheben wollte. Und Virgilius sagte zum Kaiser: „ich will das in kurzer Zeit machen.“ Und er verfertigte dann auf dem Capitolio, das war das Stadthaus, von Stein gehauene Bilder, und ließ sie *Salvatio Romae* nennen, d. h. dies ist die Rettung der Stadt Rom, und brachte alle die Götter, d. h. was wir Puppen und Götzen nennen, welche Rom unterwürfig waren, in Verbindung. Und jeder von den Göttern, die hier waren, hielt in der Hand eine Glocke, und in die Mitte der Götter stellte er den Gott von Rom. Und jedesmal, wenn es sich zutrug, daß irgend ein Land Krieg gegen Rom beginnen wollte, sollten die Götter dem Gott von Rom ihren Rücken zukehren, und der Gott des Landes, das gegen Rom aufstehen wollte, sollte so lange die Glocke, die er in der Hand hatte, läuten, bis es die Senatoren von Rom hörten und augenblicklich hingingen und sahen, welches Land gegen sie Krieg führen wollte; und sich rüsteten, sie überfielen und sie so täuschten.“ Durch die Habsucht der Senatoren ging dieses Wunderwerk des Virgil zu Grunde. Spazier, Altenglische Märchen I, S. 115 ff. Dieselbe Sage findet sich schon viel früher bei Nedam (XIII. Jhdt.) im sechsten

Buche seines Werkes *de Naturis rerum*, Dunlop S. 186; ja schon in der Wessobrunner Handschrift aus dem achten Jahrhundert, welche das deutsche Mitternachtsgebet enthält, und ist in eine ganze Anzahl Sagenbücher des Mittelalters übergegangen, so in die Sieben weisen Meister der franz. Fassung (ed. Keller) *Gesta romanorum* etc. S. v. d. Hagen, Gesamtabenteuer Bd. III, S. CXXXII ff. Auch hier wird also der Verrath, der an Rom geübt wird, durch eine wunderbare Glocke verkündet. Vgl. die arabische Sage aus Aegypten (Wüstenfeld in *Orient und Occident* I S. 339 f.), der zufolge eine Königin, Namens Dalsüka, eine Mauer von Syene bis El 'Arisch baut und Wachen darauf stellt, die Glocken ziehen, wenn sich ein Feind naht. Ob die „Rüthenglocke“ *Gesta rom.* c. 105 die in unzähligen Variationen bekannt ist (s. Desterley daselbst f. 728) hierherzuziehen ist, will ich noch dahin gestellt sein lassen. Am geläufigsten ist uns die Parallele aus der französischen Karlsage: „Der Kaiser und die Schlange“ (Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen* ed. 2 Nr. 459, Bd. II S. 119 f.), wo die Schlange an der Glocke zieht und beim Kaiser Rechtspruch fordert.

Gehen wir nun zur zweiten Virgilsage über, so ist der Inhalt derselben kurz folgender: Virgil machte zu Rom auch eine eiserne Schlange, in deren Rachen jeder, der einen Eid ablegte, die Hand stecken mußte, und wenn er falsch schwur, so wurde ihm die Hand abgebissen. Diese Sage ist nun in Rom bei der Kirche Santa Maria in Cosmedin localisirt, wo sich in der Vorhalle derselben ein großes, rundes Gesicht mit einem ungeheuren Munde befindet. Wahrscheinlich rührt es von einem alten Brunnen her. Das Volk nennt diesen Kopf mit dem weitgeöffneten Munde: *Bocca della Verità*, Mund der Wahrheit“ und sieht Virgil als dessen Urheber an. Dieser Mund hatte die Eigenschaft, daß er jeder der Untreue angeklagten Frau, die bei ihrem Reinigungsseide zur Befräftigung desselben die

Hand hinein stecken mußte, diese unfehlbar abbiß, wenn die Frau einen falschen Schwur that. Eines Tages jedoch, als eine Frau von ihrem eifersüchtigen Gatten zu diesem Schwure gezwungen wurde, bestimmte sie ihren Geliebten, sich unkenntlich zu machen, und die Rolle eines Irrsinnigen zu spielen. So sollte er sie auf dem Wege dahin umarmen. Die Frau schwor nun, daß sie außer ihrem Manne nur noch dieser Irrsinnige berührt habe. Durch diese List rettete sie ihre Hand, aber die „Bocca“ verlor ihre Kraft. (S. von d. Hagen, Briefe in die Heimath, Bd. III S. 106 und 120.) Es würde mich hier zu weit führen, wollte ich auf die zu dieser Geschichte vorhandenen zahlreichen Parallelen auch nur flüchtig eingehen. Weiter unten, bei der Behandlung der rabbinischen Parallelen wird es eher am Plage sein. Hier interessirt uns nur der Zug, daß die Bocca della Verità durch einen zweideutigen Schwur ihre wunderthätige Kraft verliert, ganz wie die wunderthätige Glocke unserer Legende. Ein innerer Zusammenhang, wenn auch kein unmittelbarer, wird schwerlich zu läugnen sein. Um auf unsere ursprüngliche Erzählung zurückzukommen, so scheint sie, wie schon beiläufig bemerkt, nichts anderes zu sein, als eine orientalische Rechtsfrage, die an mehreren Orten localisirt worden ist. Auf den Orient als Heimath weist einerseits die Erzählung in der rabbinischen Litteratur und die Behandlung derselben in der muselmännischen Legende. Bei Conon ist der Hauptträger ein Milesier, und der Geldwechsler steckt das Geld in ein Rohr *νάρθηξ*, was dem rabbinischen *נר* genau entspricht; und schließlich ist die Quelle für Vincenz von Beauvais eine Legendensammlung (vita S. Nicolai), die ihre Elemente ebenfalls wahrscheinlich aus dem Orient geschöpft hat; sind doch viele Heiligenlegenden theils im Orient selbst entstanden, theils von dort her aufgenommen worden.

In abgeschwächter, ja ganz veränderter Gestalt, wobei der Grundgedanke, daß das Geld wieder zum rechtmäßigen Besitzer

zurückkommt, festgehalten wird, ist uns diese Erzählung oben beim: „Schäze im Baumstamme“ begegnet.

Weiter entfernt ist die Parallele in den Cento novelle antiche Nr. 65. „Es waren einmal zwei Poffenreißer am Hofe eines Fürsten. Der eine nannte den Fürsten seinen Gott, während der andere ihn darüber zur Rede stellte und ausschalt, indem er sagte: es gäbe nur einen Gott. Der erste, gestützt auf die Gunst des Fürsten, prügelte den zweiten heftig durch, und der Fürst, dem er klagte, verschaffte ihm auch kein Recht. Betrübt zog er sich zurück, und arm wie er war, stand er mit den Armen vor der Thür. Nach einiger Zeit wollte der Fürst den ersteren verabschieden. Da nahm er eine Summe Geldes, steckte sie in einen Kuchen und gab den Kuchen mit dem Gelde dem Poffenreißer. Dieser war über das unscheinbare Geschenk nicht gerade entzückt und sagte: ich habe schon gegessen, ich werde ihn daher meinem Wirth geben. Als er in seine Wohnung kam, sah er dort den andern Poffenreißer, elend und arm, da erbarmte er sich seiner und gab ihm den Kuchen, und ersetzte ihm dadurch, ohne es zu wissen, all den Schaden, den er ihm früher zugefügt. Jener ging noch einmal zum Fürsten, um sich zu verabschieden. Als dieser ihn erblickte, fragte er ihn: Wie, bist du noch hier? Und hast du nicht den Kuchen bekommen? „Ja wohl!“ „Nun! was hast du mit dem Kuchen gemacht?“ Darauf sagte er: „ich habe den Kuchen, da ich schon satt war, einem anderen Poffenreißer gegeben, den ich einmal geschlagen, weil er mich darüber zur Rede gestellt hatte, daß ich Sie meinen Gott nannte.“ Der Fürst sagte: „Sein Gott war besser, als der deinige, und erzählte ihm den Sachverhalt mit dem Kuchen, worüber der Poffenreißer nicht wenig außer sich war. All sein Suchen nach dem, dem er den Kuchen gegeben hatte, blieb vergebens.“

Ueber geldgefüllte Kuchen oder Brote, worin der Herr den

Lohn steckt und sie dem treuen Diener mit der Bedingung giebt, sie nicht eher aufzuschneiden, als bis er zu Hause sei, s. Röhler: zu Gonzenbach, Sicil. Märchen Nr. 81 S. 254, wo er diesen Zug in vier Märchen nachweist; jedenfalls eine weitere Abschwächung der älteren Form. In etwas veränderter Gestalt sind diese Märchen auch in der rabbinischen Literatur vertreten, worauf ich später zurückkommen werde. Bei einer genauen Betrachtung nämlich ergibt sich, daß nicht wenige Märchen erst aus einer Erzählung entstanden sind, die im Volksmunde immer mehr phantastische mythische Züge angenommen hat.

VII.

Ein Fisch als Insel.

Rabba bar bar Chana erzählt (Baba bathra 73 b): „Wir reisten einst zu Schiffe, da sahen wir inmitten des Meeres einen mächtigen Fisch, auf den sich Sand abgelagert hatte, und Gras darauf wuchs, so daß wir, im Glauben, es sei eine Insel, abstiegen, um darauf zu kochen. Raum hatten wir aber Feuer gemacht, so daß der Fisch die Hitze fühlte, tauchte er plötzlich unter, und wir wären unfehlbar ertränkt worden, wäre das Schiff nicht in der Nähe gewesen. ; ואמר רבה בר בר חנה: ומנא חזא דהוה קא; אודינן בספינתא וחיזינן דהוה כוזרא, רחבא ליה חלחא אנביה; וקרחא אנבא עילוידי, סברין יבשתא דא, וסלקין ואפינן ובשלינן אנביה; וס' דם נביה אהפך, ואי לא דהוה סקרבא ספינתא דהוה סבעין

In 1001 Nacht (deutsch von Habicht 2c. Bd. II (Nacht 74 bis 75) ed. 5, p. 164—5) erzählt Sinbad von seiner ersten Seereise: Als wir eines Tages unter Segel waren, überfiel uns eine Windstille, ganz in der Nähe einer kleinen, mit dem Wasser fast horizontalen Insel, die wegen ihrer Grüne einer Wiese glich. Der Schiffshauptmann ließ die Segel einziehen, und erlaubte denjenigen Personen der Mannschaft, welche Lust

dazu hatten, an das Land zu steigen. Ich gehörte zu diesen. Aber während wir uns mit Essen und Trinken vergnügten und uns von den Beschwerlichkeiten des Meeres ausruhten, erzitterte plötzlich die Insel und gab uns einen heftigen Stoß . . . Man bemerkte die Erschütterung der Insel auf dem Schiffe, von welchem man uns zurief, daß wir uns schnell wieder einschiffen möchten, daß wir sonst alle umkommen würden, weil das, was wir für eine Insel gehalten hatten, der Rücken eines Wallfisches sei.

Eine sehr alte Parallele ist nun im aethiopischen Physiologus (ed. Hommel 1877 c. 17 S. 64), der spätestens dem 5. Jhdt. gehört, vorhanden. Hier heißt es nämlich: „Die Aspadoklōni. Es ist ungeheuer groß, wie eine Insel. Indem sie (die Leute) es nicht wissen, thuen sie auf diesem Ungeheuer das, was man auf einer Insel thut, daß sie sich nämlich Fische auf demselben kochen. Es aber taucht in Folge der Hitze hinab in's Meer und versenkt die Schiffe.“ Diese Sage von dem Ungeheuer hat sich sogar bis in den isländischen Physiologus verpflanzt, wo sie vom „Wal“ der „Aspedo“ heißt, erzählt wird. S. a. a. D. S. 100. In der Einleitung S. XII verweist Hommel auf Carus, Gesch. d. Zoologie S. 127, der eine Stelle aus Nearch erwähnt, ebenso auf 1001 Nacht, die talmudische Parallele ist ihm aber unbekannt geblieben, obzwar schon Freudenthal diese Erzählung im 3. Bande des Orient und Occident ed. Bensley S. 354 deutsch veröffentlicht hat. Herr Prof. Liebrecht in Lüttich macht mich auf Zacher: Pseudocallisthenes (Halle 1867 S. 147 ff.) aufmerksam. Hier hat Zacher bei Gelegenheit der Erzählung in der Alexandersage III, 17 manche Parallelen beigebracht. In der Alexandersage wird ebenfalls von einer Insel erzählt, von der die Einwohner erzählten, sie sei das Grab eines alten Königs, in welchem viel Gold geweiht sei. Alexander, der hinüber fahren will, wird von Philo daran

verhindert mit den Worten: „Wenn Philon umkommt, so wirst du andere Freunde finden; wenn aber dir, o Alexander, etwas widerfährt, so ist die ganze Welt unglücklich.“ Als Philon nach Verlauf einer Stunde an der Insel ausgestiegen war, tauchte plötzlich das Unthier in die Tiefe (Weizmann II, S. 189). Hieran schließt Zacher die Beschreibung, die der hl. Basilus (4. Jahrh.) im Anschlusse an Genes. 1, 20, 21 von den Ungethümen des Meeres giebt. Ausgeführt bei Eustathius, seinem Zeitgenossen, wo das Ungethüm, ganz wie im Physiologus: *Ασπιδοχελώνη* heißt, ebenso im angelsächsischen Gedicht vom Walfische (11. Jhdt.), und bei der Legende vom hl. Brandan. Als Quelle für 1001 Nacht giebt Zacher a. a. O. nach Lane die ‘Ag’aib-el-mahlukât’ des Kazwini an. Von unsern Parallelen erwähnt er aber keine.

An derselben Stelle im Talmud f. 73 b wird auch von einem andern ungeheuren Fisch erzählt, der vom Meere an's Land geworfen, sechzig Städte, auf welche er fällt, zerstört. Von seinem Fleische nähren sich sechzig Städte und andere sechzig salzen es ein; von einem Auge werden dreihundert Fässer mit Thran gefüllt, und nach einem Jahre, als Rabba bar bar Chanah wieder an demselben Orte vorbeikommt, sieht er die Einwohner der zerstörten sechzig Städte beschäftigt, aus seinen Knochen dieselben wieder aufzubauen. אמר רבה בר בר חנה: זימנה חרמא הוה קא אולינן בספינתא והוינן ההוא כוורא דיתבא ליה אכלא טינא באסייה, ואדחוי מיא ושדיוהו לגורא, וחרוב מיניה שיטין מחווי ואכלו מיניה שיטין מחווי ומלחו מיניה שיטין מחווי ומלאו מחד גלגלא דעיניה חלת מאה גרבי משחא. וכי הדרן לכר חריסר ירחי שחא, חוינן דהוה קא מנסרי מגרמיה מטלחא ויתבי למבנינהו הגך מחווי.

An derselben Stelle fol. 74 a erzählt Saphra von einem Fische, der seinen Kopf aus dem Meere steckte und Hörner hatte, worauf eingegraben stand: Ich bin eines von den geringen Geschöpfen des Meeres und bin dreihundert Meilen lang, und gehe in den Mund des Leviathan d. h.: ich diene ihm heute

zur Speise. רב ספרא משמעוי: ומנא חדא דהא קא אוילנא כספינתא וחוקק עליהו: אנה כריה קלה שבים והוינא חלת מאה פרסי ואולינן לפומיה דלויחן.

Ohne hier auf den zuletzt genannten Devjathan einzugehen, da er uns zu weit führen würde, will ich nur bemerken, daß wir es hier wahrscheinlich mit indischen Sagen zu thun haben, wenigstens stimmt die Erzählung in der tibetanischen Legendensammlung: Dsanglun oder der Weise und der Thor, deutsch von Schmidt c. XV S. 118 ff. in so weit mit den hier mitgetheilten Fischeagen überein, daß Buddha einem seiner Jünger einen 700 Meilen hohen Berg von Knochen zeigt und ihm dann (S. 126) erklärt, daß diese Knochen nichts anderes seien als Fischknochen und zwar desjenigen Fisches, in dessen Gestalt dieser selbe Jünger in einer früheren Epoche der Verwandlungen gelebt hatte.

In einer andern Erzählung daselbst c. XXI S. 161—164 verschluckt ein Fisch ein Kind, das in's Wasser fällt. Einige Zeit nachher wird der Fisch gefangen und aufgeschnitten, und das Kind wird lebend und munter darin aufgefunden. Diese Sage erinnert auffallend an den Propheten Jona; sollte hier jüdischer Einfluß vorliegen? Nicht zu übersehen ist übrigens die in ein hohes Alterthum hinaufgehende babylonische Sage vom Danneš, dem Fischmenschen Gründers der babylonischen Cultur. Nach Hitzig, Philist. S. 218 ist es der Sonnengott oder die Sonne, die allabendlich in's Meer taucht! s. Smith: Chald. Genesis deutsch v. Delitzsch 1876 S. 38 ff. Ob hieher auch der philistäische Fischgott Dagon zu ziehen sein wird? Vgl. Winer: biblisches Realwörterbuch s. v. Dagon.

Rehren wir zu unserm Ausgangspunkte zurück, so erscheinen im Talmud noch manche Anklänge an den Physiologus, ohne daß hier an einen unmittelbaren Zusammenhang gedacht werden muß. So z. B.: die Phönixsage; dann eine den Raben betreffende u. s. w. Interessant ist es zu bemerken, daß diese Thier-

fabeln, wenn ich so sagen darf, sich fast alle im Alphabet des Ben Sira wiederfinden. Bis jetzt hat sich noch Niemand, meines Wissens, eingehender mit diesem Werkchen beschäftigt, welches von mancher Seite als wichtig für die Literaturgeschichte und den Volksaberglauben bezeichnet werden darf. Es wird in das 10. Jahrhundert versetzt, aber über die Quellen, aus welchen es schöpft und über die Einflüsse, denen es sein Entstehen verdankt, werden wir vollständig im Dunklen gelassen. Da ich mich hier bloß mit der sagengeschichtlichen Seite beschäftige, so will ich hier von diesem Gesichtspunkte aus einige Beiträge liefern, die zur Charakteristik des Alfab., wie ich hoffe, nicht unwesentlich beitragen werden.

VIII.

Das Herz auf dem Lande.

Fast auffallend stimmt die Erzählung im **אלפא כחמרכ סירא** (ed. Steinschneider, Berlin 1858, 27 b, 28 b) mit einer in der Benfey'schen Ausgabe als Rahmen, in der syrischen Recension jedoch (ed. Vickell, Lpzg. 1876) ein eigenes „Thor“ bildende Erzählung. Die betreffende Stelle lautet nach Vickell's Uebersetzung S. 49—50 im Auszuge folgendermaßen:

„Eine Schildkröte hatte einst Freundschaft mit einem Affen geschlossen, und hielt sich lange bei ihm am Ufer des Meeres auf. Das Weibchen der Schildkröte erfährt durch eine Freundin von diesem freundlichen Umgange mit dem Affen und stellt sich krank, als der Gatte nach langer Abwesenheit wieder nach Hause kommt. Da sie alle seine Fragen, nach der Ursache ihrer Krankheit unbeantwortet läßt, erklärt ihm eine von ihren Freundinnen: „es sei eine nur den Frauen bekannte Krankheit, und könne nur durch ein Affenherz geheilt werden.“ Nach langem Zögern und mit großem Widerstreben, da er den Freund

nicht gern betrügen möchte, entschließt sich der Gatte und kommt zum Affen, den er unter dem Vorwande, er möchte ihn zu seiner Frau und seinen Kindern führen, denn nur so werde echte Freundschaft besiegelt, wenn man den Freund in das Haus des Freundes führt, verlockt, auf seinen Rücken zu steigen, um sich in's Wasser zu begeben.

Da fürchtete sich die Schildkröte, weil sie ihren Freund in's Verderben brachte und ward in ihren Gedanken zweifelhaft und unschlüssig. Der Affe fragte sie: „Warum hat sich dein Benehmen verändert?“ Die Schildkröte antwortete: „Bruder, weshalb soll ich es dir verhehlen? Meine Gattin ist krank und kann nur durch das Herz eines Affen geheilt werden.“ Da erwiederte ihr der Affe und sprach: „Warum hast du mir dies nicht schon früher mitgetheilt, damit ich mein Herz mitbringen konnte?“ Die Schildkröte fragte: „Wo ist jetzt dein Herz?“ Der Affe antwortete: „Als ich von Hause wegging, ließ ich es daselbst.“ Die Schildkröte fragte: „Warum ließeſt du es zurück?“ Der Affe antwortete: „Die Sache verhält sich so: Wir Affen haben die Gewohnheit, daß wir unser Herz nicht mitnehmen, wenn wir unser Haus verlassen. Wenn du es aber wünschest, so will ich hingehen und es dir bringen.“

Da freuete sich die Schildkröte und brachte den Affen so schnell als möglich wieder auf's Trockene. Sobald sie angelandet waren, sprang der Affe weg und kletterte auf einen Baum. Da näherte sich ihm die Schildkröte und sprach zu ihm: „Freund, nimm dein Herz und komm, damit wir ohne Bögern weggehen.“ Der Affe

sprach zu ihr: „Ich glaube du hältst mich für jenen Esel, von dem der Schakal behauptete, daß er weder Herz noch Ohren habe.“ Ich bin nicht jener Esel, von dem der Schakal behauptete, er habe weder Herz noch Ohren.

Dem Charakter der darin als handelnd auftretenden Thiere viel angemessener ist die Erzählung im Alfabet des Ben-Sira und zwar lautet sie wie folgt:

Als Gott die Welt geschaffen hatte, befahl er dem Todesengel je ein Paar der irdischen Geschöpfe in's Meer zu werfen, daher sind alle Thiere durch ähnliche im Meere vertreten, mit Ausnahme des Fuchses; denn als er den Todesengel den Befehl Gottes vollziehen sah, fürchtete er, ebenfalls in's Meer geworfen zu werden und stellte sich weinend und heulend an's Ufer des Meeres. Als ihn der Todesengel weinen sah, rief er: „Warum weinst du?“ „Ich weine um meinen Freund, den du in's Meer geworfen hast.“ „Wo habe ich ihn denn hineingeworfen?“ Da wies der Fuchs seinen Schatten im Wasser. Der Todesengel glaubte, es sei ein anderer Fuchs im Meere und ließ den Fuchs laufen. Ein Wiesel, das ihn traf, wurde vom Fuchse in derselben List unterrichtet und entkam ebenfalls dem Loose, in's Meer geworfen zu werden. Nach einem Jahre versammelte Levjathan alle Thiere des Meeres und siehe da! der Fuchs und das Wiesel fehlten, da schickte er zu ihnen und sie erzählten die List, wodurch sie dem Todesengel entrannen. Als der Levjathan von seiner Klugheit hörte, schickte er andere Fische, ihn zu überlisten und hinzubringen. Sie fanden den Fuchs am Ufer herumstreichend, der, als er die Menge ruhig unter einander spielender Fische sah, sich unter sie mischte. Als sie ihn bemerkten, fragten sie ihn: „Wer bist du?“ Er antwortete: „Wisset ihr denn nicht, daß ich der Fuchs bin?“ „Wenn du es bist,“ sagten die Fische darauf, „dann wartet deiner große Ehre, denn nur deinetwegen sind wir hiehergekommen; Levjathan ist

dem Tode nahe, er befahl uns daher, nur den Fuchs nach seinem Tode als König zu krönen, da er listiger und klüger als alle Thiere ist. Komme daher mit uns, denn dich zu holen und hinzubringen, sind wir geschickt worden.“ Darauf sprach der Fuchs: „Wie kann ich mich denn in's Meer begeben ohne umzukommen?“ „Besteige einen von uns, er wird dich über dem Wasser erhalten, so daß dein Fuß nicht einmal naß werden wird.“ Du wirst dann, aller Sorgen über deinen Unterhalt enthoben, über uns herrschen, und die mächtigsten Thiere können dir nichts mehr anhaben.“ Der Fuchs glaubte ihnen, bestieg einen Fisch und ließ sich in das Meer hineintragen. Als sie schon weit vom Ufer waren, und der Fuchs sah, daß er ganz in der Macht der Fische sei, bereute er seine unüberlegte That und fragte sie nach der wahren Ursache, warum sie ihn in das weite Meer hinausgetragen haben? Die Fische antworteten: „Unser König Leviathan hat von deiner Klugheit gehört, deshalb sandte er uns, damit wir dich zu ihm bringen sollen, er aber will dir das Herz aus dem Leibe reißen, damit er ebenso klug werde.“ Darauf sprach der Fuchs: „Warum habet ihr mir nicht früher die ganze Wahrheit gesagt, ich hätte ja sonst das Herz dem Könige Leviathan mitgebracht?“ „Wie! hast du das Herz nicht bei dir?“ „Nein! denn so ist unsere Art: Wir lassen das Herz an unserer Lagerstätte zurück, und nehmen es bloß, wenn wir es unbedingt nöthig haben.“ „Was sollen wir nun thun?“ Da sagte der Fuchs: „Meine Lagerstätte ist nahe am Ufer des Meeres, bringet mich wieder hin, ich werde das Herz nehmen und mit euch zurückkehren, um es dem Könige Leviathan zu geben, sonst wird

er euch zürnen, und mir wird er nichts thuen, da ich ihm sagen werde: ich hätte euch aufgefordert, mit mir mein Herz zu holen und ihr wolltet es nicht.“ Darauf riefen alle Fische: „Gut!“ und kehrten an das Ufer zurück. Kaum hatte es aber der Fuchs betreten, als er vor Freuden hüpfte und sich im Sande wälzte. Die Fische aber riefen: „Beeile dich! nimm das Herz und komm.“ Der Fuchs aber antwortete: „O, Ihr Thoren! hätte ich mein Herz nicht bei mir gehabt, wie hätte ich mich denn auf's Meer gewagt? Giebt es doch kein Geschöpf, das nicht das Herz stets bei sich hat.“ „Du hast uns also getäuscht?“ „Habe ich doch den Todesengel getäuscht, warum nicht auch euch?“ Darauf kehrten sie schamerfüllt zu Leviathan zurück und erzählten ihm den Streich des Fuchses; er aber rief: „Fürwahr! er ist schlau und Ihr seid Thoren“, und fraß sie auf.

Hier ist das Herzeffen viel besser begründet, als im syrischen (indischen) Original, indem es dazu dienen soll, die Klugheit des einen auf den andern zu übertragen; ganz dem Geiste jener Zeit entsprechend, wo das Herz als der Sitz der Klugheit angesehen wurde.

Die weitere Entwicklung dieser Fabel hat Bensley: *Pantachat. I*, 426 ff. gegeben. So gehört hieher auch die Fabel *Zalut* Schim. I, § 182 f. 56 a, wo der Esel von den das Schiff besteigenden Thieren Zoll fordert, von dem Fuchse aber darüber zurechtgewiesen wird, daß er sich unterstehe, Zoll zu fordern, wo der König dabei sei. Darauf zerreißt ihn auch der Löwe und übergiebt ihn dem Fuchse, um die Stücke des Esels zu ordnen, bei dieser Gelegenheit verspeist der Fuchs das Herz. Von dem Löwen darnach gefragt, antwortet er: „Hätte

der Esel überhaupt ein Herz gehabt, dann hätte er von dem Könige keinen Zoll gefordert.“ Aehnlich lautet diese Fabel bei Berechja ha-nakban (12. Jhdt.) Nr. 105, wo die Thiere: Löwe, Fuchs und Schwein sind. Vgl. Grimm: Reinhart Fuchs Berl. 1834 p. CCLXXXIII.

Ein ähnlicher Zug tritt uns auch in Märchen entgegen z. B. in *Hahn*, griech. und alban. Märchen Nr. 36 ein wunderbares goldenes Huhn, das alle Monate ein goldenes Ei legt, wer dessen Kopf ißt, wird König, wer dessen Herz ißt, wird herzenskundig, wer dessen Leber ißt, findet Gold unter dem Rissen. Bei Grimm Nr. 60 wird derjenige, der das Herz ißt, König, vgl. Bd. III ed. 3, pg. 102—107, wo die Literatur zusammen gestellt ist.

Der syr. Version, in der eine Schildkröte einen Affen trägt, näher als der hebr. steht die von Liebrecht zur Volkskunde S. 122 f. beigebrachte deutsche Parallele, deren unmittelbare Quelle Liebrecht nicht angeben kann. Sollte das hebr. in einer andern Fassung hier den Orient mit der deutschen Literatur verbinden? Specifisch jüdischen Einfluß auf deutsche Sagen und Märchen, namentlich den jüdischen Ursprung des „Guten Gerhard“ von Rudolf von Ems (12. Jhdt.) habe ich jüngst in der „Germania“ von Bartsch Bd. XIII (XXV) S. 274—294 nachgewiesen.

Charakteristisch in unserer Erzählung ist neben dem „Herzessen“ auch das Tragen von Seiten eines Wasserthieres, das auf seinem Rücken ein Landthier befördert. In anderer Form kehrt diese Seite, als besondere Fabel, auch sonst und viel früher im Midrasch und Talmud wieder, nämlich:

IX.

Frosch und Skorpion.

Verhältnißmäßig häufig (Nedarim fol. 41 a, Zalkut II f.

127 a § 877, Genes. rab. f. 10, Levitic. rab. f. 22, Numer. r. f. 18 g Ende, Koheleth r. f. 5, f. auch: Aruch f. v. טרק) wird erzählt: Einst sah R. Samuel einen Skorpion, der auf einem Frosche saß und von diesem an das andere Ufer befördert wurde; dort erfüllte der Skorpion seine Bestimmung — denn dazu werden eine Anzahl solcher Fabeln erzählt, um zu beweisen, daß jedes Thier seine Bestimmung oder eine von Gott ihm übertragene Botschaft zu erfüllen habe. — Der Skorpion biß dort einen Menschen und tödtete ihn. שמאל חיייה להריא עקרבא, רחיק על אקחאא ועברא נהרא, טרקא גברא ומא. Ganz dasselbe erzählt Dulnîm († 859) in Damiri: Zoologie ed. Kairo II p. 164 und Anvar-i-Suhaili Pantſchatantra II S. 223 (Bacher, Agada der Amoräer S. 42 Nr. 52).

In Galila wa Dimna deutsch v. Wolff I S. 226 ff. wird eine Geschichte von der Schlange und dem Froschkönige erzählt, die in so weit mit unserer Fabel übereinstimmt, als es dort heißt: daß sie beide darin übereinkamen, die Schlange solle das Reithier des Froschkönigs werden, und dafür von diesem letzteren gefüttert werden. Dagegen entspricht die tatarische Parallele bei Radloff („Sprache der türk. Stämme Süd-Sibir. IV St. Petersburg 1872 S. 304 f. Nr. 9, „Der Lohn der Wohlthat““) vollkommen der jüdischen Fabel, ja sie bietet sogar den Anknüpfungspunkt für die weitere Entwicklung.

„Ein Skorpion schwamm auf dem Rücken eines Frosches über einen Fluß und ging bis zum Fuße eines Baumes, wo ein junger Mann schlief, und stach eine Schlange, die den jungen Mann beißen wollte. Der Grund für diese wunderbare Rettung war, daß der junge Mann, obzwar in betrunkenem Zustande, von einem Hungrigen angesprochen, ihm seine ganze Speise weggegeben hatte.“

Wir sehen also auch hier den Grundgedanken der talmudisch-midrassischen Fabel, die Bestimmung für jedes Geschöpf, wieder

erscheinen; nicht aber um zu schaden, sondern um zu erretten. Eine gute That hat das drohende Uebel abgewendet. Im Alfah. Siracid. fol. 9 a hat sich nur der letztere Theil erhalten; er dient eben dazu, um den Spruch: „Halte deine Hand nicht zurück Gutes zu thun“ zu illustriren:

Einmal gingen Joseph und Uziel auf dem Wege, da sahen sie zwei Arme, die vom Berge kamen und Holzbündel auf dem Haupte trugen. Joseph wendete sich darauf zu Uziel und sagte: „Ich sehe hier einen Skorpion in dem Holzbündel, das der Jüngere trägt; der Skorpion hat aber keine Macht ihn zu beißen.“ Da rief dieser den Mann heran und fragte ihn, ob er irgend welche gute That gemacht hätte? Dieser antwortete: „Eine Waise ging mit mir zusammen in die Synagoge, und hatte nichts zu essen; da gab ich ihm von meinem Brote und er aß mit mir zusammen.“ „Heil dir! riefen jene Beiden, denn du bist vom Tode errettet worden.“

„שפעם אחת היו יצחק יוסף ועוזיאל בדרך וראו שני עניים כאים מן הרר ועצים על ראשם, אמר לו יוסף: עוזיאל! אני רואה בכאן נער ועצים על ראשו ובחור העצים עקרב ולא היה רשות לעקרב לנשוק אחוהו, קרא לנער ואמר לו: יש לך בוו הדרך שום צדקה, אמר לו נער אחד הלך עמי לבית הכנסת וזוהי יתום ולא היה לו לאכול ומסתי נחתי לו ואכל עמי סי זכירה מן המיתה.“ Daraus dann im Plungian ed. Warsch. 1875 p. 64.

Ein Vorbild hierzu bietet übrigens schon der Talmud, Sabbath fol. 156 a, v. Jalkut II f. 136 a § 945, wo durch eine Wohlthat, die von einem giftigen Thiere drohende Gefahr abgewendet wird. Um nur eines der dort angeführten Beispiele mitzutheilen, so heißt es: Samuel und Ablat saßen zusammen und sahen Leute in das Röhricht gehen; da sagte Ablat — der ein Sternseher war —, dieser Mann da wird nicht mehr herauskommen, denn eine Schlange wird ihn beißen und er wird sterben. Samuel aber sagte: Wenn er ein Jude ist, so wird er

heiß wieder herauskommen Während sie noch dort saßen, kam auch der Mann wieder heraus. Ablaß rief ihn nun zu sich und kehrte seinen Korb um, da fand er darin eine Schlange, aber die war entzweiggeschnitten und in die beiden Ecken des Korbes verflochten. Samuel, der das sah, fragte ihn: Was hast du gemacht? Jener antwortete: „Wir pflegen unser Brod zusammen in einen Korb zu legen und jeder von uns nimmt dann eines heraus; heute sah ich, daß Einer unter uns kein Brod hatte; ich legte das Meinige hinein und that dann, als ob ich eines herausgenommen hatte, so daß der Arme, durch den sonst leicht entdeckten Mangel nicht mehr beschämt werden konnte.“ Samuel erwiderte: „Du hast eine fromme That begangen.“ Und diese hatte ihn vom Tode errettet: „רשמואל ואכלט היו יחבי והיו קאולי רגך אינשי לאנמא; א"ל אכלט לשמואל: האי גברא אויל ולא אחי טריק ליה חויה ומיית. א"ל שמואל: אי בר ישראל הוא אויל ואחי. אחיבי אויל ואחי. קם אכלט: שרייה לטוניה אשכח ביה חויה דפסיק ושדי כחרתי נוכי. א"ל שמואל: מאי עברת? א"ל כל יומא הוה מרמינן ריפתא כהדי הרדי ואכלינן, האידנא הוה איכא חד מינן דלא הוה ליה ריפתא, הוא קא מיכסך, אמינא לרו: אנא קאימנא וארמינא. כי מטאי לגבאי שואי נפשאי כמאן דשקילי מיניה, כי היכי דלא ליכסך. א"ל מצוה עברת.“

kehren wir jetzt zu unserem Ausgangspunkte zurück, so läßt sich eine frappante Ähnlichkeit zwischen der von uns behandelten Fabelreihe und der von Aesop *μῦς καὶ βάτραχος* ed. Corai 245, Furia 307 nicht bestreiten. Hier will auch ein Landthier — eine Maus — über das Wasser hinüber schwimmen, und ein Frosch hilft der Maus. In der Mitte des Wassers aber will der Frosch die Maus ertränken, die sich kräftig dagegen wehrt. Ganz wie oben, wo die Fische resp. das Krokodill den Fuchs, Affen ertränken wollen, und durch die List der Letzteren daran gehindert werden. In der aesopischen Fabel erscheint nun ein Weib, der beide aufgreift und verzehrt; eine Strafe, die eigentlich nur den Frosch allein hätte treffen müssen. Diese Fabel hat eine unge-

heure Verbreitung gefunden, denn sie ist in alle Literaturen gedrungen, so z. B. Lafontaine IV, 9, libro de los Gatos Nr. 18, libro de los Exemplos 301, f. Jahrb. für roman. Literat. eb. Ebert Vb. VI p. 12, Burdhard Walbis I, 3, Barthius I, 13, Romulus I, 3, Galfred 3, Marie de France 3, Isopet I, 3 u. f. w., Kirchhof: Wendunmuth VII c. 71, f. Desterley dazu Vb. V p. 166 und Robert: Fables inéd. I, 257 ff., wo fast alle Parallelen zusammengestellt sind. Hinzuzufügen ist noch, daß diese Fabel in der mittelalterlich-jüdischen Literatur auch zweimal vorkommt, und zwar in den **מדרש אמרי** ed. Constantinopel 1516 Fab. 3 (bei einer anderen Gelegenheit werde ich auf dieses fast ganz vergessene Büchlein zurückkommen, und die Quellen und Parallelen ausführlicher behandeln), und zweitens bei Berechja ha Nakdan (1200) Fab. 2 „עכבר עם צפרדע ונשר“, Maus, Frosch und Adler.“

Von großem Interesse ist nun eine andere Sage im Alfab. Siracid., die sowohl vom cultur- als vom literarhistorischem Standpunkte eine ausführliche Behandlung verlangt. Es ist die Sage:

X.

Rilith und die drei Engel.

Fol. 23 a f. heißt es: Der Sohn des Königs Nebukadnezar (bei dem der Sage nach ben Sira sich aufhielt) wurde krank; da sagte der König zu diesem: „heile meinen Sohn, sonst tödte ich dich“ und ben Sira schrieb ein Amulet, schrieb darauf die Namen der über die Heilung gesetzten Engel, und zeichnete sie ganz nach ihrer Gestalt; ihre Hände, Flügel, Füße. Als Nebukadnezar das Amulet sah, fragte er: wer sind diese? Und jener antwortete: das sind die über die Heilung gesetzten Engel **סני סני סני**.

Als Gott den Menschen geschaffen, sagte er, es ist nicht gut, daß der Mensch allein bleibe und schuf ihm eine Frau, ebenfalls aus der Erde, der er den Namen Lilith gab. Kaum war diese aber geschaffen, als sie mit einander zu streiten anfangen, indem sie sagte: ich werde nicht zu unterst liegen und er dasselbe sagte, so konnten sie sich nicht einigen. Lilith sprach nun den Schem ha-mephorasch (den thaumaturgischen Namen Gottes) aus und entwand in den Lüften. Da erhob sich Adam zum Gebete und sprach: „O Herr! du hast mir ein Weib gegeben, und nun ist die Lilith von mir entflohen.“ Da schickte ihr Gott diese drei Engel nach, um sie zurückzubringen; sollte sie aber nicht zurückkommen wollen, so könnte ihr nur das unter der Bedingung gestattet werden, daß täglich hundert ihrer Kinder sterben müßten. Die Engel gingen sie also suchen und fanden sie in einem fluthenden Gewässer stehen — dasselbe, in welchem dereinst die Aegypter ihren Tod finden sollten — und sagten ihr den Befehl Gottes. Sie aber wollte nicht zurückkehren. Da sagten die Engel, daß sie sie im Wasser ertränken werden. Die Lilith aber sprach: „Lasset mich, denn ich bin nur dazu geschaffen worden, um den Neugeborenen zu schaden; den Knaben bis sie acht und den Mädchen bis sie zwanzig Tage alt werden.“ Als die Engel diese Worte hörten, drängten sie noch mehr in sie. Da sagte die Lilith: „Ich schwöre euch bei dem Namen des Lebendigen Gottes, daß ich, sobald ich eueren Namen oder euer Bild auf einem Amulette sehe, dem Kinde nicht schaden werde.“ Auch nahm sie die Bedingung an, und deshalb sterben täglich hundert Schemim. Wir schreiben auch aus diesem Grunde den Namen der Engel auf die Amulette der kleinen Kinder, damit die Lilith, wenn sie sie sieht, sich an den Schwur erinnere und die Macht über das Kind verliert, so daß es wieder gesund wird.“

Sehen wir uns diese Sage genauer an, so scheint sie aus zwei nicht zusammengehörenden Theilen zu bestehen, deren erster

sich auf die Schöpfung der Lilith, ihre Flucht und den Tod der 100 Dämonen täglich bezieht, während der andere Theil der Lilith einen ganz anderen Character giebt und den Grund anzugeben bestimmt ist, warum die Namen der drei Engel auf Amulette geschrieben wird. Und in der That haben wir es hier mit zwei ganz verschiedenen Ideenkreisen angehörenden Sagen zu thun, die zu einer dritten verquickt worden sind. Die erste Sage ist eine den jüdischen Kreisen von Alters her angehörende, wo die Lilith eine so große Rolle spielt, während die zweite Sage, die einen Brauch erklären soll, einem ganz anderen Gedankenkreise seinen Ursprung verdankt. Welcher dieser Kreis ist, wird sich uns hoffentlich mit aller Evidenz im Laufe unserer Untersuchung ergeben, wo wir auch den Schlüssel für die Erklärung der drei seltsamen bis jetzt unaufgeklärten Engelnamen finden werden. Vorher will ich diese Sage, die sich bis auf den heutigen Tag erhalten hat, noch in ihrer Verbreitung durch die jüdische Literatur verfolgen. Denn noch heute werden solche Amulette, auf welchen neben Versen aus der hl. Schrift auch der Name der Lilith und der drei Engel groß gedruckt prangt, im Zimmer der Wöchnerinnen, zum Schutze gegen böse Geister, aufgehängt.

Als älteste Parallele kann hier *Sepher Raziel* ed. Amstrd. 1711 fol. 43 b, wo die ganze Formel ausführlich beschrieben und nachher zum Muster geworden ist. Es werden sogar die Bilder der Engel nachzuahmen gesucht. Als solche erkenne ich die zweimal drei unbeholfenen Figuren, die die Mitte der Seite einnehmen. Hier ist es geradezu eine Beschwörungsformel und zwar: Voran gehen 70 Engelnamen, in der Mitte Holzschnitte, Figuren 2c. darstellend, darauf heißt es: „Ich beschwöre dich, du erste Eva, im Namen deines Schöpfers und im Namen der drei Engel, die der Herr nach dir geschickt und im Namen des Engels des Meeres, denen du zugeschworen, daß weder du, noch irgend

jemand aus deiner Schaar, dort Schaden, wo du unsere Namen sehen wirst, noch demjenigen, der sie trägt; darum beschwöre ich dich mit ihrem Namen und mit ihren Siegeln, die hier aufgeschrieben sind, daß weder du noch irgend jemand aus deiner Schaar der Wöchnerin N. N. und ihrem neugeborenen Kinde Schaden sollst, weder am Tage, noch in der Nacht; weder durch ihre Speise, noch durch ihren Trank; weder am Kopfe, noch am Herzen; weder an ihren 208 Gliedern, noch an ihren 365 Atern; das verbiete ich dir und deiner Schaar durch die Kraft dieser Namen und Siegel.“ „אשבעית עלך חוה ראשונה בשם שהוא יוצר ובשם שלשת המלאכים ששלח יוצר בשבילך ומלאך באי הים ונשבעת להם במקום שתמצא שמותם שלא חזיקו אתה ולא אחת ממנוחתך ומשרחך, ולא לכל מי שישא שמותם לכן בשמותם ובחומם הכתובים פה אני משבעך ואת מנוחתך ומשרחך שלא חזיקו את יולדת פלוגת בת פלוגת ולהילד שנולד לה, לא כיום ולא בלילה, לא במאכלם ולא במשמם לא בראשם ולא בלכם, ולא בשני מאת ושמונה איבריהם ולא בשלשה מאת וחמשה גידיהם, בכח השמות והחומות האלה, אלו אני משבעך, ואת מנוחתך ומשרחך.“

Ohne dasselbe in Bezug auf die Engel zu kennen, erwähnt doch der Sohar I, ed. Mantua fol. 19 b, des Glaubens, daß die Lilith, hier „Relipha“ genannt, nachdem sie vorher von Gott in das Meer gebannt worden war, nach der Sünde des Adam und der Eva in der Welt umherschweife und die kleinen Kinder, der Schuld ihrer Eltern wegen, tödte.

Elia Levita im Tishbi f. v. לילית citirt das Alfab. Siracid. aber in einer ganz abweichenden Fassung. Die betreffende Stelle lautet wörtlich: „Nebukadnezar fragte, warum sterben die Kinder, wenn sie acht Tage alt werden? Ben Sira antwortete: weil sie die Lilith tödte. Er führt auch diese Sache a. a. O. weiter aus, ich aber kürze es, da ich nicht daran glaube. Bei uns Deutschen ist aber die Sitte sehr verbreitet, daß man an den vier Wänden des Zimmers, wo die Wöchnerin liegt, einen Kreis von Kohlen oder Natron (?) (נאר!) macht und darin

schreibt: אדם חוץ ללילית, „Adam, Eva, Lilith ausgeschlossen.“ An der Thür werden die Namen der drei Engel סגור סגור סגור, wie die Lilith es ihnen mitgetheilt hatte, als sie sie ertränken wollten. Ben Sira hat die Sache ausgeführt, wo ein jeder, der daran glaubt, es nachsehen kann.“ So weit die Worte des Levita.

Juda Arje da Modena († 1648) erwähnt ebenfalls der Lilith als den Wöchnerinnen und den Neugeborenen gefährlich, f. *Historia de riti hebraei* IV, 8 § 1 und 3 hebr. Ausg. v. Rubin, Wien 1867 S. 98 ff. Dasselbe erzählt auch Jesaja Hurwig im Schloß f. 113 b.

In etwas abweichender, aber dem alten Originale näher stehenden Weise, wird die Geschichte der Lilith erzählt und zwar im סדר ה', woraus dann im מופת צדק und schließlich in die heut gebrauchten Amulette. An Stelle der drei Engel ist jedoch der Prophet Elia getreten. Es wird nämlich erzählt:

„Eines Tages ging Elia der Prophet auf dem Wege und traf die Lilith und ihre ganze Schaar. Da sagte er zu ihr: Lilith! du Boshafte! Wohin gehst du Unreine und Schlechte und deine ganze unreine Schaar? Und sie antwortete: Eliah mein Herr! Ich gehe in das der Wöchnerin N. N., um ihr den Todeschlaf zu geben, ihr neugeborenes Kind zu nehmen, sein Blut zu trinken, auszusaugen das Mark seiner Knochen, sein Fleisch aber unberührt zu lassen.“ Eliah aber antwortete und sagte: „Mit dem schweren Banne belege ich dich, daß du von Gott wie zu einem stummen Steine gemacht werdest.“ Und die Lilith sprach: Mein Herr! Um Gottes Willen, löse den Bann, damit ich entfliehe: ich schwöre dir aber beim Namen Gottes, daß ich diese Wege zur Wöchnerin und zu ihrem neugeborenen Kinde meiden werde, und so oft ich meine Namen hören oder sehen werde, werde ich augenblicklich davongehen. Und nun will ich dir meine Namen sagen, denn jederzeit, wenn du sie

ausprechen wirst, haben weder ich, noch meine Schaar, irgend welche Macht, in das Haus der Wöchnerin hineinzugehen, und noch weniger ihr zu schaden. Ich schwöre, dir meine Namen zu offenbaren, damit du sie aufschreiben und im Zimmer der Wöchnerin und des Neugeborenen aufhängen läßt; diese sind meine Namen: Satrina, Lilith, Abito, Amizo, Isorpo, Kafas, Odam, It, Podo, Gilo, Patrota, Abfo, Rea, Kali, Batna, Talto und Partafa. (שטרינא, לילית, אביתו, אמזו, יסורפו, קאפאס, אדאם, איק, פודו, איילו פטרוטה, אכבו, קעא קלי, בטנה, חלח, פרטשה.)

Wer nun meine Namen weiß und aufschreibt, der bewirkt, daß ich augenblicklich von dem Neugeborenen weglaufe. Hänge deshalb dieses Amulett in dem Zimmer der Wöchnerin auf, so wird sie nie von mir Schaden erleiden."

Diese jüngste Fassung, die den Namen der drei Engel ganz ausgelassen hat, aber den eigenthümlichen Zug mehr hat, daß die Lilith eine Anzahl Namen angiebt, durch deren Kenntniß sie unschädlich gemacht wird, schließt sich enge an die jüngste Fassung, die in einem nichtjüdischen Kreise, wahrscheinlich demselben Originale entsprungen ist. Um es jetzt schon vorher zu sagen, haben wir es hier aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach mit einer manichäischen Sage zu thun, die durch den Bogomilismus in Europa, speciell im Südosten Europas eingebürgert und zwar auch umgewandelt worden ist, jedoch nicht so stark, daß wir nicht den ursprünglichen Zusammenhang erkennen könnten, der zwischen diesen beiden Kreisen besteht. Unsere Aufgabe wird es nun sein, diese Behauptung durch genügend feste Gründe zu stützen. Zu diesem Behufe schlage ich hier den entgegengesetzten Weg ein, indem ich von der jüngsten zu der ältesten Fassung aufsteige.

Unter dem Titel: „Minunile sfentului Sisoe“ „Die Wunder des hl. Sisoe“ existirt ein rumänisches Volksbuch, das mehrere Erzählungen, Beschwörungen u. s. w. enthält. An erster Stelle wird nun folgendes Wunder des betreffenden Heiligen

erzählt, das aber schon fast die Form einer Beschwörung erhalten hat.

„Ich, der hl. Eifoe, Diener des Herrn, bemerkte, als ich vom Berge Sion, d. h. von dem Delberge hinabstieg, den Erzengel Michael, den Engelsfürsten, welcher der Avestiſa, „Satanſflügel“ begegnete. Diese hatte langes Haar vom Scheitel bis zur Sohle und ihre Augen waren wie von Feuer und Feuer spie sie aus dem Munde und aus ihrem Körper, der sehr strahlte. Der Erzengel, der ihr begegnete, fragte sie: Woher kommst du, Satan, unreiner Geist, und wohin gehst du, und wie heißt du? Jene antwortete: „Ich bin ein unreiner Geist, Flügel des Satans.“ Da ergriff sie der Erzengel bei den Haaren und schlug sie schrecklich. Und jene schrie, daß der Erzengel aufhören möge sie zu schlagen, denn sie sei bereit, ihm alles der Reihe nach zu erzählen. Der Erzengel hörte auf, sie zu schlagen und sie fing an und erzählte: „Ich habe gehört, daß eine Jungfrau Maria, Tochter des Joachim und der Anna, Jesus den Nazaräer gebären wird, wie es ihr vom Erzengel Michael vorherverkündet wurde. Ich gehe daher, um sie mit meinen teuflischen Künsten zu bethören.“ Darauf sagte der Erzengel: „Zeige mir augenblicklich deine teuflischen Künste an.“ Bei diesen Worten ergriff er sie wieder bei den Haaren, schlug sie und stach sie. Jene aber rief: „Lasse mich, ich will dir Alles sagen; ich verwandle mich in eine Fliege, Spinne, in einen Hund, in alle sichtbaren und unsichtbaren Gespenster und gehe und bethöre die Frauen, nehme die Kinder weg, und täusche sie durch den tiefen Schlaf, in den ich sie versenke. Ich habe neunzehn Namen: Avestiſa, Salomnia, Zurina, Nifara, Avesiſa, Ekarbola, Miha, Puha, Aripa, Elia, Nevaga, Peſia, Cilipina, Jara, Fosfor, Luzifer, Avie, Berzebuti. Wo aber mein Name aufgeschrieben sich finden wird, von jenem Hause werde ich mich sieben Meilen weit ent-

fernen, und auch von Jedem, der in jenem Hause wohnt, so lange Himmel und Erde bestehen werden. Amin."

In einer Variante, die Marian als Beschwörung aus der Bukowina (Trajan 1869 Nr. 87 p. 252) veröffentlicht hat, fehlt die kurze Einleitung, die aber wesentlich die ist, daß es der hl. Sisoë war, der es gesehen, sonst stimmt sie fast wörtlich mit dieser Fassung überein. Natürlich hat auch hier „Avestiga“ neunzehn Namen, die aber, wie es im Charakter solcher Volkschriften liegt, nicht identisch sind mit den oben aufgezählten. Ein Schluß ist nun außerdem noch hinzugekommen, der folgendermaßen lautet:

„Darauf sagte zu ihr der Erzengel Michael, der oberste Fürst der himmlischen Heerschaaren:

Ich befehle und verbiete dir durch einen Schwur, daß du dich dem Hause des N. N., des Dieners Gottes, nicht nähern sollst, weder ihm, noch seinem Gute, noch seinem Viehe, noch irgend etwas, was ihm gehört, sondern daß du in die wüsten Berge gehst, wo kein Mensch wohnt; dort sei dein Aufenthalt. Amen.“ Außer diesen beiden existirt noch eine dritte Parallele in der rumänischen Volksliteratur, die ganz übereinstimmt und sich nur dadurch unterscheidet, daß an Stelle des hl. Sisoë der hl. Joseph getreten ist. Selbstverständlich weichen auch hier die 19 Namen der „Avestiga“ ab.

Ich glaube, die Uebereinstimmung dieser Sagen mit der zuletzt erwähnten jüdischen läßt kaum etwas zu wünschen übrig. Daß jede eine spezifisch religiöse Färbung erhält, ist nicht auffallend. Woher nun aber diese Sage? Prof. Hasdeu hat, ohne die jüdischen Parallelen zu kennen, im jüngst erschienenen zweiten Bande seiner „Cuvente den batrani“ p. 263 ff. und p. 717 ff. diese rumänischen Sagen und Beschwörungen genau untersucht und deren *h o g o m i l i s c h e n* Ursprung nachgewiesen. Außer diesen rumänischen Versionen existiren nämlich noch eine

russische und altslowenische. Wir werden sie der Reihe nach behandeln. In einer aus dem XVII. Jahrh. stammenden russischen Handschrift heißt es:

In der Nähe des rothen Meeres steht eine Säule aus Stein. Auf dieser Säule sitzt der hl. Apostel Sisinie und sieht, wie das Meer bis zu den Wolken aufgetrieben wird, und aus dem Meere steigen zwölf Jungfrauen mit langen Flechten, die sagen: „Wir sind die Fieberkrankheiten, Töchter des Herodes.“ Und der hl. Sisinie fragte: „Verfluchte Teufel! wozu seid ihr hergekommen?“ Jene antworteten: „Wir sind gekommen, um das Menschengeschlecht zu quälen; diejenigen Menschen, die spät aufstehen, zu Gott nicht beten, die Feiertage nicht halten und ganz früh am Morgen essen und trinken.“ Darauf flehete der hl. Sisinie zu Gott und sprach: „O Herr! errette das Menschengeschlecht von diesen verfluchten Teufeln.“ Und Christus schickte zwei Engel, Sihail und Anas und die vier Evangelisten. Diese ergriffen und schlugen diese Fieber mit Feuerruthen, und brachten ihnen täglich 4000 Wunden bei. Da fingen diese an zu bitten und sagten: „Quälet uns nicht mehr, denn wo wir euere heiligen Namen hören werden, und wo man euch heilig und in Ehren halten wird, von dort werden wir uns drei Meilen weit entfernen.“ Und der hl. Sisinie fragte: Wie heißet ihr? Und die Erste sagte: Ich heiße „Bitternde“. Die Zweite sagte: Ich heiße „Feurige“, denn ich mache den menschlichen Körper glühend, daß er wie harziges Holz brenne. Die Dritte sagte: Ich heiße „Eisige“, denn ich mache den Körper so erstarren, daß ihn kein Feuer mehr erwärmt u. s. w.“ Von dieser Beschwörung zählt Maykov in den „Zapiski“ der russ. geogr. Gesellschaft, ethnogr. Sect. Bd. II, St. Petersburg 1869 Nr. 103 p. 462—464 (s. Hasdeu a. a. D. p. 265) noch mehrere russische Varianten auf, darunter auch einige längere, wo die

Einleitung mit der Säule fehlt. In dieser älteren Recension nähern wir uns schon mehr der Recension aus dem Alfab. Siracibi. Es erübrigt uns nun den Ursprung der russischen nachzuweisen.

In einer alten Liste der ketzerischen Schriften des Bogomil betitelt: „Ueber die wahren und falschen Bücher, und über Aberglauben“, die schon im 17. Jahrh. (1644) in Moskau veröffentlicht worden ist, heißt es unter Anderem wörtlich:

„Es sind Fabeln des verfluchten Jeremija, des bulgarischen Bopen, welcher erzählt, daß der hl. Sisinie auf dem Berge Sinai sitze, er erwähnt auch des Erzengels Michael, um die Leute noch mehr zu täuschen, und er schwagt ihnen vor von den Fiebern, daß sie Töchter des Herodes seien, obzwar die Evangelisten und die hl. Väter (der Kirche) nicht von sieben, sondern bloß von einer Tochter des Herodes wissen, die den Kopf Johannes des Täufers verlangt hat; ja diese selbst war auch nicht einmal Tochter des Herodes, sondern des Philip. Ueber alle diese Dinge sagt der große Sisinie, Patriarch von Constantinopel, in seinen Schriften: ‚Glaubet nicht, daß ich der lügnerische Sisinie bin, von dem der verrückte Jeremija geschrieben hat, um die Menschen zu täuschen‘ 2c.“ Hásdeu hat nun a. a. O. p. 258 nachgewiesen, daß unter diesem von der orthodoxen Kirche nur mit einem Fluche erwähnten Jeremija niemand anders zu verstehen sei, als Bogomil selbst, den Gründer der neu-manichäischen Sekte in Bulgarien, die sich mit verschiedenen Abstufungen und Veränderungen bis zu den Albigensern Süd-Frankreichs erstrecken. Sowohl Hásdeu, als auch früher Wesseloſſky haben darauf hingewiesen, daß diesen ketzerischen Secten kein geringer Antheil an der Verbreitung von apocryphen Sagen, Legenden u. s. w. zuzuschreiben ist. Unsere Aufgabe ist es aber nicht, hier weiter darauf einzugehen, wir beschränken uns auf diese Sage, deren bogomilischer Ursprung wohl erwiesen zu sein scheint. Denn es leuchtet ein, daß die

hier als falsch und kegerisch erklärte „Fabel“ keine andere ist, als eben die oben mitgetheilte russische Verschwörung. Sie würde also in das X. Jahrh., die Zeit des Bogomil, zu setzen sein. Genau die Zeit, die auch für den Ursprung des Alfab. Siracid. gesetzt worden ist, mit welchem diese russische Fassung auch am meisten übereinstimmt. Die Uebereinstimmung geht sogar so weit, daß wir in beiden drei handelnden Personen begegnen, die ihrem Namen nach auch als dieselben zu setzen sind. Daß ננס kein anderer ist als der hl. Sisinie, brauche ich erst nicht zu beweisen. Die beiden anderen Engel heißen im Russ. Анос und Сихаил und diesen beiden muß ננ und מננ entsprechen. Man wird deshalb nicht fehl gehen, wenn man, vorausgesetzt, daß das Russische nicht allzusehr corrumpt ist, ננ in אנו = Анос (die griechische Endung ος ist nicht von Belang) emendirt. Für מננ muß ich zu einer kühneren Emendation greifen. Ich will deshalb noch die Bemerkung vorausschicken, daß wir zur Erklärung des Ursprunges dieser Sage nicht beim Bogomilismus stehen bleiben können, sondern denselben vielmehr im Oriente zu suchen haben.

Bekanntlich suchte Manes oder Mânî im III. Jahrh. das Christenthum mit den dualistischen Anschauungen des Parsismus in Einklang zu bringen und gründete die nach ihm benannte Sekte der Manichäer. Eine Hauptrolle in ihrer Lehre spielt nun Satanael = Satangott, d. i. das Princip des Bösen als herrschend gedacht. (Vgl. Baur: Manichäismus, Flügel: Mânî und seine Lehre.) In unserer Sage erscheint nun Sisinie. Nun wird uns berichtet, daß nach dem Tode des Manes, ein gewisser Sisinios an die Spitze der Sekte trat: (Σισίνιος ὁ τοῦτον διάδοχος bei Petrus Siculus historia de . . . Manichaeorum haeresi ed. Hader 1604 p. 30 und „Σισίνιον τὸν διάδοχον τῆς τοῦτον μανίας,“ der zuerst verflucht wird von der orthodoxen Kirche bei Fabricius, Cod. apocryph. N. T. I, 1819 p. 354.

f. Hasdeu a. a. O. p. 717.) In der russ. Formel heißt der zweite Engel *Sihail*, woraus wohl in den späteren *Mihail* geworden ist; aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach steckt darin nun der „*Satanael*“, vielleicht von *Bogomil* absichtlich geändert. Ganz dasselbe wird סנאנל bedeuten, eine leichte Emendation $\text{ס} = \text{ש}$ und $\text{נ} = \text{א}$, ergiebt auch $\text{סנאנל} = \text{Satanael}$, an welches Wort alsdann, da es allein einen consonantischen Schluß hat, aus Analogie die Endung ה ob. ה angehängt worden ist. Im *Sepher Chassidim* § 1152 heißt es nämlich „kein Gebetsname, mit Ausnahme des Wortes משה . „*Musaph*“ hat am Auslaute ein ה , da dieser Buchstabe nur dem Namen der bösen Engel wie השטן , הצפ , העז angehängt wird. Vgl. *Azulai* z. St. Aus demselben Grunde wird auch hier die Endung ה angehängt worden sein. Der ganze Charakter dieser Sage nun und ihre von einander ganz unabhängige Verbreitung in der jüdisch-kabbalistischen und in der neumanichäischen od. bogomilischen Literatur, zeigt uns unbedingt den Orient als Heimath derselben. Im *Msab. Siracid.* haben wir nun eine aus Indien durch Persien und Syrien vermittelte Sage, eine im Orient ziemlich weit verbreitete Fabel, und nun diese ebenfalls an der Grenze zwischen Persien und Syrien entstandene Beschwörung nachgewiesen. Auf den chaldäischen Character und auf sonstige Eigenthümlichkeiten vom botanischen Gesichtspunkte aus (s. darüber *Löw: Aramäische Pflanzennamen* 1879 Einleitung) gehe ich hier weiter nicht ein. Das *Msab.* wird daher spätestens in das VIII. Jahrh. zu setzen sein, wo *Abdallah b. Motassaf* († 762) *Calila und Dimna* in's Arabische übersetzt und zwar abweichend von der im b. *Sira* enthaltenen Fassung, die, wie bemerkt, sich mehr an die 200 Jahre ältere syr. Version g. 570 hält, um welche Zeit daher dieses Buch auch unter den Juden gewiß verbreitet war. Etwas später erwähnt es *Haj* in einem *Responsum Tschub. ha-geonim* ed. *Musafia* Nr. 30 p. 13 : *בגן כתב של הגרוריק* „

שנקרא כלילה ודמנה שיש בה מוסרים ברברי חכמה ומליצה ובכל למשלים של
 "חיות. Die Beschwörungsformel muß auch schon längere Zeit
 vorher im Oriente cursirt haben, bevor sie Bogomil im X. Jahrh.
 aufgenommen. Am meisten aber scheint für eine frühere Zeit zu
 sprechen, die entwickelte Form, in welcher diese Formel im Sepher
 Raziel erscheint. Dieser Theil des Sepher Raziel gehört, wie
 der erste, spätestens dem X. Jahrh. Es muß also eine geraume
 Zwischenzeit angenommen werden, bis sich die einfache Erzählung
 zu einer festen Formel entwickelt.

Diese Erzählung oder Sage ist übrigens unzweifelhaft älter
 als die Abfassung des Alfab. Siracib., da hier diese schon als
 bekannt und die Sitte, die Namen der drei Engel aufzuschreiben,
 als längst im Gebrauche vorausgesetzt wird. Ist ja doch die
 Anschauung, daß Böchnerinnen und Neugeborene, ebenso wie
 Bräute am meisten den Nachstellungen der bösen Geister ausge-
 setzt sind, schon talmudisch; und Pesachim fol. 112 b f. wird
 Tgrat bat Machlat von R. Chanina in die Wüste gebannt.
 Gleichsam ein Vorbild zu der Sage, die uns hier beschäftigt.
 Es heißt nämlich: Einmal begegnete Tgrat b. Machlat mit
 ihrer Schaar R. Chanina b. Dosa und sagte zu ihm: „Hätte
 man im Himmel nicht ausgerufen, auf dich und deine Lehre
 Rücksicht zu nehmen, so hätte ich dir jetzt geschadet.“ „Wenn
 man im Himmel solches Gewicht auf mich legt, dann verbanne
 ich dich in unbewohnte Gegenden,“ erwiderte R. Chanina darauf.
 Sie bat ihn nun, ihr doch ein klein wenig Raum zu lassen und
 so erlaubte er ihr die Nächte von Mittwoch und Samstag.“
 Ähnlich lautet die Sage unmittelbar darauf, die von Abbaji an
 derselben Stelle erzählt wird. Dahingestellt will ich es lassen, ob
 wir hier in der talmudischen Erzählung ein Vorbild zu der späte-
 ren haben, die von manichäischen Anschauungen durchdrungen ist.

In der deutschen Mythologie erscheinen, wie ich beiläufig
 bloß erwähnen will, auch ähnliche Gebräuche, wie sie in der mit

telalterlich-jüdischen Literatur angegeben werden, um den Wöchnerinnen Schutz gegen böse Geister zu gewähren, so Grimm, D. Myt.² S. 465, Liebrecht zu Gervasius, *Otia imperialia* p. 99, Französischer Abergl. *ibid.* Nr. 37, Dtsch. Abergl. 565, soll die Wöchnerin ein Messer bei sich führen. Vgl. Joseph Dmez p. 204 b, f. Güdemann: Erziehungswesen 1880, S. 204, Anm. 4. Ueber den Wechselbalg, der von der Hege zc. an Stelle des Kindes hingelegt wird, f. Grimm D. M.⁴ S. 387 und Nachtr. Bd. III, p. 135, f. Abergl. Nr. 484: ein dazu gelegter Schlüssel hilft dagegen; Nr. 509: Kindbetterinnen nie allein lassen, sonst hat der Teufel Gewalt über sie u. f. w. Ueber diese Schlüssel, Messer zc. als Eisengeräthe f. das oben zu Nr. IV „Neapolitanische Virgilsagen“ Bemerkte.

XI.

Choni hameagel.

„So lange dieser Fromme lebte, pflegte er stets des Psalm-
verses wegen Ps. 126, 1: „Führte der Herr Zions Rückkehrende
zurück, wie Träumende wären wir“ betrübt zu sein, indem
er sprach: Wie ist es denn möglich, einen siebzig Jahre langen
Traum zu träumen?“ Eines Tages ging er in's Freie, da sah er
einen Mann der einen Charub' pflanzte, und fragte ihn: „Wann
trägt denn dieser Baum Früchte?“ „Nach siebzig Jahren“ ant-
wortete jener. „Und glaubst du denn noch siebzig Jahre zu
leben, daß du diesen Baum noch pflanzen willst.“ „Habe ich
denn die Welt wüßt vorgefunden? Wie meine Eltern Bäume
gepflanzt und sie mir hinterlassen haben, so pflanze ich auch und
hinterlasse sie meinen Kindern.“ Choni setzte sich hin, brach sein
Brod und aß. Da übermannte ihn der Schlaf, und er legte sich
hin um zu schlafen; ihn umgab nun eine Felsenmauer, die ihn
den Augen der Leute entrückte. So schlief er hintereinander
siebzig Jahre. Als er erwachte, sah er einen Mann, der Früchte

von dem Baume pflückte. Choni fragte ihn, ob er derjenige sei, der den Baum gepflanzt habe? „Ich bin der Enkel des Mannes.“ „So habe ich wohl siebzig Jahre geschlafen!“ Inzwischen hatte auch seine Eselin Junge geworfen, die nun selbst schon Junge hatten. Er ging nach Hause und fragte dort nach dem Sohne des Choni. „Der Sohn des Choni ist schon gestorben, wurde ihm geantwortet, aber sein Enkelsohn lebt.“ Und als er sich diesem als seinen Großvater zu erkennen gab, fand er keinen Glauben. Ebenfowenig glaubte man seinen Worten, als er sich im Lehrhause, wo er voller Anerkennung erwähnt wurde, als derselbe Choni zu erkennen gab. Da ging er hinaus, bat Gott um seinen Tod, und die Bitte wurde ihm gewährt. Daher ist es ein Sprüchwort unter den Leuten: „entweder Freunde wie Ijob oder lieber den Tod.“

So lautet die Legende von Choni hameagel (Ch. dem Kreiszieher) im Talmud babli Taanith fol. 23 a und Jalkut II fol. 127 d § 880, von späteren Citaten ganz abgesehen, so z. B. Sacut im Juchasin (XV. Jhdt.) u. s. w.

In der Form, wie diese Legende uns hier vorliegt, scheint sie schon die Umarbeitung einer älteren Fassung zu sein, die sich im Talmud Jeruschalmi Taanith III erhalten hat, S. Jalkut a. a. O.

„Choni hameagel, Enkelsohn des Choni lebte zur Zeit der Tempelzerstörung. Er ging einst nach einem Berge zu seinen Arbeitern. Während er dort saß, fing es an zu regnen; da ging er in eine Höhle, schlummerte und schlief ein und lag so in tiefem Schlafe siebzig Jahre lang, bis der Tempel zerstört und wieder aufgebaut wurde. Als er erwachte, sah er die Welt ganz verändert; Flecken, die Delbäume trugen, waren in Weinberge und Weinberge waren inzwischen in Saatsfelder umgewandelt. Er ging in die Stadt und fragte die Leute: „Was hört man in der Welt?“ Und die Leute fragten ihn: „Wer

bist du.“ Er antwortete: „ich bin Choni hameagel.“ Darauf sagten die Leute: „Wir haben gehört, daß seine Halle stets erleuchtet wurde, wenn er in dieselbe trat.“ Er trat in seine Halle und sie wurde erleuchtet. Darauf wendete er auf sich den Psalmenvers (Ps. 126, 1) an.

חוני המעגל בר בריה רחוני המעגל הוה סמוך לחורבנא רבי מקדשא, נפק למורא, לגבי פועלוי. עד דיתבי חסן נחית מיטרא, עלל למערשא נם דמך ליה ועבדי שקיעה שנחיה שבועין שנין, עד דחרכ מקדשא ואיתבני. לסוף איתער משנחיה חזא עלמא מחלף: חזא חזי דהוה זמים עבידא כרמים, חזא דהוה עבידא כרמים הוה עבידא זרעין. עלל למדינתא, אמר לון: מה קלא בעלמא? אמרין ליה: ומאן את? אמר לון: חוני המעגל אנא. אמרין ליה: שמעין אנן, כד הוה חוני המעגל עלל לעיריה, הוה מנורא. עלל נהרם. קרא על גרמיה: בשוכ ה' שיבת ציון היינו כחלמים.

Diese beiden Sagen, von denen jede besondere Momente hat, wodurch sie sich von einander unterscheiden, sind in einem nichtjüdischen Literaturkreise zu einer dritten zusammengeschmolzen, die aber ihren Ursprung unzweideutig erkennen läßt. Wir wollen nun zuerst die wesentlichen Momente der beiden Varianten hervorheben. Vor Allem ist es der übereinstimmende Zug eines 70 Jahre langen Schlafes. Der Unterschied besteht nur in der Zeitbestimmung. In der babyl. Variante scheint dieser Schlaf in eine ganz späte Periode zu fallen ungefähr kurz vor der zweiten Tempelzerstörung, zur Zeit des Aufbaues des herodianischen Tempels, während die palästinensische Variante Choni hameagel von der ersten Tempelzerstörung, bis zum Wiederaufstand schlafen läßt, wodurch auch die 70 Jahre gerechtfertigt werden.

Zu der ersteren Var. tritt nun der Zug von dem Charub hinzu, der nun als Zeitmesser für die 70 Jahre des Schlafes dient. Sehen wir nun zu, wie diese Momente in der dritten Variante behandelt worden sind.

In der neugriechischen Chronik des Dorotheus, Bischofs von Monembasia (*Σύνοψις τῶν Ἱστοριῶν*) ed. Benedig 1684 p.

91—97 wird folgende Legende vom Propheten Jeremija erzählt. Ich übersehe sie ganz, weil sie außerdem noch manche sagenhaften Züge enthält, die für unsere Untersuchungen von Werth sind.

„Und als Gott die Härte des Sinnes sah, die der König (Sedekias) den Worten des Propheten entgegenbrachte, und daß der König über die Prophezeiungen des Jeremia lachte, und sie nicht befolgen wollte, sagte er zu diesem, wie folgt: „Jeremia, gehe hinaus aus dieser Stadt, du und Baruch; denn ich will sie zerstören, der vielen Sünden wegen, die das Volk begeht, das darin wohnt. Beeile dich übrigens hinauszugehen, daß dich das Heer der Chaldäer, das heranrückt die Stadt zu zerstören, nicht erreiche.“ Und Jeremia sprach zu Gott: „Erlaube mir, o Herr, daß ich ein Wort vor dir spreche.“ Und der Herr sagte: sprich! Und Jeremia sagte: „O Herr! Wenn du diese Stadt in die Hände der Chaldäer giebst, so werden sie sich rühmen, durch eigene Macht die Stadt besiegt zu haben. Daher zerstöre du lieber diese Stadt mit eigener Hand, o Herr, wenn du sie wirklich zerstören willst.“ Und Gott sprach: „Du gehe hinaus! und sie werden sich dessen auch nicht rühmen; denn, wenn ich nicht die Thüre der Stadt öffnen werde, sie selbst werden es nie vermögen. Gehe du nur hinaus mit Baruch! und ich sage dir: um sechs Uhr in der Nacht sollet ihr an den Thoren der Stadt sein, damit du siehst, daß die Chaldäer sie nicht öffnen können, wenn ich sie selbst nicht öffne.“ Bei diesen Worten verschwand der Herr, und Jeremia ging zu Baruch, um ihm alles das mitzutheilen, was er von Gott vernommen. Sie gingen beide in den Tempel, knieten nieder zum Gebet, und vergossen mehrere Stunden lang bittere Thränen. Darauf gingen sie um die sechste Stunde der Nacht zu den Mauern der Stadt, wie es ihnen der Herr geboten hatte. Dort hörten sie plötzlich Posaunenstöße, und es stiegen Engel vom Himmel herunter, die brennende Fackeln in den Händen hielten, und stellten sich auf

die Mauer. Als sie Jeremia sah, weinte er und sprach: „Jetzt sehe ich, daß das Wort des Herrn in Erfüllung geht.“ Darauf bat er die Engel, sie möchten noch ein Wenig mit der Zerstörung der Stadt warten, da er zuvor noch mit Gott sprechen wolle.

Und er wendete sich zu Gott und sprach: „Erlaube mir, o Herr! daß ich vor dir spreche.“ Und Gott sagte: „Sprich!“ Und Jeremia sagte: „Ich sehe, o Herr, daß du die Stadt den Feinden übergiebst, und das Volk nach Babylon vertreibst, was soll ich aber mit den heiligen Geräthen machen?“ Und Gott sprach: „Uebergieb sie der Erde und sprich: höre, o Erde, die Stimme deines Herrn, der dich gegründet hat auf den Wassern, du sollst die heiligen Geräthe bewahren.“ Und Jeremia sprach weiter zu Gott und sagte: „Was soll ich mit Abimelech machen, der mich aus der Lehmgrube herausgezogen hat? Ich wünsche nicht, daß er, der Kleinmüthig ist, die Zerstörung der Stadt mit ansehe.“ Und Gott sprach zu ihm: „Schicke ihn nach dem Weinberge des Agrippa und ich werde ihn im Schatten des Berges einhüllen, damit ihn das Volk während der Gefangenschaft nicht sehe. Du aber, Jeremia, gehe mit deinem Volke nach Babylon und bleibe dort mit demselben, und sprich zum Volke süße Worte der Erlösung, bis ich sie befreien werde; den Baruch aber laß hier.“ Darauf ging Jeremia in den Tempel, nahm die heiligen Geräthe, die Lade, den Rauchaltar, den Tisch, Leuchter und übergab sie der Erde, wie ihm der Herr befohlen. Vorher aber sagte Jeremia zu Abimelech: „Mein Sohn! nimm den Korb, gehe in den Weinberg des Agrippa, am Abhange des Berges, und bring mir Feigen, damit ich sie den Schwachen und Kranken zur Labung gebe.“ Abimelech ging gleich dorthin, wohin ihn Jeremia schickte. Kaum war jener fort, als die Sonne aufging und das mächtige Heer des Nebukadnezar beleuchtete, das sich rings um die Stadt gelagert hatte. Und der Erzengel stieß

in die Trompete und sagte mit lauter Stimme: „Die Macht der Chaldäer ist gekommen, denn die Thore sind jetzt offen.“ Darauf nahm Jeremia die Schlüssel des Tempels, ging hinaus außerhalb Jerusalems und warf sie gegen die Sonne, indem er sprach: „Nimm sie in Empfang und bewahre sie bis zu jenem Tage, wo sie der Herr von dir fordern wird; denn wir sind jetzt unwerth befunden worden, sie zu bewahren.“ Baruch ging auch aus der Stadt hinaus und verbarg sich in einem Grabmal.

Abimelech pflückte die Feigen, weil es aber sehr heiß war, legte er sich in den Schatten eines Baumes hin, um ein wenig zu ruhen und schlief ein, angelehnt an den Korb mit Feigen. So schlief er siebenzig Jahre; und das geschah, damit sich erfülle das Wort, das Gott zu Jeremia geredet, daß Er ihn bedecken werde. Nebukadnezar führte das Volk in die Gefangenschaft nach Babylonien. Den König Sedekia blendete er, nachdem er vor den Augen des Sedekia dessen Frau und Kinder getödtet. Jeremia ging auch mit nach Babylon und sprach nun seinem Volke nur von dessen Befreiung und Erlösung.

Nach drei Jahren schickte der König den Nebusaradan, und dieser plünderte Alles, zerstörte die Stadt vollends und trieb den Rest der Einwohner nach Babylon in's Exil.

Es vergingen nun siebenzig Jahre, seitdem Jeremia nach Babylon gezogen war, und Jerusalem war ganz verwüstet. Da beschloß Gott sie zu befreien, waren doch schon die siebenzig Jahre abgelaufen, und er erweckte Abimelech aus dem Schlafe, in den er ihn versenkt hatte. Als Abimelech aufwachte, sagte er: „Ich habe süß geschlafen, aber mein Schlaf war doch sehr kurz, deshalb ist mir auch mein Kopf schwer, da ich mich am Schlafe noch nicht gesättigt habe; ich will mich aber nicht wieder hinlegen, denn Jeremia hatte mir Eile geboten, in Jerusalem werde ich dann weiter schlafen können.“ Als er seinen Korb öffnete,

sah er die Feigen voll Saft und frisch, gleichsam als ob sie jetzt erst gepflückt worden waren. Abimelech machte sich nun auf den Weg und gelangte nach Jerusalem. Er erkannte aber weder die Stadt, noch sein Haus, noch das Auerer; weder einen Bekannten, noch einen Verwandten, noch irgend einen der Einwohner. Und Abimelech sagte: „Gelobt sei der Herr! Mein Sinn scheint heute verwirrt zu sein; wie ich sehe, ist das nicht Jerusalem und ich habe mich verirrt, schlastrunken wie ich bin.“ Er ging zur Stadt hinaus, besah sie von draußen ganz genau nach allen Seiten und erkannte, daß sie doch Jerusalem sein mußte. Voller Bewunderung über diese Sinnestäuschung, da er Niemanden erkannte, setzte er sich dort nieder und überlegte, was zu thun sei. Den Korb hatte er neben sich auf die Erde gesetzt. Während er so saß, kam ein Alter des Weges daher gegangen. Abimelech fragte ihn, was es für eine Stadt sei. Und der Alte sagte: „Es ist Jerusalem.“ Und Abimelech sagte: „Wo ist aber der Prophet Jeremia und Baruch der Leser und das ganze Volk von Jerusalem, da ich sie nicht finden kann?“ Und der Alte sagte: „Du bist wohl nicht von diesem Lande? Denn heute sind es siebenzig Jahre, seitdem sie Nebukadnezar nach Babylonien in die Gefangenschaft geführt hat. Du kannst sie aber noch nicht gekannt haben, da du sehr jung bist und zu jener Zeit noch nicht geboren warst.“ Als Abimelech das hörte, sagte er: „Würde ich nicht Gewicht legen auf dein Alter, ich würde dich für einen Verrückten halten. Den Augenblick hat mich mein Vater Jeremia in den Weinberg des Agrippa nach Feigen geschickt; der großen Hitze wegen habe ich ein klein wenig im Schatten eines Baumes geruht, und die Feigen sehen noch so frisch aus und sind voll Saft, genau wie ich sie gepflückt habe, und du erzählst mir von siebenzigjähriger Gefangenschaft des Jeremia und des Volkes.“ Als der Alte die Feigen sah, sagte er: „Wahrlich! du bist der Sohn eines Gerechten und

Gott hat dich in diesen Schlaf versenkt, weil er dir die Zerstörung der Stadt und ihre Verwüstung nicht zeigen wollte. Glaube mir aber, daß ich die Wahrheit sage, und sieh dich um, ist doch jetzt noch nicht einmal das Getreide reif, noch weniger ist jetzt die Erntezeit der Feigen.“ Abimelech blickte um sich und sah die grünen Felder und die Früchte der Bäume und erwachte aus seiner Betäubung. So glaubte er denn den Worten des Alten, daß sie der Wahrheit gemäß seien und sagte: „Gelobt sei der Herr des Himmels und der Erde, der behütet die Seelen der Gerechten.“ Darauf fragte er den Alten, welcher Monat es sei? Und dieser antwortete: „der zwölfte.“ Abimelech gab ihm hierauf einige Feigen und der Alte entfernte sich, ihn segnend. Abimelech flehete nun zu Gott, daß er ihm offenkundigen möge, was er thun sollte. Da kam ein Engel, ergriff ihn bei der Rechten und brachte ihn in das Grabmal, wo Baruch sich befand. Als sie sich erblickten, freueten sie sich und lobten Gott; und als Baruch die nach so vieler Zeit noch saftvollen Feigen sah, lobte er Gott und sagte dann zu Abimelech: „Wie fangen wir es an, Jeremia von all dem Kunde zu geben, was sich uns ereignet hat?“ Da kam ein Engel des Herrn und sagte ihnen, daß sie es aufschreiben sollten und hinzufügen, daß sie Gott bald befreien und nach Jerusalem zurückbringen wird. Morgen ganz früh wird ein Adler kommen, diesem sollen sie den Brief und einige Feigen an seine Flügel binden. Baruch that, wie ihm der Engel des Herrn befohlen hatte. Am andern Morgen kam der Adler und sie banden ihm den Brief und zehn Feigen um, mit denen er zu Jeremia nach Babylon fliegen sollte und baten zugleich, er möchte ihnen Antwort bringen. Der Adler flog nun nach Babylonien und ließ sich auf einer Säule außerhalb der Stadt nieder. Und Gott fügte es, daß Jeremia mit dem ganzen Volke hinauskam, um einen Todten zu beerdigen, auf dem Plage, den ihnen Nebusadnezar zu diesem

Zwecke angewiesen hatte. Als der Adler den Propheten erblickte, sprach er zu diesen mit menschlicher Stimme und sagte: „Jeremia! nimm den Brief, den ich dir von Baruch und Abimelech gebracht habe.“ Jeremia und das ganze Volk, die es hörten, lobten Gott; und als der Adler sich auf den Todten niedergelassen und diesen belebt hatte, wunderte sich das ganze Volk darüber und erkannte, daß es eine göttliche Botschaft sei, die der Adler gebracht hatte. Jeremia, der inzwischen den Brief gelesen hatte, freute sich über die nahe bevorstehende Befreiung und schrieb ihnen Antwort, worin er all die ausgestandenen Leiden und Mühseligkeiten schilderte. Diesen Brief band er ebenfalls dem Adler um und dieser brachte ihn dem Baruch und Abimelech. Sie lasen ihn, lobten und dankten Gott, daß er sie vor allen diesen Leiden beschützt hatte. Die Feigen gab Jeremia den Kranken und diese genasen in kurzer Zeit.

Jetzt waren die siebenzig Jahre voll und Gott sprach zu Jeremia: „Nimm das ganze Volk und ziehe nachts aus Babylonien fort, bis zum Flusse Jordan, dort wirst du eine Sonderung halten zwischen denjenigen, die babylonische Frauen geheirathet haben und sich von ihnen scheiden wollen, und denjenigen, die ihre babylonischen Frauen behalten; nur mit jenen sollst du den Jordan überschreiten.“ Jeremia that ganz wie ihm der Herr befohlen. Als nun diejenigen Männer, die sich von ihren Frauen nicht scheiden lassen wollten, nach Babylonien zurückkehrten, wurden sie von den Einwohnern nicht mehr hineingelassen, da sie sagten: „Ihr seid heimlich von uns fortgezogen und habet uns verlassen, nun denn haben wir geschworen, weder euch noch eure Kinder je wieder aufzunehmen.“ Als jene diese Worte hörten, zogen sie nach Palästina und gründeten eine eigene Stadt, Namens Samaria, nicht weit von Jerusalem. Jeremia aber zog mit seinem Volke nach Jerusalem, besetzte das Land und sie brachten Opfer neun Tage lang. Am zehnten Tage opferte

Jeremia allein, da fiel er um, seine Seele verließ ihn und nur sein Körper blieb liegen in der Nähe des Altares. Baruch und Abimelech sahen es und fingen an laut zu klagen und zu weinen. Das Volk, das sie klagen hörte und Jeremia leblos liegen sah, zerriß seine Kleider, streute sich Asche auf's Haupt und vergoß bittere Thränen der Klage. Als sie aber Alle Vorbereitungen trafen ihn zu beerdigen, erscholl eine Stimme vom Himmel, die da rief: „Begrabet ihn nicht, denn er ist nicht todt, vielmehr lebt er noch.“ Wie sie dieses hörten, unterließen sie es weitere Vorbereitungen zu treffen und bewachten den Körper drei Tage lang. Am dritten Tage kam die Seele wieder in den Körper und mit lauter Stimme rief Jeremia dem ganzen Volke zu: „Lobet und preiset Alle Gott und seinen Sohn Jesus Christus, der uns erlöst, ihn, der das Licht aller Zeiten, das Leben unseres Körpers ist!“ Während dem er ihnen von Christus verkündete, rief das ganze Volk: „Das sind die Worte, die der Prophet Jesaias zu unseren Vätern einst gesprochen, indem er sagte: ‚und ich sah den Herrn und mit ihm seinen Sohn‘, weshalb er auch von ihnen getödtet und mit einer Säge zerlegt wurde. Deshalb steinigen wir auch ihn!“ Baruch und Abimelech, die das hörten, betrübten sich sehr über den Tod des Jeremia. Dieser hörte ihre Rede und sagte: „Betrübet euch nicht, denn diese werden mich nicht tödten können, bevor ich euch alles das erzählt habe, was meine Seele gesehen.“ Darauf sagte er zu ihnen: „Bringet mir einen Stein, der größer ist als ich.“ Nachdem diese ihm den Stein gebracht und er ihn gesehen hatte, sagte er: „O Herr! gieb, daß dieser Stein meine Gestalt annehme, damit das Volk ihn steinige, bis ich meinen Jüngern alles das erzählt habe, was ich gesehen und gehört habe.“ Und Gott machte, daß der Stein die Gestalt des Propheten annahm, so daß das Volk, in der Meinung, er sei der Prophet, ihn mit Steinen bewarf. Nachdem Jeremia

ihnen alles, was er gesehen und gehört erzählt hatte, befahl Gott dem Steine und dieser rief mit menschlicher Stimme: „O ihr blinden und tollcn Hebräer! warum steinigt ihr mich? Ihr glaubet, daß ich Jeremia bin, während ich nur ein Stein bin, und auf Befehl Gottes seine Gestalt angenommen habe. Jeremia selbst steht ja mitten unter euch und ihr seht ihn nicht.“ Diese erhoben ihre Augen und sahen den Propheten in ihrer Mitte, ergriffen darauf die Steine und schleuderten sie gegen ihn, mit dem sie zusammen in der Gefangenschaft gewesen und der sie aus derselben herausgeführt, diesen tödteten sie; er aber war weder böse, noch zürnte er ihnen. Nachdem er gestorben war, begruben ihn Baruch und Abimelech und setzten ihm denselben Stein, der seine Gestalt angenommen hatte, zum Denkzeichen. Darauf schrieben sie: „Das ist der Stein, der Jeremia geholfen hat.“ Die heiligen Geräthe versteckte Jeremia in einem Felsen, nach dem Befehle Gottes und verschloß ihn, indem er den Namen Gottes als Siegel darauf drückte; diese Buchstaben drückten sich so in den Stein, als ob sie hineingemeißelt wären; ein Nebel umgab ihn hierauf, damit ihn Niemand sehe. Dieser Stein befindet sich in der Wüste, wo die Lade zuerst gemacht wurde.

Diese Legende kehrt nun mit der ganzen Ausführlichkeit in einer rumänischen handschriftlichen Chronik aus dem Anfange des XVII. Jahrhunderts c. 56 fol. 65 b — 69 a wieder. Sie ist Eigenthum der Bukarester Centralbibliothek. Kleine Abweichungen in der Erzählung zeigen auf eine ältere Quelle hin. Dorotheus selbst sagt, daß er seine Chronik aus älteren zusammengetragen hat. Welche diese ältere Quelle sei, werden wir um so leichter vermuthen können, als wir es hier offenbar mit einer Heiligenlegende zu thun haben. Der Prophet Jeremia wird in der griechisch-orientalischen Kirche am 4. November als Heiliger gefeiert, und wirklich enthält das griechische *Μηναριον*, Novemb. Vened. 1778 f. 31—36 und die rumänische

Uebersetzung der Heiligenlegenden (Jasi 1682 fol. 105 a—108 a) dieselbe Legende fast wörtlich übereinstimmend. Als Quelle hierfür wird wahrscheinlich der verlorene Theil der Chronik des Simeon Metaphrastes voraussetzen sein, da der „Metaphrast“ wie er gewöhnlich genannt wird, ungefähr im X. Jahrhundert Heiligenlegenden in's Griechische übersetzt hat; daher auch der Name. Daß er aus orientalischen Quellen geschöpft hat, zeigt uns diese Jeremiaslegende. In ihre einzelnen Theile zerlegt, läßt sich für fast jeden derselben die talmudische Quelle oder mindestens frappante Analogie nachweisen, was ich auch im Laufe dieser Untersuchung thun werde. Bleiben wir inzwischen bei demjenigen Theile stehen, der im Zusammenhang zu stehen scheint, mit den beiden Varianten der „Choni“legende. Das Wesentliche daran ist der *s i e b z i g* jährige Schlaf, aus dem der Betreffende geweckt wird. Die Uebereinstimmung erstreckt sich hier nicht nur auf die Dauer, sondern sogar auf die genaue Zeitbestimmung. Choni in der jerus. Var. schläft ebenso wie Abimelech von der Tempelzerstörung bis zum Wiederaufbaue des Tempels. In den Feigen klingt der *C h a r u b* nach, der nach 70 Jahren Früchte trägt. Besser motivirt erscheint der schützende Schlaf des Abimelech, als Lohn für die Rettung des Jeremia, als der des Choni, dessen Neugierde bloß befriedigt wird. Jedenfalls ist hier ein gezwungenes Anpassen an den Psalmvers nicht zu läugnen, was bei der griechischen Version sich ungezwungener bietet.

Im innigen Zusammenhange mit dieser Legende steht nun die Sage von Epimenides, die zu dem weitem Kreise der „*Sieben Schläfer*“ hinüberleitet.

„Epimenides ging einst ein verlorenes Schaf suchen und vom Regen überrascht, ging er in die diktaische Höhle (in Kreta), wo er in einen betäubenden Schlaf fiel. In diesem Zustande blieb er nach Einigen vierzig, nach Anderen sieben und fünfzig Jahre. Bei seinem Erwachen sah er voll Bestürzung, daß sich

alles in seiner Vaterstadt verändert hatte und man wollte ihn sogar von seinem väterlichen Hause als Betrüger fortjagen, bis er Mittel fand, durch unwiderlegliche Beweise darzuthun, daß er der eigentliche Besitzer desselben sei. Ja sogar sein Bruder erkannte ihn anfänglich nicht. (Diogenes Laertius, lib. I, vgl. Erasmi: colloquia, Ulm 1712 p. 80 und Jken: Touti Nameh, Stuttgart 1822 S. 309). Plinius H. N. VII, 53 läßt ihn vor Hitze und Ermüdung sieben und fünfzig Jahre in einer Höhle schlafen. Er lebt 157 Jahre; ebenso bei Valer. Maximus I. VIII, c. XVIII exter. 5.

In veränderter Gestalt, wobei aber der Grundgedanke des langen Schlafes festgehalten wurde, ist diese Erzählung zur Heiligenlegende der „sieben schlafenden Jünglinge zu Ephesus“ geworden. Die orientalische Kirche feiert diese Heiligen am 4. August. Der Inhalt der Legende ist kurz folgender:

„Der römische Kaiser Decius zog einst von Karthago nach Ephesus und versammelte daselbst das ganze Volk, um seinen Götzen zu opfern und auf ihren Altären Weihrauch zu streuen. Zuerst befahl er den Ältesten heranzutreten und dann den Jüngeren, drei Tage hintereinander. Darauf befahl Decius alle Christen zu fangen und sie vor die Altäre zu schleppen. Die Kleinmüthigen und Furchtsamen opferten denn auch wirklich den Götzen. Die Muthigen dagegen harrten trotz der Martern aus und blieben unbeugsam bei ihrem Glauben.

Zu dieser Zeit waren sieben Jünglinge, die den besten Familien der Stadt angehörten. Als sie den Befehl des Decius vernahmen, gingen sie in die Kirche, streueten Asche auf ihr Haupt und klagten und weinten zu Gott. Ein Späher bemerkte sie und erzählte es dem Kaiser, der die sieben Jünglinge unverzüglich fangen und gefesselt vor sich bringen ließ. Zuerst rebete er sie mild an und verlangte von ihnen, daß sie dem aufgestellten Götzen opfern sollten, erst auf ihr beharrliches Weigern, dro-

hete er ihnen mit den härtesten Martern. Schon wollte er seine Drohung erfüllen, als ihn ihre Schönheit und Jugend rührte und er sie inzwischen frei ließ, mit der Bedingung, seine Vorschläge reiflich zu überlegen und dann vor ihm zu erscheinen. Decius reiste darauf von Ephesus fort und versprach bald zurückzukommen. Die sieben Jünglinge berathschlagten nun, was sie thun sollten und entschieden sich endlich dahin, sich in eine Höhle des Berges Ochlön, der nahe von Ephesus lag, zurückzuziehen und dort muthig ihr weiteres Schicksal zu erwarten. Eines Tages, als der Jüngste von ihnen nach Ephesus, um wie gewöhnlich Vorrath einzukaufen, ging, erfuhr er, daß Decius wieder eingezogen sei und Allen vor dem Gözen zu erscheinen befohlen habe, zu gleicher Zeit sollten die Häfcher die früher von ihm freigelassenen Jünglinge wieder einfangen und vor ihn bringen. Diese Nachricht erschreckte sie nicht wenig und unter Gebet und Anrufen von Gottes Hülfe schlofen sie ein. Inzwischen hatte Decius — da alle Nachforschungen nach den Jünglingen vergeblich waren — die Eltern derselben holen lassen und unter Androhung der härtesten Strafen, sie nach dem Aufenthalte derselben gefragt. Die Eltern gaben denn auch die Höhle im Berge Ochlön als ihren Aufenthaltsort an. Decius befahl nun, zur Strafe den Eingang zur Höhle mit schweren Steinen zu vermauern. Zwei Arbeiter waren aber auch heimliche Christen, so machten sie ein Metallkästchen, legten zwei Bleitafelchen hinein, worauf die Namen der Jünglinge und die Erzählung der von Decius über sie verhängten Strafe eingegraben war, und verschlossen es mit ihrem eigenen Siegel.

So verging eine geraume Zeit bis Theodosius der Jüngere den Thron von Byzanz bestieg. Zu der Zeit entstand eine Sekte, die die Auferstehung läugnete und die viele Anhänger aus der Mitte der rechtgläubigen Christen fand. Theodosius bat Gott, er möge durch irgend welches Zeichen die Behauptung

der Irrgläubigen widerlegen. Und nun ereignete es sich, daß ein gewisser Abolie, dem der Berg gehörte, einen Schafstall bauen wollte und daher Steine von der Mauer nahm, die den Eingang der Höhle versperrte; so entstand ein Loch, so groß, daß ein Mann leicht durchkriechen konnte. Da erwachten die sieben Jünglinge und waren der Meinung, sie hätten nur eine Nacht geschlafen. Der Jüngste ging nun, wie gewöhnlich, Vorrath einzukaufen und nahm eine Silbermünze mit. Als er zur Höhle hinaus kam, wunderte er sich nicht wenig über die, während der Nacht entstandenen Mauer. Noch mehr aber wunderte er sich über das veränderte Aussehen der Stadt und ihrer Bewohner; er merkte auch nicht, daß er anders gekleidet war, als die anderen Leute. Um seine Zweifel zu verschweigen, fragte er einen Mann, der vorüberging, nach dem Namen der Stadt; dieser antwortete, es sei Ephesus. Jener ging nun zum nächsten Bäckerladen, kaufte einiges Brod und reichte ihm die Silbermünze hin, indem er bat, er möchte ihm den Rest herausgeben. Der Bäcker aber, der noch nie eine solche Münze gesehen hatte, zeigte sie einem Andern, dieser einem Dritten, bis sie einen Kreis um den Jüngling bildeten, und ihn nach dem Schatz fragten, den er gefunden haben mußte, wie es sich durch diese alte Münze herausstelle. Da er auf alle ihre Fragen gar nicht antwortete, brachten sie ihn vor den Herrn der Stadt, bei dem sich damals zufällig auch der Bischof Stephanns befand. Zuerst erschien er ihnen auch als Betrüger oder Irrsinniger, erst allmählig merkten sie, daß etwas Außerordentliches dahinter stecken mußte. Sofort machten sie sich alle, gefolgt von einem zahlreichen Volke, auf den Weg um zur Höhle zu gelangen, wohin sie der Jüngling führte. Dort fanden sie das von den Arbeitern in die Mauer gesteckte Rästchen, und nun wurde es Allen offenbar, daß sie es hier mit einem göttlichen Wunder zu thun hätten, indem die Jünglinge eine so lange Zeit geschlafen haben.

Auf den Bericht des Bischofs und des Statthalters kam auch der Kaiser Theodosius selbst nach Ephesus, sprach mit den Jünglingen und verlebte mit ihnen acht Tage. Am Schlusse derselben neigten sie wieder ihr Haupt und entschliefen nun zu einem ewigen Schläfe.“

Diese Legende ist nun eine der verbreitetsten. In der byzantinischen Literatur allein findet sie sich häufig wiederholt, so im „Synaxarium“, im „Chronograph“; bei Nikapor Kallistes, Buch XIV, cap. 45. Dorotheus von Monembasia: *Σύνοψις διαγορῶν Ἰστοριῶν*, Venedig 1684 pg. 215—18. Cedrenus ed. Bonn I, 593 bemerkt ganz kurz: „Im selben Jahre, d. h. im 23. Jahre des Theodosius, ereignete sich auch in Ephesus das furchteinflößende Wunder der sieben heiligen Jünglinge, die nach 170 Jahren wieder auferstanden“ („τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει καὶ τὸ φοβερόν θαῦμα τῶν ἁγίων ἐπὶ τὰ παίδων τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γέγονεν ἀναστάντων αὐτῶν διὰ ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα χρόνων“). In der rum. handschriftlichen Chronik c. 134 fol. 147 a, 149 a. Im *Μηναιον* zum 4. Aug. Venedig 1777 fol. 24 b—26 a. Die byzantinischen Schriftsteller haben diese Legende, wie fast alle anderen Heiligenlegenden unmittelbar aus orientalischen Quellen geschöpft, wie das bei der oben behandelten Jeremiaslegende unzweifelhaft der Fall ist. Aber auch für diese Legende haben sich die orientalischen Vorbilder erhalten, bei *Land*, *Anecdota syriaca* Bd. III, 87 ff., *Wright*, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum* Bd. III, Nr. MCCCXVIII; ebenfalls bei *Barhebraeus*: *Chronicon ecclesiasticum* ed. *Abbeloos* und *Lamy*, f. J. D. M. G. Bd. XXVII, S. 163. Ebenso in der *historia Dynastiarum* ed. *Рогов*, Oxford 1663, d. 128 und 145—146.

Vielleicht daraus wird *Jacobus a Voragine* dieselbe Legende „de Septem dormientibus“ für die „*legenda aurea*“ c. CI ed. Gräffe p. 435—438 geschöpft haben, wodurch sie im

Occidente eine solche Verbreitung gefunden hat, daß sie sogar Gibbon in seiner Geschichte c. 33 erwähnt. S. Dunlop-Liebrecht S. 305. Die spätere Literatur darüber s. D a n z: Universal-Wörterbuch d. theol. Lit. S. 890 u. d. W. „Sieben schläfer“.

In der muhammedanischen Literatur erscheint dieselbe Legende wieder, so zu allererst im Koran, Sure 18: „Die Höhle“ v. 8—25, wo sie wahrscheinlich aus einer christlichen Ueberlieferung geschöpft ist. Es schlafen hier mehrere Jünglinge — die Zahl schwankt — in einer Höhle 309 Jahre, von einem Hunde bewacht.

Eine andere Parallele erwähnt Gräffe II, 3, 136 μ nach b'Herbelot; s. v. „Jeremia“ heißt es, daß Jeremia noch 300 Jahre in Jerusalem gelebt. Eine andere Sage, anknüpfend an Sure II, 261, erzählt, er hätte in Jerusalem 100 Jahre todt dagelegen und sei dann unter dem Namen: Dzair (Ezra) wieder erwacht, ib. s. v. „Dzair“. Der orientalischen Fassung nähert sich Göthe's Gedicht: „Sieben schläfer“ im westöstlichen Divan. Vollständig muhammedanisch ist diese Legende endlich 1001 Tag (Frenzlau) 494 Z. ff. „Dafianos und die Sieben schläfer“ geworden, wo sie bloß 7 Jahre schlafen.

Ebenso wie der Orient und wahrscheinlich durch seinen Einfluß, kann der Occident auch seine „Sieben schläfer“ aufweisen. So erzählt namentlich Paulus Diaconus im ersten Buch von den Thaten der Longobarden, cap. 3, daß „an den äußersten Grenzen Deutschlands gegen den Circius hin, dicht an der Küste des Oceanus eine Höhle unter einem hervorragenden Felsen sichtbar sei, wo sieben Männer — man weiß nicht, seit wie lange — in langem Schlummer betäubt liegen, wobei sogar ihre Kleider unverfehrt geblieben sind, und daher von jenen barbarischen Völkern als Heilige verehrt werden. Als einst jemand ihnen ihre Kleider ausziehen wollte, sollen sie ihm seine Arme ausgerißen haben.“ S. Grimm D. Sag.² II, S. 27 f. Nr. 329: „Die sieben schlafenden Männer in der Höhle.“

An diese reiht sich die Sage von den sieben Heiligen, die Gregor von Tours erwähnt, die zusammen mit dem hl. Martin bei Tours ein Kloster errichtet haben. Die seien plötzlich gestorben und hätten nach dem Tode ihre blühende Farbe und ihr gesundes Aussehen lange Zeit hindurch erhalten, so daß sie dem herbeiströmenden Volke bloß als Schlafende erschienen. Ausführlicher hat Jfen: Touti-Nameh S. 289—311 diese Legenden behandelt.

In den Gesta rom. c. 158 ed. Desterley p. 538 wird erzählt, daß in Rom der unverwusste Körper eines trojanischen Helden aufgefunden wurde. Eine nordische, fast schon geschichtliche Sage erzählt: Snäfridr, die schönste Frau, Harald's des Haarschönen Gemahlin stirbt, und ihr Antlitz veränderte sich nicht im Geringsten und sie war noch ebenso roth, als da sie lebendig war. Der König saß bei der Leiche und dachte, sie würde wieder in's Leben zurückkehren; so saß er drei Jahre." Haralds-sage cap. 25, Grimm, R. G. Märch. III, S. 90.

Diese sowie die vorletzte Erzählung führen uns ebenfalls wieder nach dem Orient und speciell zur jüdischen Literatur zurück, die nicht wenige Heroen kennt, denen der Tod wohl nahegetreten, deren Körper aber unverfehrt geblieben ist; so namentlich: Baba bathra fol. 17 a: Sieben hat kein Wurm benagt und zwar: Abraham, Isak, Jacob, Moses, Ahron, Mirjam, Benjamin. Nach anderen war auch David darunter. Vgl. auch Sepher Chassidim ed. Bologna fol. 118 b § 950. Unversehrt liegt ferner R. Eleazar b. R. Simeon viele Jahre hindurch in Giskala. Baba mezia fol. 84 b, Midrasch Koheleth rab. ed. Amstrd. fol. 113 b, und die bei Bethar Gefallenen, jerus. Taanith fol. 69 a, babli Berachoth 48 b u. f. w.

Von dieser Anschauung der Unzerstörbarkeit nach dem Tode, bis zur Aufhebung des Todes selbst und bis zum todesähnlichen Schläfe ist nur ein Schritt und den hat auch die Sage gemacht,

in der doppelten Auffassung des Ebedmeleſ. Während er in der griechiſchen Verſion bloß die Stelle des Choni haméagel einnimmt und für längere Zeit in einen todesähnlichen Schlaf verſällt, um dann zum Leben wieder zu erwachen, kennt ihn die jüdiſche Sage überhaupt als unſterblich. Derech erez futta c. I gegen Ende heiſt es ausdrücklic, Ebedmeleſ ſei mit unter denen, die lebend in das Paradies gelangt ſind, und zwar: Henoch, Eliah, Meſſias, Eliezer, Ebedmeleſ der Ruſchite, Hiram von Tyrus; Jaabez, ein Sohn des Rabbi Jehuda ha-Naſi; Serach, Tochter des Aſcher und Bithjah, die Tochter Pharao's. Nach Manchen iſt Joſua b. Levi an Stelle des Hiram zu nennen. Ebenſo Jalkut II, fol. 72 c, § 367 und Jalkut Chabaſch Prag 1657 fol. 46 d unter ןר ןר Nr. 48. An anderer Stelle fol. 56 c unter ןר Nr. 149 werden 13 als unſterblich aufgezählt; ebenſo Jalkut II a. a. O. Ueberall aber wird Ebedmeleſ mit genannt. Die Neunzahl wird im Alphab. Siracibicum fol. 15 b f. beibehalten und die Unſterblichkeit des Ebedmeleſ wird übereinkommend mit der letzteren Stelle im Jalk. Chab. als Lohn dafür bezeichnet, daß er Jeremia aus der Grube gerettet. Aus dieſer in der jüdiſchen Literatur ſo weit verbreiteten Sage konnte ſehr leicht die Variante der Heiligenlegende entſtehen, die dadurch auch dem jüdiſchen Oriente angehört.

In denſelben Kreis gehören nun die zahlreichen Sagen von bergentrückten Helden, die lange ſchlafen, bis ihre Zeit anbricht, wo ſie zu neuem Leben erwachen, ihren Schild an den trockenen Baum hängen, der nun grünt, und die alles Unrecht auf der Erde tilgen. Faſt jedes moderne Volk hat ſeinen ſchlafenden Helden deſſen Rückkehr es erwartet, ſ. Gräſſe II, 3, 1 S. 341 Amtg.

Am geläufigſten iſt uns die Sage vom Kaiſer Barbaroſſa, der im Kyffhäuſer ſchläft. Grimm: Deutſche Sagen 2. Aufl. 1865 Nr. 23, Bd. I, S. 25 f. erwähnt nicht weniger als ſechs Quellen, aus welchen er dieſe Sage geſchöpft hat. Sie lautet:

„Von diesem Kaiser gehen viele Sagen im Schwange. Er soll noch nicht todt sein, sondern bis zum jüngsten Tage leben, auch kein rechter Kaiser nach ihm mehr aufkommen. Bis dahin sitzt er verhohlen in dem Berg Kyffhausen, und wann er hervorkommt, wird er seinen Schild hängen an einen dürren Baum, davon wird dieser Baum grünen und eine bessere Zeit werden. Zuweilen redet er mit den Leuten, die in den Berg kommen, zuweilen läßt er sich auswärts sehen. Gewöhnlich sitzt er auf der Bank an dem runden, steinernen Tische, hält den Kopf in der Hand und schläft, mit dem Haupt nickt er stetig und zwinkert mit den Augen. Der Bart ist ihm groß gewachsen, nach einigen durch den steinernen Tisch, nach anderen um den Tisch herum, dergestalt, daß er dreimal um die Rundung reichen muß, bis zu seinem Aufwachen, jetzt aber geht er erst zweimal herum.“ Eine ähnliche Sage von Kaiser Joseph, sowie überhaupt mehrere Parallelen bei Dunlop-Liebrecht S. 472 b f., Nr. 167 und Nachtrag S. 540 b. Hinzuzufügen wäre noch die böhmische Sage bei Grohmann: Sagenbuch aus Böhmen und Mähren I, S. 17, Prag 1863, wo ein Hirt scheinbar kurze Zeit bei König Wenzel im Berge Blaník sich aufhält, als er herauskommt waren es 100 Jahre, die er dort zugebracht, und Niemand erkennt ihn. Eine Variante dieser Sage, ebenbaselbst S. 18 f., läßt einen Hirten 10 Tage im Berge verweilen und es sind nachher 10 Jahre. Dieser Zug, daß der kurze Aufenthalt in jenem Reiche, einer langen Zeit des irdischen Lebens entspricht, kehrt in sehr vielen Märchen wieder und scheint eine abgeschwächte Form des ursprünglichen langen Schlafes zu sein. Als älteste Parallele wird wohl hier die Parabel vom Mönche und vom singenden Vögelein in Barlaam und Josaphat zu betrachten sein. Ein Mönch lauscht im Garten auf den wunderbaren Gesang eines Vogels und glaubt, daß es nur eine kurze Zeit sei, in welcher der Vogel gesungen habe. In das Kloster zu-

rückgekehrt, erkennt er keinen Menschen mehr und kein Mensch erkennt ihn; er hatte nämlich eine sehr lange Zeit dem Vogel zugehört; in der Chronik des Klosters hieß es, daß ein Mönch vor langer Zeit plötzlich verschwunden sei. Bei Schott: wallach. Märchen Nr. 2 verweilt einen „arme Mädchen“ einen Tag in einem der erlaubten Zimmer und erfährt dann, daß sie ein ganzes Jahr darin war. Am andern Tag verbringt sie bloß eine Stunde in einem anderen Zimmer und die Jungfrau Maria sagt ihr darauf: „nicht eine Stunde, sondern drei Menschenalter hindurch hast du die Herrlichkeit Gottes bewundert.“ Und am dritten Tage ist es nicht bloß ein Augenblick, sondern eine halbe Ewigkeit, die sie im Aufenthalte der Seligen zugebracht. „Eine Ueberlieferung aus Windschau in Mähren berichtet (Bernaleken, Oesterr. R. und Hausmärchen, Wien 1870, S. 347 zu Nr. 30) von einem Königssohne, der auf einem Schimmel in das Paradies abgeholt wurde. Er genoß von den köstlichen Früchten und wollte dann wieder zurückkehren. Aber alles traf er in verändertem Zustande, er war 300 Jahre fortgewesen, und als er irdische Nahrung zu sich genommen hatte, ward er ein steinaltes Männchen und sein Leib zerfiel.“ Bei Zichotke: Erzählungen aus dem Nebel, verbringt ein Hirt kurze Zeit bei einer unterirdischen Fee. Als er einmal ihr Verbot übertritt und sie beim Baden überrascht, findet er sich wieder auf der Erde und erfährt, daß er eine sehr lange Zeit abwesend war. Vgl. außerdem Liebrecht: Zur Volkskunde S. 28 f. und Gervaf. Otia ed. Liebrecht Anmerk. 25.

Während also hier der Grundgedanke eines langen Schlafes mehr oder weniger klar ausgedrückt wird, enthalten andere Märchen eine noch zutreffendere Analogie, wo der Tod nur als Schlaf gedacht wird, aber wie in unserer Legende vom nachträglichen Erwachen zu einem wirklichen Leben begleitet ist. Auch die bergentrückten Helden, die nach Grimm D. M.² S. 903 ff.,

Simrock D. Myth.² 160 ff. nichts anderes sein sollen, als Spuren der alten germanischen Mythologie, sehen einem Erwachen entgegen. Zu den oben angeführten Sagen sind noch manche nachzutragen, die die weite Verbreitung derselben bekunden: so Grimm D. Sagen² I, 338—341 drei Sagen vom „Kaiser Friedrich zu Kaiserslautern“, „Hirt auf dem Kyffhäuser“ und „Die drei Telle“. Andere Sagen ebendasselbst S. 357—361: „Das Fräulein vom Willberg“, „Der Schäfer und der Alte aus dem Berg“ und „Jungfrau Ilse“. Frau Venus schläft im Venusberg und haust nach anderen auch darin. Ebenso Webekind (Grimm D. M. S. 906). In Siebenbürgen (Müller: Sagen, Kronstadt 1857 Nr. 36, S. 25) sitzen unter den Trümmern der Burg von Saftschor zwölf Männer mit langen Bärten, um einen goldenen Tisch, wie entschlafen. Die Sage von der schlafenden Brynhild, Simrock a. a. O. S. 384, führt uns auf das Gebiet des reinen Märchens. „Brynhild, die als Walküre in Agnars Dienst getreten war, gab diesem den Sieg, den Odin dem Hjalmgunnar zugebracht hatte, dem größten Krieger. Er fiel in der Schlacht. Aber Sigdrifa, d. h. Brynhild, entgalt dafür den Zorn Odins; er that den Ausspruch: von nun an solle sie nicht mehr Walküre sein, sondern vermählt werden. Sigdrifa gelobte aber, sich Keinem zu vermählen, der sich fürchten könne. Da stach ihr Odin den Schlafdorn in's Haupt und umschloß sie und ihre Burg mit dem Feuer, das in der Sage Wafurlogi (Waberlohe) heißt, und durch dieses Feuer, das wir schon als die Gluth des Scheiterhaufens kennen, ritt hernach Sigurd und erweckte sie aus dem todähnlichen Schlafe. Dies Schlafen ist bei Gerda, bei Menglada nicht erwähnt; aber im Märchen vom Dornröschen schläft nicht bloß die Prinzessin, sondern Alles um sie her, Knechte und Mägde, Pferde und Jagdhunde, die Tauben auf dem Dache, ja die Fliegen an der Wand. Dieses allgemeine Schlafen bedeutet den Winter Schlaf

der Natur und die Erweckung durch einen Kuß auf den Mai.“ So weit Simrod. Zur nähern Erklärung sei bemerkt, daß der Vf. S. 67 nach dem Vorgange Grimm's in der Waberlohe die Flamme des von einer Dornenhecke umgebenen Scheiterhaufens erkennt, auf welchem die Todten verbrannt wurden, hier Brynhild, die die Göttin Menglada, Gerda, Freyja in ihrem letzten Ausläufer in der Heldensage vertritt. Das Reiten durch die Waberlohe bedeute im Mythos nichts anderes, als die Schrecken des Todes besiegen und in die Wunderwelt hinabsteigen. Es würde uns zu weit führen diesem Gedankengange nachzugehen, uns interessiert hier wesentlich die Gleichung Tod und langer Schlaf. Im Märchen heißt es sogar, die dreizehnte weise Frau hatte mit lauter Stimme gerufen: „Die Königstochter soll sich in ihrem fünfzehnten Jahre an einer Spindel stechen und todt hinfallen.“ Da trat die zwölfte heran, die ihren Wunsch noch übrig hatte und weil sie den bösen Spruch nicht aufheben, sondern nur ihn mildern konnte, so sagte sie; „es soll aber kein Tod sein, sondern ein hundertjähriger tiefer Schlaf, in welchen die Königstochter fällt.“ Ebenso die Parallele bei Basile im Pentamerone V, 5. und Perrault; *la belle au bois dormant*. Im Gegensatz zu Simrod und Grimm vertritt, nach meiner Auffassung, die Dornenhecke nichts anderes als den Berg, in welchem wir die anderen Helden dieses Sagentheiles eingeschlossen finden, oder den Sarg im Märchen: Schneewittchen; (Grimm R. und F. Märchen Nr. 53) und bedeutet einen unzugänglichen Behälter. Auch Schneewittchen verfällt in einen todtähnlichen Schlaf, behält aber ganz das Aussehen einer Lebenden und liegt so Jahre lang, bis der Ritter kommt, durch den sie zum Leben erweckt wird, s. Grimm III, S. 87 ff. Bei Hahn griech. und alban. Märchen Nr. 12. ist es ein Prinz der in todesähnlichem Schlaf liegt und der nur dadurch erlöst wird, daß Jemand drei Wochen

drei Tage und drei Stunden, ohne zu schlafen, bei ihm Wache hält. So erscheinen noch öfter schlafende Helden und Heldinnen z. B. ebendasselbst Nr. 183 eine vollkommene Parallele zu Schneewittchen, Schott Nr. 5 u. s. w. Bis auf einen mythischen Ursprung all dieser Sagen und Märchen, wenn ein solcher überhaupt anzunehmen wäre, erstreckt sich unsere Untersuchung nicht, da sie sich die engere Grenze des Wahrscheinlicheren gesteckt hat, und Deutungen die nur auf eine subjective Deutung des Mythos hinauslaufen, am liebsten ganz vermeidet. In Bezug auf die Siebenzahl der Jünglinge zu Ephesus, wird wohl an die Siebenzahl der jüdischen Märtyrer unter Antiochus: II Makkab. c. 7 zu denken sein, deren Sage nicht ohne Einfluß auf die Heiligenlegende geblieben ist.

Es erübrigt uns jetzt noch die anderen Züge der „Jeremija-Legende“ nach ihrem Ursprunge und nach ihrer Verbreitung zu prüfen. In erster Reihe steht die Sage von den Engeln, die sonst zum Schutze der Stadt dienen, jetzt aber Jerusalem selbst in die Hände der Feinde liefern. Fast wörtlich stimmt damit überein: Talmud II, fol. 64 d § 308, wo es heißt: „Als die Stunde nahte, in welcher die Zerstörung von Jerusalem beschloffen war, da sagte Gott zu Jeremija: „gehe nach Anathoth und erwirb das Feld von Chanamel, deinem Vetter.“ Und Jeremija glaubte, Gott habe wieder seine Gunst dem Volke von Jerusalem zugewendet, so daß es den Geschäften nachgehen könne. Darauf sagte Gott zu Jeremija: „gehe und nimm das Feld in Besitz“. Kaum hatte dieser die Stadt verlassen, als ein Engel vom Himmel stieg, mit seinen Füßen die Mauer von Jerusalem stürzte und rief: „Mögen jetzt die Feinde kommen und in das Haus bringen, das sein Herr verlassen, es plündern und zerstören, und mögen sie in den Weinberg kommen und seine Reben vernichten, nachdem der Wächter ihn verlassen

hat; damit die Feinde sich dessen nicht rühmen, die Stadt selbst erobert zu haben.“ Darauf drangen die Feinde in die Stadt und gelangten auf den Tempelberg, wo sie an derselben Stelle, auf welcher Salomo mit den Ältesten Rath pflog, darüber berathschlagten, wie sie den Tempel anzünden sollten. Während sie noch dasaßen, da sahen sie, wie vier Engel vom Himmel herunterstiegen, die vier Fackeln in den Händen trugen und damit den Tempel an den vier Ecken anzündeten. Jeremija kam eben aus Anathot nach Jerusalem. Als er die aufsteigende Rauchsäule sah, glaubte er, es sei die Säule, die vom Räucheraltare aufsteige, und daß die Israeliten reuig zurückgekehrt seien zum alten Opferdienste. Als er aber bis zur Mauer gelangte und an Stelle des Tempels Schutt- und Trümmerhaufen sah, rief er: „Du hast mich berebet, Ewiger, und ich ließ mich bereben“, Jerem. 20, 7.

Die Quelle für diese Sage im Jalkut ist Pesikta rabbati ed. Friedmann, Wien 1880, fol. 131 a, cap. 26, wo sie aber noch einen wesentlichen Zug enthält, dem wir in der byzantinischen Fassung auch begegnet sind. Als nämlich der Hohepriester sah, daß der Tempel brenne, da nahm er die Schlüssel und warf sie in die Höhe indem er rief: „Hier sind die Schlüssel deines Hauses, ich war ein falscher Epitropos darin.“

„באותו השעה אמר המקום לירמיהו קום לך לענותה וקח את השדה מאת חנמאל דודך. אותה שעה חשב ירמיהו בלבו. שמא נתן הוא המקום ונושאים ונותנים כתוכה שאומר לי המקום לך קנה לך את השדה: כיך שיצא ירמיהו מירושלים ירד המלאך מן השמים ונתן רגליו על חומת ירושלים ופרץ. קרא ואמר: יבואו השונאים ויכנסו לבית שאדנו את בתום ויכו אותו ויחרבו ויכנסו לחרם ויקצצו את גפניו שהשומר הגדול והגדל לו שלא חזיו משבחים ואומרים אתם כבשתם אותה. קריה כבושה כבשתם, עם הרג הרגם. באו השונאים וקבעו כימה שלהם בהר הבית הלכו ועלו להם ככימה האמצעית שהיה המלך שלמה יושב ונטל עצה מן הזקנים. משם שנשחלל בית המקדש שם ישבו השונאים ונטלו עצה

(מן הוקנים) היאך לשרוף בית המקדש. עד שנמלכו ביתיהם נטלו עיניהם והנה ארכעה מלאכים חרדים וכידם ר' לפידים של אש ונתנו בארכעה זויה של היכל ושרפו אותו: כשראה כהן גדול שנשרף בית המקדש נטל את חמפתיותו וזרקן לשמים. פתח פיו ואמר: הרי מפתחות של ביתך. אפיטרומוס של שך הייתי בחוס.

Im Talmud Tr. Taanith fol. 29 a sind es Schaaren von jungen Priestern, die auf das Tempeldach steigen und die Schlüssel in die Höhe werfen, indem sie rufen: „O Herr der Welt! da wir nicht würdig befunden worden sind, deine Verwalter zu sein, so seien dir hiermit die Schlüssel wiedergegeben.“ Bei diesen Worten, heißt es, habe eine Hand vom Himmel herunter nach den Schlüsseln gelangt. Vgl. Frankel: Nach Jerusalem II, S. 265—267; Der letzte Hohepriester. Jalkut II, f. 45 b § 289. Fol. 39 a f. § 249 werden die Schlüssel von Jerichonja in die Höhe geworfen. Der Talmudrecension schließt sich Aboth de R. Nathan c. 4 an, vgl. Jalkut Chadasch f. v. חורבן Nr. 24.

Die Sage von der durch übernatürliche Mächte herbeigeführten Zerstörung des Tempels und der Stadt klingt auch in andren Sagen nach. So Echa rabb. ed. Amst. f. 54 a f., fol. 54 d und fol. 76 b f. = Echa c. 4 v. 12. Jalkut II, f. 71 c § 361. Jalkut Chadasch f. v. חורבן Nr. 40 sind es die Engel Michael und Gabriel selbst, die den Tempel anzünden. Dem Sohar zufolge, dessen Meinung daselbst Nr. 18 wiedergegeben wird, ist überhaupt nichts zerstört, sondern alles versteinert worden, und die Zerstörung war bloß Augentäuschung. In der griechischen Legende hat Jeremija nun die heiligen Geräthe verborgen. Die unmittelbare Quelle ist unzweifelhaft II Makkab. c. 2 v 4—7, wie der folgende Wortlaut zeigt:

„4) Es war auch in der Schrift [enthaltene], wie der Prophet, da ihm eine Offenbarung geworden, befohlen habe, daß das Zelt und die Lade ihm nachfolge, wie er hinausjog auf

den Berg, den Moses bestieg und von da aus das Erbtheil Gottes überschaute. 5) Als Jeremias dahin kam, fand er eine Höhle und brachte dahin das Zelt und die Lade und den Räucheraltar, und verstopfte die Thür. 6) Einige von denen, die ihn begleitet hatten, traten hinzu, um sich den Weg zu kennzeichnen, aber sie konnten ihn nicht finden. 7) Da Jeremia dies erfuhr, tabelte er sie und sprach zu ihnen: Der Ort wird unbekannt bleiben, bis der Herr sein Volk wieder sammeln, und sich seiner erbarmen wird."

Aber auch der Talmud kennt das Verbergen der hl. Geräthe, nur wird in den meisten Fällen der König Josiah als Verberger genannt, so Boma 52 b; Horijoth fol. 12 a. Josephta ed. Zuckermantel S. 318: Sota c. 13 ebenso dann: Balfut II. f. 162 c. § 1085, Jeruschalmi Sota VIII, 3 fol. 22 c. u. f. w. Ueberall werden die Gegenstände aufgezählt, die verborgen wurden; und zwar: die Lade, das Manna, die Flasche mit dem Salböl, der Stab des Ahron und die Kiste, die die Philister als Geschenk für den Gott Israels mitgeschickt hatten.

Durch dieselbe Vermittelung des II. Makkabäerbuches ist diese Sage aller Wahrscheinlichkeit auch zu S. Epiphanius: de vitis Prophetarum: Fabricius Cod. pseud-epigr. Vet. Test. pe 1110 und anderen dort genannten Schriftstellern gelangt; ebenso zu Barhebräus der in der historia Dynastiarum ed. Pocock Oxford 1663 p. 71 bemerkt. Jeremija hatte die Tafeln u. zw. in einen Brunnen versteckt. An derselben Stelle erwähnt Barhebräus, Jeremija sei dann vom Volke gesteinigt worden. Ganz ebenso lautet auch die Sage bei Dorotheus. Uebereinstimmend mit jenen, erzählt Synceßus ed. Bonn 1829 p. 426: „οὗτοι εἰδουλολατρήσαντες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐλεγχόμενοι τε ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰερεμίου ἐλαιοβόλησαν.“ „Jene, von dem großen Jeremia darüber zur Rede gestellt, daß sie Götzen dienten steinigten sie ihn.“ Ebenso im Mar-

thyrologium rom. zum 1. Mai (s. bei den Vollandisten I, 7), dem zufolge Jeremija in Taphnis gesteinigt worden sein soll. Als christliche Tradition erwähnt ferner d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale* s. v. *Irnia*, die Steinigung des Jeremija in Aegypten. Trotz dieser merkwürdigen Uebereinstimmung, scheint hier eine ältere jüdische Sage den Stoff zu dieser vermeintlichen Steinigung des Jeremija, von dem die Bibel selbst erzählt (Jerem. 43 v. 6, 7), daß er nach Aegypten gebracht wurde, geliefert zu haben. Schon Josephus *bell. jud.* IV, V, 4 und Evangel. Matth. 23, v. 35 erwähnen der in der jüdischen Literatur sehr häufig vorkommenden Ermordung des Zacharias im Tempelhofe zwischen Tempel und Altar. Älteste Quelle hiefür ist II. Chron. c. 24 von 20, 22, wo die Steinigung des Zacharia kurz erzählt wird, die dann von der späteren Zeit legendarisch ausgeschmückt worden ist. *Scha rabb.* ed. Amsterd. fol. 54 a, fol. 79 b, und fol. 110 b.; *Koheleth rabb.* f. 10 c. 10 v. 4; *Gitin* 57 b; *Sanhedrin* 96 b; *Talkut* II, fol. 72 a § 364. *Pesikta* ed. Buber fol. 122 a; *Jeruschalmi Taanit* IV, 5 fol. 69 a f. Ueberall heißt es, Zacharia sei von dem Volke, das er zurechtwies, getödtet worden. Dieser Mord blieb aber nicht ungerächt, denn das Blut der Edelsten in Jerusalem floß auf demselben Boden, wo das Blut des Zacharia keine Ruhe fand. In einem anderen Zusammenhange wird uns die Sage von dem wallenden Blute eingehender beschäftigen. Hier ist es nur von Bedeutung festzustellen, daß ein Prophet vom jüdischen Volke gesteinigt wurde. Diese Thatsache wurde nun auf den nicht freiwillig nach Aegypten gehenden Propheten Jeremia übertragen. Fabricius *Cod. pseud. Vt. Test.* pag. 1110—1116 enthält noch eine Anzahl Citate aus älteren und jüngeren Kirchenschriftstellern, die dieselbe Sage oder Einzelheiten derselben mehr oder weniger ausführlich tradiren, vgl. auch Migne *Dict. des Apocryhes* col. 363 ff. und uns so die Wege zeigt, wie diese Sage

stückweise aus dem Orient nach dem Occident kam und hier schließlich zu einem Ganzen zusammengeschmolzen wurde. Die Verwechslung zwischen Jeremija und Zacharias ist übrigens schon im Evangelium zu bemerken, indem Matth. c. 27 B. 9 zwei Verse im Namen des Jeremija citirt, die aber Zacharias angehören: Zach. c. 11 V. 12—13, was Origenes schon aufgefallen ist (Fabr. a. a. O. p. 815.)



A CODEX OF THE BIBLE ACCORDING TO THE MASSORA OF BEN NAPHTALI AND THE ORIENTAL TRADITION.

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Every new MS. of the Bible that appears, and which differs in one form or another from our printed text, opens up again the problems connected with the history and preservation of the Hebrew text of the Bible. It is a common fallacy that even the printed editions agree absolutely with each other. From the first edition to this day one may assert that no two copies agree absolutely with one another in every minute detail, except when an edition is merely a reprint.

These differences are not due to printers' errors, but can be traced back to the original MSS. which served as a basis for the edition, and to the care, circumspection and grammatical knowledge of the copyist, printer and corrector. Still greater are the differences which can be found among the MSS. of the Bible. Here one can assert, with even more justification, that the discrepancies between some MSS. and others are far greater than are those in the printed editions. In addition to the casual mistakes made by the printer there are also those of the copyist which grow with every new copy made from the originals. Human work is liable to error, and the more often a work is copied the greater are the chances that in course of time the mistakes will so accumulate as to seriously affect the correctness of the text. Now, no MS. has been so often copied as that of the Bible, and especially of the Pentateuch. Religious necessities, and the part assigned, in the Service, to the Law, has caused that scroll to be copied century after century in widely separated parts of the world. Thus the possibility of corrupting the text would have grown to great lengths were it not that from ancient times steps had been taken to check, at least, such possible errors of the copyist. The origin of the steps taken for protecting the text from corruption is lost in obscurity, but the method unquestionably goes back to the time before the Maccabean period, for even then profound variations had been introduced into the text, and it was felt necessary to reduce, to limit, and, if possible, to eliminate those discrepancies which were

considered by the authorities of the time as calculated to vitiate the true meaning of the traditional form of the text. The Greek translation on the one hand, and the Samaritan text on the other hand, give evidence as to ancient variations of the Law. Not less does JOSEPHUS show that he had before him a text which in many points differed from the Hebrew text known to us. If, even then, so many discrepancies had arisen as to create serious differences, how much more would this have been the case if the unlimited freedom of the copyist had not been checked? This science of fixing the text is known as the Massora, but that very word has not been sufficiently explained. Even R. AKIBA found it necessary to mention that the Massora meant a fence round the Law (*Pirke Aboth* III, 13). Unquestionably, its original meaning must have been the preservation of the text "in accordance with the tradition handed down from olden times"—the archetype which, according to the words of the Jewish sages (*Pirke Aboth* I, 1), Moses handed over to Joshua, and which Joshua passed on to the succeeding generations. The other interpretation of this statement that Moses handed over the Law—meaning that he handed over the oral Law—is due to much later development. I am treading here on common ground, and yet it is necessary to go over it once more in view of the new facts which I intend bringing forward. They are the result of many years' careful investigation and study of the Massora, and of a large number of texts, both Biblical and liturgical, which seem to represent a tradition not recorded by the existing Massora, yet claiming our attention in no small degree. Hitherto it will be seen that the study of the Massora has been concentrated on what is known as the Western recension. This had entirely obscured all others and practically eliminated them. Yet there is neither uniformity nor absolute unity in the tradition, and it is time that attention should be drawn, however briefly, to some of the stages through which the Massora has passed, and to the various forms in which it has been preserved. It is necessary, therefore, to establish one fact, namely, the true position and function of the Massora. The Massora is not, as some may believe, a rule dominating the text in its details or prescribing the form of the text. It is, on the contrary, a punctilious and minute *record* of every detail as found in the text, and is noted round it in marginal glosses and rubrics. The authors of the Massora do not prescribe how the word is to be written, or vocalised, or accentuated; they only inform the copyist, as well as the reader, that such is the

form in which, by tradition, the letters and diacritical signs have been handed down in the name of certain recognised authorities.

I must therefore sketch here, however briefly, and from my own point of view, the stages through which the Massora has been carried during the ages. Much, no doubt, has been done during the last century to elucidate its very obscure history, and great ingenuity has been displayed by scholars like HEIDENHEIM, FRENSDORFF, PINSKER, BAER, and above all by GINSBURG, not to speak of BUCHLER, BACHER, BLAU, WICKES and KAHLE, to systematize and apply the vast quantity of materials which have been accumulating during the ages under the name of Massora ; and yet this sifting and systematized application of these traditional notes has not yet been completed. This fact is shown by the want of uniformity still found even in the latest editions of the Hebrew Bible.

The Massora has gone through three principal stages which will have to be mentioned separately. It is curious that no one has yet followed up, *seriatim*, this gradual development, for it might have helped very much in simplifying the problems connected with each period. They have been treated as if they all belonged to one tradition, whilst in fact each one represents a different stage. The Massora can only be properly understood if each section is studied independently, for it would then be possible to find the common starting point from which they afterwards separated. Thus it may be proved that the separation began at the time when the accentuation was introduced, or it may be that a certain uniformity had been accomplished when the last stage was reached—the introduction of vowel signs. The first stage was the Massora of the letters, the attempt to record the exact form of the words and letters found in the Hebrew Bible, and principally in the Law as fixed by the scribes. The division of the close written text into words was already a great achievement. It defined and fixed the meaning of the text. Whilst the Jews were satisfied to separate one word from another by a blank space, the Samaritans put dots in between them. The critical work of the Soferim, however, does not affect us here as their collations of texts do. They had introduced, moreover, various diacritical points, the big alphabet and the small alphabet, an inverted Nun, and the dotted letters. In marginal glosses to the text the difference between Keri and Kitib had been noted, without being introduced into the text. Unfortunately, there are no very ancient Hebrew MSS. of the Bible. The oldest Codex of the

Pentateuch, dating *ca.* 800, may be that of the British Museum. Another portion of a similar old text is my Cod. No. 149, and both come from the same part of the world, Babylon or Persia. There are no MSS. of an antiquity equal to that of the Syriac or Greek Codices. Hence the paleography of the Bible begins at a very late period when, as will be seen presently, many of the archaic characteristics and features had already been obliterated under the influence of the levelling Massora. In fact the scrolls of the Law found among the Jews in Europe have a history of their own which has hitherto not been even alluded to, and which seems to be quite unknown. Not less unknown is the ancient form of the writing of the Law, of which a whole literature exists, but which is now entirely lost sight of. The tradition represented by this form of writing was declared by MAIMONIDES (twelfth century) as practically lost. Though still known to him he did not insist on it, and henceforth it practically disappeared from all the Bible Codices that have come down to us. Rare exceptions are found in MSS. from Yemen and in a special model Codex in my possession, No. 85. This is intimately connected with the "jots and tittles" referred to in Matt. v, 18, which I venture to think has been misunderstood by all the commentators, as they had never heard of or seen a Bible written with "jots and tittles." As this is to form the subject of a special study it is sufficient to have referred here to the existence of such a MS. and to a tradition which can be traced back through the ages from the twelfth century. This refers, however, only to the words and letters of the text.

A second section of the Massora deals with peculiar signs put above and below the letters, which are either of syntactical or of musical value. This pre-supposes that the work of recording the exact form of the text had been well-nigh completed, or at any rate that a certain finality had been reached in establishing a commonly recognised text of the Bible as representing the authentic tradition. This is the archetype which, in spite of small variations, is found in the Hebrew Bible. It is difficult to say when such finality was reached, but that it must be very old is shown by the attempted division of the Greek translation, through AQUILUS and THEODOTIAN, at the instance of R. AKIBA. It may, however, have been primarily limited to the Law and then extended to the Prophets and Hagio-grapha, for here many varied readings are found scattered in the rabbinical and talmudical literature, some of which have

recently been collected by APTOWITZER. They have first been referred to and studied by PINELES and WALDBERG. Textual differences must have begun even then to crystallise into separate traditions supported by those authorities which had their independent schools.

It must be borne in mind that sacred texts are always recited in the East by chanting. There is a certain rhythm in all the books of the Bible, and, since LOWTH, the study of the rhythmical arrangement of the text of the Bible has been growing apace. Many systems have been evolved and the text has often been the subject of great alterations and changes to fit the ever-changing systems of rhythmical arrangement of the Prophets and the psalter. Whatever truth there may be in these attempts, one thing is certain, that the writings were chanted not read, and to this day the tradition has been preserved in the Synagogue of reciting the Law, as well as the Prophets and those books of the Hagiographa which are used in the liturgy, to certain tunes. They are not precisely the same everywhere: the Eastern varying from the Western, and the Sephardic from the so-called Ashkenazic, yet the musical character of the cantillation remains unaffected. It would be difficult even to surmise how old these accents are. My discovery of such accents among the Samaritans gives to them a greater antiquity than has hitherto been assumed (*v.* my article "Massoretisches im Samaritanischen" in NOELDEKE's *Festschrift*, Giessen, 1906). It has been my good fortune, owing to that discovery, to establish a more solid basis for the historical investigation of these accents. In a considerable number close parallelism has been shown to exist, not only between the Samaritan and the Jewish, but also with the oldest Syriac tradition, thus denoting the fourth century as the latest date for their invention. It must, however, be understood that I am not speaking here of the complicated system found to-day in our Bibles. The first accents used were, no doubt, of a syntactical character, and, as shown by me, were probably all placed below the words. The musical cantillation is represented, as I believe, by a notation placed above the words, and it is only later on that these two systems were harmonised so as to give to the higher one an additional syntactical value also.

But this was the result of the growth of centuries; and none of these various systems of the Massora—neither the one dealing with the letters nor that referring to the accents, and still less that regarding the vowels, the form of which is dependent on the accent—have

been evolved at one and the same time. Each of them has gone through a long period of development. In a sense the whole matter of the Massora is a question of oral tradition, especially that part dealing with the vowels and accents. For the text itself no doubt there was a written tradition, but even here that seems to have been occasionally uncertain, as is shown by those diacritical signs inserted in the text and by the stringent laws laid down for the preservation of the accurate writing, as well as for the division into open and closed sections, and the blank spaces within the text known as *Piska*, and other points which it is not necessary to enumerate here. But even in matters of such gravity as these—for any deviation from them by a scribe might make the scroll thus written unfit for divine service,—the tradition is not uniform, and whoever has consulted GINSBURG's introduction to the Bible will be convinced regarding the numerous discrepancies found in the MSS. cited and described by him. A glance at modern editions of the Bible will also show the differences, especially the manner of marking the closed and open sections, not by mere letters, but by omitting to reproduce the ancient form as found in a vast number of MSS. If then the tradition is uncertain in larger questions, how much more so must this tradition become less certain when it has to deal with such minute details as accents. We are confronted with such an elaborately complicated system so carefully worked out into the finest details that it can only be the result of a development ranging over centuries. Now a fact to which, hitherto, sufficient attention has not been paid is that the oral tradition began to be written down, and thus fixed, when it began to wane. A time came when tradition became weakened and the people were beginning to be anxious about its maintenance and preservation. It was no longer a living force: either scholarship diminished or the knowledge of the language began to disappear, or external circumstances produced strange influences hostile to the intact preservation of the tradition. It is here then that personal authority took the place of the living force of an unbroken tradition. Those who felt their responsibility tried to place it above the accidents of time and circumstance. The writing down and the fixing of a tradition is, as a rule, done at the end and not at the beginning. A written down tradition marks the last stage in its development before its disappearance, and not the initial stage. As long as the people knew Hebrew, spoke Hebrew, and had been brought up in their schools to chant the sacred texts and to learn

them by heart, there was no necessity for marking either the syntactical or the musical form of recital. This cantillation, as may be remarked here, has also a mnemotechnical value and import. The people learned their texts by heart much more easily and retained the sequence of words and phrases and verses with less difficulty when they sang the text. It is practically the only means by which the old popular literature has been preserved. It has been chanted by the bards, by prophets and by teachers. But so long as these melodies lived among the people there was no necessity for marking them down in the books. It is only in later times that the musical notation is contemporary with the production of a text. Not so in olden times when notation was even unknown, and was invented only when the knowledge of the melody began to decay and disappear.

Not all the signs, however, were invented at the same time; neither those for syntactical purposes nor those for musical ones. The chief accents were the first to be invented, and then, no doubt, the gap between the various parts was slowly filled up by a system which became in time more and more elaborate until it reached the perfection found in our printed texts and in the most elaborate Massoretic Codices. In these not a single word is left without an accent, except in those cases where a hyphen (*makkeph*) joins two words together; and in some books of the Bible there are even two accents to one word. Such an elaborate process must have been unknown at the beginning, and this is a point of some importance, for if a text should be found in which this system of accentuation is more simple, and care is not taken that every word is marked with an accent, then one would be justified in looking upon that text as one in which an older tradition has been preserved. The principle of marking the texts with such accents was not originally limited to the sacred text. As late as the time of Seadyah (tenth century) we find him not only vocalising his writings, but also marking them with accents of a syntactical value (v. *Iggaron*, ed. HARKAVY). True, he was rebuked by some contemporary scholars for having imitated the tradition of the sacred text and introducing it into his own profane writings, but far from heeding their rebuke he stoutly persisted in his practice. A MS. of the Mishna, in the possession of the late Prof. D. KAUFMANN, of Budapest, was marked not only with vowel signs but also with accents; and old fragments of the Mishna found in the Genizah of Cairo—some in my possession and others in various public and private libraries—are also marked with

such accents, even if they are not vocalised. Of the scroll of the Hasmoneans, the Aramaic counterpart of the Book of the Maccabees (ed. GASTER, *Transactions of the Oriental Congress*, London, 1892), a very old leaf in parchment, has come into my possession (Cod. GASTER, 1774 f. 1), which is not only fully vocalised but also accentuated as if it were a portion of the sacred text, though it belongs—as is well known—to the Apocrypha. It is necessary to point this out, for some people are under the belief that a special sanctity is attached to these accents, but they are only of importance when attached to the text of the Bible and are used there for the purpose of elucidating its meaning, and they are a sort of commentary inasmuch as they help to fix the internal divisions of verses. They are, however, anterior to the vowels. There seems to be less unanimity in the general tradition than is the case with the words and letters. Here, already, more divergent traditions are to be found in the MSS. The critical commentary of GINSBURG in his second edition of the Bible—now in preparation—gives numerous variants to every verse of the Bible and often to more than one word in a verse. Separate schools are mentioned, and to these special reference will be made later on in greater detail. It is to be noted that the information preserved by the Massorites on this head is often very conflicting, and that in many cases these differences are to be found in MSS. even without any indication by the Massora, and at various time lists have been drawn up of these differences, often of a very minute character. They refer to texts anterior, in all probability, to the eighth or ninth century for reasons that will be shown. Among later editors, NORSI, in his commentary *Minḥat Shay*, has been one of the first to systematically compare the Spanish and Portuguese MSS. with those of a different origin, and, as far as I am aware, he has been the only one who has tried to group European MSS. belonging more or less to the so-called Western rescension, and to utilise them thus grouped for the criticism of the Massoretic tradition of the Bible. All later editors have used these MSS. more indiscriminately, and have based their editions almost exclusively on the Massoretic edition of JACOB BEN HAYIM, Venice, 1525, the well-known second edition of the Rabbinic Bible which GINSBURG has also taken as the basis for his own edition. It will be shown later on that a tradition, which in many points differs from the *Textus Receptus*, has come to light, and will probably lead to the discovery of similar MSS., either in part or in full, in the libraries of Europe.

We have reached now the third and greatest section—the vowel signs—with which, in addition to accents, the Bible has been endowed.

Here we are met by a much more persistent tradition than in the two former sections, for the nature of the cantillation could not easily be determined, as it rested merely on the oral traditions of a few musically trained persons. Here we are dealing with pronunciation, and so long as the Jews read the Bible and prayers, the Hebrew literature had not entirely died out, for they continued to write and read Hebrew. This problem of pronunciation was one that confronted them continually, and hence the necessity on the one hand for following as closely as possible that existing tradition and on the other to give it outward expression by marks and signs introduced into the Hebrew text. After this had been accomplished a Massora, or a new fence, would be formed to prevent the possibility of mistakes.

In order then to place these Massora—one referring to the accents and the other referring to the vowels—on a sound foundation, the men who had made these questions their special study wrote model codices. These were to form the standard books from which copies would be made, either for the service in the Synagogue or for the general use. They merely continued the work of the Soferim of previous ages and endeavoured so to fix the additional elements as to minimise the danger of corruption by careless and ignorant scribes. GINSBURG (Introduction, chap. XI, p. 429 ff.) has given a list of such model codices so far as they have been preserved by quotations in the Massoretic literature. Almost all of them have now disappeared; they were the works of special schools. It is now idle to believe that the Jews living in Babylon had exactly the same traditions as those who lived in Palestine. True, one of the oldest names mentioned is the Massorite Naki, who is said to have taken refuge in Babylon when fleeing from persecution in the Holy Land in the fourth century. He therefore must have carried the tradition of the Holy Land to that country.

Differences which rested on various traditions have been carried also into other countries, and Massorites wrote their notes as glosses round the text, or in small treatises. I see in the abbreviated texts which have recently been discovered and described by Dr. FRIEDLANDER such manuals of the Massorites. The peculiar characteristic of these texts is that the words are not written out in full but are represented

by one, two, or three letters. The letters thus picked out seem to be those which have the accents, and these are regularly marked. Although it was of the utmost importance for the scribe to have a guide for the Massoretic accentuation, it was quite sufficient to give it to him in an abbreviated form containing the very elements which he wanted for his work—the letter which was to have the accent and the form of the accent. Schools arose, therefore, in various places, represented more or less by the standard codices, and thus a vast number of traditions accumulated in these schools, differing more or less from each other. The character of the Massorite and his principal justification was to be highly conservative. The real meaning and object of the Massora were the preservation of the text in the most authentic form, so as not to allow the slightest deviation to creep in, and therefore the utmost care was taken to collect as far as possible all the available traditional material which contributed to strengthen this conservative tendency. These traditions were not uniform, and often conflicted with one another. This is one of the points which has not yet been sufficiently explained. It has been assumed that the work of the Massorite was to indicate in the margin the exact form in which the letters, the accents, and the vowels had to be written. The fact that such notes were made shows that a different tradition was known, and a different practice in use, which, according to the one school was legitimate, and according to the other was not to be countenanced. Before the Massorite who made that note there lay a copy written and accentuated by a man of that school which he had considered to be authoritative, and he merely registered in the margin what he found in the text. But such copies were not uniform, and what the one registered in the margin of one copy was not to be found in another copy emanating from a different Massoretic school and which enjoyed also a great reputation for accuracy and reliability. The man who had these two copies before him could not do other than to rubric both traditions. He followed the rule of least resistance. He combined as far as possible the two, where they did not conflict with each other, and added in the margin jointly the glosses of one text to those of another. Few men took upon themselves the full responsibility of deciding, when the conflict arose, which of the two was the genuine tradition of old. It was too serious a matter when dealing with the sacred text, and hence the desire of combining whatever was available, thus making the text contain as far as possible the whole of the traditional information

which had been accumulating during the past ages. Hence the huge mass of Massoretic notes gathered up during many centuries which has made the study of the Massora one of the most difficult subjects. One has only to look at the huge volumes of the Massora Magna published by GINSBURG, very systematically arranged for the first time, to realise the vast amount of material found round the margin of the Hebrew MS. Bibles; and yet the material has by no means been exhausted, for it deals more with the letters than with the difference of vocalisation. And this is one of the important points now to be considered, for more than one system of vocalisation has come to light during the last fifty years.

Ever since CAPELLUS started his memorable enquiry into the antiquity of the vowel signs the question has not been allowed to rest, and it is now universally admitted that they are of a much later origin than the text. The investigation of the students of the Massora has, however, not gone beyond that point, and until quite recently only one system was known and studied—that found in our printed editions. Discoveries made during the last forty or fifty years have, however, brought to light systems of vocalisation differing from that with which we are all familiar. One consists only of dots above the letters, in another all the signs are also written above the letters but consist of dots and lines, whilst the one in general use, the so-called Tiberian, has, as is well known, signs also consisting of dots and lines, above and below the letters. The second system was called the Babylonian system simply and solely because some one or another of the Massorites called it Nikkud Ashuri; the last word mentioned was taken to mean Babylon. Much has been written on this system of vocalisation ever since the discovery of the famous Codex Petropolitanus, and from that time on to KAHLE's *Massoreten des Ostens* (Leipzig, 1913) a one-sided and limited view had been taken of it. It was considered more as of a local geographical value and to refer only to Babylon, but none the less it represents a separate tradition of the pronunciation of the Hebrew and Aramaic, which has not died out but, on the contrary, covers a very large field, and has a history of its own. This special system is still in use, and is found notably in MSS. which hail from Yemen (Arabia), although originally its use must have been much widely spread.

I shall have to refer again to the question of the vocalisation. Intimately connected with it is also the question of the pronunciation of certain letters of the Hebrew alphabet. These

according to our modern grammars have a double sound—soft or hard—thus **ב** can be pronounced either as “*b*” or “*v*,” and **ת** as “*th*” (in thin) or “*s*” or “*t*.” The difference between the one, the so-called Raphē (the soft) and the Hazak, being marked either by a horizontal line over the letter or by pricks (dagesh).¹ These differences, as well as that of the vocalisation—the value assigned to the Sheva and other diacritical points—are not merely differences in form but are very profound. They denote the difference in Hebrew pronunciation just as the Syriac Western and Eastern systems of vocalisation mark two different forms of pronunciation. In the Hebrew grammars following only one tradition, the other has practically been neglected; or one or other of the two pronunciations has been used in an eclectic manner. It is time that the Hebrew grammar, so far as the phonetic side is concerned, should be revised in the light of the other tradition. For the Aramaic this fact has received recognition at the hands of modern scholars, notably MERX, STRACK and DALMAN. For the Hebrew a similar work remains still to be done. It is only since the discovery of these varied forms of vocalisation that such a problem has arisen, and it is of the highest importance if we are to reach back to the oldest form of Hebrew pronunciation. I shall refer to this later on.

¹ This identification of the word dagesh with prick explains the sign of a dagger found in some MSS. over certain letters, which people have hitherto not understood. It is the stylus with which is to be made the prick put above the letter to show that it is to be a pricked letter.

II.

Towards the end of the Massoretic activity two schools stand out prominently, one known as the BEN ASHER and the other as the BEN NAPHTALI. The attempts hitherto made to determine exactly when these two flourished, have thus far not been quite successful, but one may state with safety that by the middle of the ninth century the work on which they had been engaged was fully accomplished. For the Pent. Cod. of Br. Mus. GINSBURG No. 1 (Introduction, p. 461 ff.) and a fragment in my possession of similar antiquity contain a perfect text, and if these MSS. date from *circa* 800-850, then the *textus receptus* which they represent had already assumed a definite form in all its details. The tradition had finally become fixed, and all that the Massorite had to do was merely to add the "fence round the Law" glosses and annotations, justifying, as it were, the forms found in the text. The question of course remains as to whether the text was originally written without accents or vowels, and if these were added a long time afterwards by the punctuator. If, as may be gathered from Dr. GINSBURG's assertion that in this case the punctuator lived a hundred years later than the writer of the original MS., inasmuch as he quotes BEN ASHER as one who was still alive, then BEN ASHER must have lived in the tenth century. But BEN ASHER must not be taken as an individual name. It became the name of a family, and then the name of a school, and in the latter case no addition could be made to the name as indicating that the bearer of it was dead. One thing, however, may be granted, and that is that the text may have been revised by a punctuator at a later time. This is fully in accordance with the history of the Bible text. As a rule the copyist was also the punctuator, or else the scribe passed on the text to a contemporary.

This, however, does not finish the history of the text. It passed from hand to hand, from scribe to scribe, and from country to country, and on each occasion it was subjected to careful revision. Whenever it was found to differ from another authoritative tradition, the text was continually revised, and nowhere was this change more radical than when one system of punctuation was substituted for and transcribed into another. Not a few MSS. are now in existence in which this work of elimination, revision and substitution can still be found, either wholly or partly carried out. One has only to study carefully the Codex Petropolitanus or some of the Plates, published by Dr. GINSBURG, of Yemenite MSS. of various ages, in the possession of the British Museum and other Libraries and in mine, to be able to follow up the various stages of this continual revision, alteration, and substitution, and it will be seen that there are two systems that are continually opposing each other. But of this later. Be this as it may, as far back as the middle of the ninth century at the latest, the shape and form of the text, vowels and accents were definitely fixed, according to a system represented, as before mentioned, by those ancient Bible MSS. Very little is known of either BEN ASHER or BEN NAPHTALI, but they have become symbols for schools. There is a tradition that the Ben Asher were living in Tiberias, or represented a tradition having its centre in Tiberias. Nothing is known of BEN NAPHTALI, and GINSBURG (Introduction, pp. 245, 246) states "of BEN NAPHTALI nothing is known and no Codex which he redacted has as yet come to light." In the school of BEN ASHER then, in all probability, the standard Codex of the Bible has been definitely fixed and has become the recognised standard for the text of the Hebrew Bible known as that of the Western Recension. MAIMONIDES gave it his imprimatur, for he stated distinctly that he made his copy of the Bible from the original of BEN ASHER, and the words are too explicit to allow of any doubt. MAIMONIDES says that he has used the copy which had been revised and corrected many times over by BEN ASHER and which seems in his time to have been in Jerusalem. The authority of MAIMONIDES sufficed to establish undisputed the authority of the Recension annotated by BEN ASHER, the Jews whenever possible certainly preferring to copy a standard book so highly praised by MAIMONIDES.

A problem now arises which, so far as I am aware, has not been realised in all its importance. Which tradition does BEN ASHER represent, and what kind of pronunciation does it pre-suppose? Do

we have in his Recension, which is the basis of all our editions, the actual pronunciation of the Bible of extreme antiquity handed down by tradition? Or does the system of vocalisation and punctuation introduced into the text represent a later and more local pronunciation? This is a question which is not merely of archaeological interest, but, as mentioned before, is one of extreme importance for the history of the language and its grammar. If BEN ASHER or his school fixed that tradition, did they do so in a mechanical manner, by following certain rules laid down by themselves, thus creating an outward uniformity which not only obliterated every archaic trace of pronunciation but also subjected the language to certain preconceived grammatical norms? It will be seen presently that these are not idle questions, but go to the root of the matter and explain many peculiarities which are found in Hebrew MSS., even in the model Codex of BEN ASHER itself. If the school of BEN ASHER followed only one tradition and subjected their work to uniform cast iron rules, then the innumerable exceptions to those rules—found in the Hebrew grammar to a far larger extent than in the grammar of any other known language—will remain an unsolved problem. I am, however, inclined to believe that we have here the result of some syncretism introduced from other systems, and not fully harmonising with each other.

BEN ASHER, no doubt, utilised many MSS., and finding variations in them he did not feel justified in altering or eliminating those variations when recognised by him as authoritative, so he retained the forms as he found them and thus introduced into his own text many variations and exceptions which ran counter to the general rules. They represent different strata of tradition, either of a more archaic pronunciation or of a dialectic form of another authoritative tradition. For if we examine the system of vocalisation, as already remarked, we find it is not the only one used by the Jews, but on the contrary, differs in many points from the Sephardic or Oriental tradition which continues to the present time.

It is a trite fact, and yet of the utmost importance for the history of the pronunciation of the Hebrew, to establish once more that there are two definite and distinct traditions. In the main they agree, but with differences akin to the Eastern and Western Syriac. With the Jews these traditions are deep-rooted and extend over a vast area. The origin is just as obscure as that of the Eastern and Western Syriac, and it is only a formal distinction in name to

call one Eastern and the other Western. Looking at its modern distribution one might call one the so-called Ashkenazic and the other the Sephardic tradition—the latter spoken by the majority of Jews in the East. But, at the same time, it ought to be made clear that the Sephardic pronunciation is also that of the Jews of Spain, of Southern France, Italy and the ancient Byzantine Empire, leaving only Central Europe and Russia as the home of the Ashkenazic pronunciation; whilst Egypt, as well as Yemen, no less than Persia and ancient Babylon, may be classed under the Sephardic Oriental pronunciation. The great puzzle in this division is the pronunciation of the Jews in Palestine.

The Greek and Latin translation and transliteration give us sufficient evidence for the ancient pronunciation, which agrees with what I am now calling the Sephardic or Oriental. The Samaritans have preserved a pronunciation very much akin to it, and the same is the case with the Karaites wherever they be living in Russia, Constantinople, Palestine, or Egypt. Everywhere they have the same pronunciation as the Oriental. If we now examine the system of BEN ASHER, the so-called standard type for the Western Recension, we shall be struck by the fact that in its essentials it differs from the Sephardic pronunciation.

In the first place let us take the letters ב, ג, ד, ה, פ, ת. These have two forms of pronunciation, and we may call one *Raphē* and the other *Hazak*, soft or hard, just as in the Western Syriac. The Easterns do not know such a difference. To the present time most, if not all, of their letters are read as if they were hard; but to mark the difference in the Western system the hard letters are marked with a prick or a dot inside (*dagesh*). Now this same *dagesh* is used for another purpose, that is, for marking the doubling of a letter.²

The system of BEN ASHER could not have been invented for the use of the Sephardic pronunciation, as there was no necessity for introducing a dot into those six letters. The dot could only have been used when the letters had a double pronunciation, as in the Western. But there goes with it in the old MSS., and also in ancient prints, a horizontal stroke which was placed over those letters when the pronunciation was to be soft. Here, we have two different

² With the letter *ב* there is another exception, for it can be shown that it had three pronunciations, like "*ב*," like "*פֿ*" (*f*) and also like "*h*."

systems: one, which assumed that, without any signs, these letters were to be read soft, and therefore had to be marked with a dot to show when their pronunciation was to be hard; and the other system which assumed a hard sounding of these letters unless definitely marked with a horizontal stroke to denote their soft pronunciation. Here we have two separate systems each representing a different graphic sign for the pronunciation. The former corresponds to the Western tradition and I assign the latter to the Eastern, each having been evolved independently of the other and anterior to the vowel-signs. It is only in the Western system that the same sign is used for marking the soft and hard pronunciation of the ה, פ, כ, ד, ג, ב, as well as for the doubling of a letter.

Incidentally, it may be remarked that a much more profuse use has been made of this dagesh in some ancient MSS., probably to denote a more emphatic pronunciation and not a doubling of letters (*v. GINSBURG*, No. 16, p. 561, and my fragment Cod. 1234), and numerous other examples can be found in various MSS. The diacritical use of the dot is certainly very ancient, and it is found in the Scroll of the Law. There we find certain words marked with dots, and they go back to the oldest form of the Massora. The example set in the sacred scroll has sufficiently justified a further extension of the use of such dots for diacritical purposes. In all probability they had first been used for the purpose of marking a double pronunciation of letters, and afterwards they have also been used for marking the hard pronunciation of those six letters. But such use of one sign for two different purposes shows its application to be of later origin. In examining now the oldest MSS. we find there, even then, the two systems of marking soft and hard sounds. The hard pronunciation was marked by a dot and the soft one—although there was no dot—was marked with a horizontal stroke over the letters, and which mark was absolutely unnecessary. The MSS. therefore written according to this system represent the Western pronunciation and not the Eastern.

We now pass to the vowels. Here we find that for the vowel "a" there is only one stroke, while the same sign is used for marking the "u," "o" and also "ā." It is clear that this could only have been introduced among Jews who read the Hebrew text in accordance with the pronunciation which is called Ashkenazic. No distinctive sign therefore is thus found in this system for the long open "a." Another difference can be found in the use of the sign for the

vowelless letter, or letters with a semitone. According to the Western system one sign is used for both purposes. The sheva is used both as quiescens and mobile, and the pronunciation in both cases is almost identical. It is very curious that in the oldest grammatical treatise ascribed to BEN ASHER, "*Dikduke Hateamim*," the sheva is put to many and diverse uses. It sometimes stands for the full vowel and often approximates in its pronunciation the vowel immediately following. But this is not a Western tradition, and it is one of the reasons why portions of this grammatical treatise seem to belong to the other school. I need only refer to the forms Solomon and Sodom in the Latin and Greek transliteration of the Hebrew words—when punctuated with a sheva under the first letters, and read according to the Western tradition Shelomon and Sedom, or even Shlomo and Sdom—to prove that the older form does not agree with this Western tradition. It stands in much closer affinity with the Sephardic or Oriental tradition. Down to DE BALMAS, the remembrance of the manifold uses to which the sheva has been put still seemed to be a living tradition. But since then it has only been preserved in a peculiar way in the Sephardic pronunciation.

The number of the vowels as well as the pronunciation of the aspirate letters follow certain rules and are influenced by the accentuation. Most notably is this the case in that peculiar vowel which, according to this system, is called segol. Anyone acquainted with the Hebrew grammar knows how complicated is the behaviour of this peculiar vowel, which according to modern grammar is considered equivalent to the short "e" (ĕ), and yet in a pausal form is transformed into "ā," a change which has no analogy in any other system of phonetics, and which no one has yet been able to explain satisfactorily, for such a long period has this peculiar sign been taken to be the equivalent of the "ĕ."

There is, therefore, a very elaborate system of accentuation in the Western Recension, which is the result of a slow and continued evolution anterior to the vowel system (see above), and which influences the latter to a considerable extent. No word is now left without the tone accent except the enclitics: and this in its turn determines not only the quality but also the quantity of the vowels, the use of the sheva, and the form of the aspirate letters. These general remarks suffice to explain the Western tradition and the pronunciation which it represents. Opposed to it is an entirely different system of pronunciation—the Sephardic or Oriental. In

this the vowels, sheva, and the aspirates have a different character, which can be traced much further back—as has been shown—than the Western. It is natural therefore to assume that another system must have been used to mark the pronunciation of the words in accordance with the prevailing mode. Vowel signs are of course only of a symbolical character and can, as has been the case, be used to denote quite different sounds from those for which they were originally invented. But before this last change took place other signs must have been used, and indeed some seventy years ago—as mentioned before—Biblical texts were discovered with a totally different system of vocalisation and punctuation. It was a remarkable discovery of a system which had been entirely forgotten for nearly a thousand years, and yet the system was in general use for many centuries in widely separated parts of the East and even in some parts of Europe. The oldest dated text—the famous Cod. Petropolitanus of 915, discovered in the first half of the last century, is written in accordance with this system, and since then fragments have been discovered, especially in the Genizah, in Egypt and elsewhere, in which the Bible text is punctuated and vocalised in a similar manner with all the signs placed above the letters. It was called “super-linear,” but its very name had been forgotten. Only a few vague references to the so-called Nikkud Ashuri has been preserved in Hebrew literature. The same system was used also by the Jews in Yemen down to modern times for all the texts written in Hebrew and Aramaic, were they Bible texts, prayer books, collections of hymns, or secular literature. A cursory examination of this system shows that it was invented to represent the Oriental pronunciation: there are no aspirates; the dagesh, whenever used, marks a double letter; the sheva has a full vowel value and is used only as sheva mobile. There is a special sign for the “*ā*”—quite different from the “*o*”—whether it be long or short; and there is no segol. This is represented by the “*ā*” or patah, and one sign serves for both. It goes even by that name in a short grammatical treatise ascribed by GINSBURG to BEN NAPHTALI and published by him at the end of his Introduction. There it is called Patah kemusa. It is in fact short “*ā*” like the “*a*” in battle. KAHLE, who has printed a number of fragments in his *Massoreten des Ostens*, comes to the conclusion that the texts published by him represent an Eastern and exclusively Babylonian tradition, and he ascribes these texts to a period not later than

the eighth century ; but the fact that the Jews in Yemen are still using a system in all essentials identical with it, though in a simpler form, and that these texts hail not from Babylon but from Egypt, makes it obvious that the pronunciation which is represented by this system was not limited to Babylon alone, if it were Babylonian at all, but that it extended from Egypt Eastwards as well as Westwards. It represented the traditional pronunciation of the ancient Greek and Latin texts as well as that of the Jews in Spain, in the South of France, and in the Byzantine Empire, and also that of the Karaites. The attempted adaptation of this system to the various shades of pronunciation brought about ever-increasing complications.

It is interesting to remark that in the texts published by KAHLE the system of vocalisation is not uniform. One can still trace the work of the Massorites and of the punctuator in the attempt to arrive at a definite system that would fulfil all the requirements for an exact pronunciation. Then there arose the difficulty of adding the accents above the letters, and in some instances the desire to mark the dagesh hazak by a dagger or other sign increased the graphic complication. In the Codex Petropolitanus we find initial letters, instead of signs, written for accents over the word. The hatef forms added also to this complication. It would be easy to multiply examples of the peculiarities of this system, and it is a remarkable fact that practically very little has come down to us of what must have been a very extensive literature. Except the often mentioned Codex Petropolitanus, which is the only voluminous text with superlinear vocalisation, there are only a few fragments which have survived, and which are scattered among the public libraries. All the rest have perished. No satisfactory reason has yet been advanced for the complete extinction of this system, but no doubt the complicated form contributed to it, especially when compared with the simpler form of the Western or Tiberian vocalisation. But this does not seem to offer an adequate explanation. There must have been another and much more powerful reason, and one, with greater importance than the mere desire for simplification, for after all the Tiberian or Western system is also somewhat complicated, requiring care and attention to details when using it. The decision in favour of BEN ASHER's Code rests, however, not only on the Massoretic perfection of the latter but, I venture to suggest,

on a much more profound reason for the complete disappearance of all the Codices of the Bible written according to the Eastern tradition. The reason seems to be that this system, which corresponded with the Sephardic and Eastern tradition, was taken up by the Karaites and preserved by them with that tenacity of purpose which marked all sectarian action. The fundamental principle of Karaism is the rejection of the Oral Tradition and the strict adherence to the Written Tradition as found in the text of the Bible. It is summarized in the famous dictum of Anan, the nominal founder of that sect, "search the scriptures," and it is well known that they devoted themselves to the study of the Bible text with such energy and exclusive attention that for a long time they were credited with having been the inventors of the system of vocalisation and accentuation of the Bible: in fact that the Massora owed everything to them. This idea, owing to modern investigation, has been greatly modified, but that they were assiduous students and accurate copyists of the Bible is testified by numerous MSS. written by them with great accuracy and care. Now there was a bitter feud between the Karaites and the rest of the Jews, and they and their works were excommunicated, and whenever possible they were persecuted to the extreme. If now they had given preference to one special tradition, and conservative as they were, they no doubt would cling to it: and if this coincided with the Eastern and a separate system of vocalisation and accentuation were used, then it is easily understood why MAIMONIDES should have given preference to a text which differed in its exterior form from that cherished by the sectarian heretics, and why the MSS. written in such characters should have practically disappeared and the whole system been forgotten. Not that the Karaites banned the Western system, but they evidently must have originally given preference to the superlinear.

The Codex Petropolitanus was written by a Karaite and for a Karaite leader, and on the other hand, amongst the oldest copies of the so-called BEN ASHER Code there is one which was copied by a Karaite in Egypt, and unless my memory deceives me, the Code of BEN ASHER in Aleppo was, according to its colophon, also originally written by a Karaite. But the characteristic words have been erased and others written on top of them, as I satisfied myself by holding the parchment leaf against the light and showing it to those who stood near me when I examined the MS. This will also explain the total oblivion into which the other Recension has sunk.

It was not only superseded by BEN ASHER but its whole tradition was relegated to obscurity and forgotten. But neither of them were invested with a sacred character, and therefore there was no religious difficulty in the way of any copyist as to using either of them. Owing to the greater simplicity of the Tiberian system and the greater facility which it offered for the addition of accents and for making shades of pronunciation,—always assuming that the vowel sign stood merely as a symbol and could be read according to one pronunciation or another,—a process of transcription slowly set in, which culminated in the complete abolition of the superlinear. This fact has not hitherto been recognised, and it has introduced great confusion in the classification of Hebrew MSS. of the Bible. The process, of course, was a slow one. It took a long time before the Tiberian system was adopted for the Oriental pronunciation.

Thus, the Tiberian system obtained supremacy and became the standard for all the Jewish MSS. of the Bible, and its influence was so great that it entered also into all Hebrew literature. In every text that had to be vocalised the signs of the Western system were used. The BEN ASHER tradition had become so fixed that, whatever the pronunciation, the text was retained in the form in which BEN ASHER left it, though a different value was given to the signs. They read the text as they were accustomed to read it, and applied the signs to the sounds according to their own traditions. The best proof of this fact can be seen in non-Biblical Hebrew writings, especially in the prayers and hymns where the writers were not influenced by Biblical tradition but followed their own system of pronunciation and used the vowel signs accordingly. It may be objected that this was not grammatical according to the technical use of the word, but the writers followed their own grammatical traditions, irrespective of the complicated rules of other grammars, on the basis of the Western Recension. In the liturgies of the Jews from the East, when they used the Tiberian vocalisation a pataḥ is often found instead of a qameṣ, and a full vowel value is often given to the sheva; a dagesh is not put in the aspirate; the segol is not changed to a qameṣ, and above all the proper quantitative value is given to the vowel signs, independent of the Biblical accent which modified its outward character. Thus, for instance, they would write a long vowel instead of a short one when it was an open accentuated syllable.

No one can doubt but that the people who wrote these prayer

books and inserted into them the Biblical lessons, had only one form of pronunciation, although in one part they used a phonetic system and in the other copied exactly the vowel points of the Biblical text and the accents in accordance with the Western system. MSS. of this kind exist in abundance. I refer to the MSS. from Korfu, from the South of France, and from the East in general. The same can also be found in the famous *Sepher Assufoth*, and in the genealogical tables of the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, both of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and also in the glosses and single words in the commentary of the Mishna, written either in the time of MAIMONIDES or shortly afterwards (twelfth century). Still older MSS. are found in the Genizah, the liturgies, service books, Bible fragments, etc., and all these are unquestionable evidence of this system of pronunciation and of the use made of the Western system in adapting it to the Eastern pronunciation. The characteristics of the Eastern tradition may be summed up here again: the hard pronunciation of the aspirates, no dagesh in them, the scant use of segol or its alternative use with pataḥ and šere, the vocalised or semi-vocalised value ascribed to the sheva mobile, and the non-marking of the sheva quiescens. For the Eastern system one fact more ought to be added, namely, that originally the quantity of the vowel was indicated by a proper vowel sign and was not made dependent upon an accent. In other words a tone accent was not added to the word when it had no syntactical or musical value, and that therefore many words were written without an accent, the tone being indicated by the quantity of the vowel,—long vowels in open syllables, etc. These facts must be considered because they are of cardinal importance and mark the parting of the ways between the Eastern and Western traditions quite independent of the text itself. They are found in the fragments published by KAHLE, *loc. cit.*, and in no less a degree in the Codex Petropolitanus, the only text hitherto known.

III.

The importance of the Sephardic Oriental tradition for the elucidation of the problem connected with it had been entirely overlooked. It requires a personal knowledge of the oral tradition, as well as of the written signs, in order to be able fully to appreciate its peculiar character. The Karaite literature, too, had been still less included in the investigations. Moreover, the Tiberian system of vocalisation obscured to a casual observer the inward reality of the tradition and the non-Biblical MSS. were rejected as being the work of some illiterate scribes, while really they presented an existing tradition of the highest value for the history of Biblical texts.

The influence of the BEN ASHER tradition was so overwhelming that it not only caused the complete disappearance of the text written according to the Eastern tradition and with superlinear vocalisation, but also entirely obliterated it. True, here and there, MSS. of the Bible were found which showed some peculiarities in vocalisation and accentuation, but no explanation was either sought for or found for them, and they were simply put down as vagaries of scribes, and only catalogued and described, and nothing was done to explain these peculiarities. See Cod. B.M. Add. 21161 *ca.* 1150 described by GINSBURG (Introduction, pp. 632-41 and also *ibid.* pp. 556-559) MS. Add. 9404, *ca.* 1350. Owing to the absence of MSS. of a different system of vocalisation it never occurred to any student of the Massora, or of these MSS., to suggest the possibility that MSS. so punctuated and vocalised might be transcripts of some different system into the Tiberian. They were simply considered inexplicable

variations of the Western system. It was not noticed that those who transcribed them did not follow the latter tradition, but endeavoured to cope with the difficulties which the superlinear presented when substituting Tiberian signs for other sound marks. The difficulties have already been mentioned as consisting of the absence of the dagesh for the aspirants, the peculiar and almost erratic use of the sheva, the absence of the katef and above all of the segol, and the difficulty in finding a proper substitute for these signs in accordance with the pronunciation to which they were accustomed.

One cannot too strongly insist on this new and hitherto unrecognised fact in connection with the transcription. It must have been going on from very early times, and both systems may have been used side by side until one entirely superseded the other, and it is here alone that we can find the key to the many extraordinary and mixed forms of Biblical codices and other Hebrew writings which have come down to us from the eighth century onwards. So great was the effect of the BEN ASHER tradition that the Massora preserved officially and practically only comparatively small lists of some variations between BEN ASHER and BEN NAPHTALI (GINSBURG, Massora No. 589 ff., p. 511 ff.) and between the Western and the Eastern (*ibid.*, No. 630, p. 596), the latter list being still smaller. Judged by these meagre lists no one could have recognised how profoundly deep were the differences between these two traditions which covered the whole of the Bible and the Hebrew liturgy. In examining these lists, published finally by GINSBURG in his Massora, one is driven to the conclusion that the text of the Bible must have been absolutely identical in all its Rescensions, and that the differences only referred to some very minute details such as the occasionally different use of the ga'aya or the use of the makkeph, and its influence on the dagesh in the following initial letter, or that of the disjunctive or conjunctive accent without affecting the real structure of the verse; and sometimes slight differences in the insertion or non-insertion of the keri and ketib, as well as some small changes in the vowels.

The key to the mystery is to be found in the principle of transcription, which is also the cause of the mixed MSS., and such transcription led to an increasing confusion. MSS. of Oriental origin with Oriental tradition were continually revised and made to conform to the authoritative standard of BEN ASHER. Corrections were constantly made with more or less care, and hence the vast number of

Codices of a mixed character. It is only on the basis of this theory of transcription from superlinear to infralinear vocalisation, and on the consequent application of the Western to the Eastern system, that it is possible to account for the existence of mixed Codices. How could a different tradition creep into a definite form, for if the original were the Western one all the copies must be Western also. The preference which MAIMONIDES gave to BEN ASHER only accelerated the process, and hence the existence of these Codices of a mixed character which have been the despair of Editors of the Bible ; for in some of them the process may not have been radically carried out, and traces of BEN NAPHTALI and of the Eastern tradition may have been preserved. It is likely, in all probability, that we owe the Lists of Differences to a superficial comparison of a pure BEN ASHER text with a revised BEN NAPHTALI one. The author of it only registered a few practically insignificant remains of much more important differences which, owing to their pronounced character, had not escaped the reviser and had been eliminated by him. Such MSS. are not rare, though their true character has not been recognised, and I am inclined to believe that the Letteris edition of the Bible, accepted and multiplied by the British and Foreign Bible Society, rests upon a MS. of a mixed character in which many variations of the BEN NAPHTALI or Oriental tradition have still been preserved. But even these lists, scant and insignificant as they are, evidently only rest upon one or two MSS. of a doubtful age and value, and do not seem to me to be truly representative of the BEN ASHER and BEN NAPHTALI schools. They seem to have been copied carelessly, and there is evidently confusion in the manner in which the quotations are ascribed to one school or the other, for frequently the reading ascribed to BEN ASHER ought to be assigned to BEN NAPHTALI and vice versâ ; for even JACOB BEN HAYIM, who published these lists—although not for the first time, for they had been previously published in the first edition of the Rabbinic Bible (Venice, 1516)—does not follow them in his text, and GINSBURG in his last edition adopts the same course. One has only to compare the lists in the Massora with the readings in this edition to find that they do not correspond with each other, and that the text, which is an attempt at being a most faithful reproduction of the Western tradition, often differs both from BEN ASHER and BEN NAPHTALI. Neither GINSBURG nor BAER has been able to evolve out of the numerous MSS. used and quoted by them a reliable text completely

representing BEN ASHER or the Western tradition. No attempt has yet been made to classify the Hebrew MSS. of the Bible, as is done for the LXX, and no endeavour has been made to trace the later Codices to older originals, because it was tacitly assumed that all that arose from one archetype would in their aggregate number lead back again to the same. But before reaching that archetype it would be advisable to try and group these MSS. with regard to their internal relations to each other, so as to be able to first find the standard Codices from which they were copied. Nothing has been done to establish their filiation, and GINSBURG even has not sufficiently utilised the vast quantity of materials collected by KENNICOTT and DE ROSSI. There is nowhere a guide; but the principle which I have endeavoured to establish here may suggest the first attempt at such a classification. We are now happily in a better condition to establish, at any rate, the two groups of texts representing the different traditions, and if this line of investigation be followed up no doubt discoveries will be made which will widen the area for research, for it will surely bring to light other MSS. belonging to the Eastern group but not hitherto recognised. I also lay special stress on the fact that among the Codices of the Bible found in Europe must be some belonging to the Eastern tradition, to which the vowel points and accents were transferred on transcription from the superlinear to the infralinear system.

This fact has been established, in the case of the Targum of Onkelos, by the discovery of BERLINER, who, in his Introduction to his edition, reproduces the colophon of an old MS., in which the writer states that he had transcribed the superlinear vowel signs into the infralinear; hence, also, the confusion and unreliability of the punctuation of the printed edition of the Targum. All the MSS. from Yemen, however, have preserved the superlinear system for the Aramaic Targum, and even so in those MSS. where the Hebrew text had been punctuated with the signs of the Tiberian system. There was no such tradition for the Aramaic, and, therefore, no reason for the Yemenite scribes to abandon their old system of vocalisation. There was no BEN ASHER tradition to fight against, so the older form was able to maintain itself intact almost to our time. Here we have clear evidence of the two systems being used side by side, of the priority of the superlinear over the infralinear in those parts where the former represented the true pronunciation, and of the overwhelming influence of the Tiberian system, which, when once

established, drove out the Eastern and supplanted it. What is still more decisive is the fact before referred to, that in the Codex Petropolitanus one can see the slow transition from one system to another: the first part being written almost exclusively in the super-linear, then both systems side by side, and, finally, the last pages are in the Tiberian.

One question now remains to be answered. In what relation did the BEN NAPHTALI school stand to the BEN ASHER on the one side and to the Eastern on the other? Here we are dealing, of course, with hypothesis, for, beyond those meagre and often unreliable lists, nothing is known of BEN NAPHTALI; and yet even those few indications may help to solve the problem in accordance with the views here expressed. The relation between BEN NAPHTALI and the latter must have been a closer one than has hitherto been suspected. By themselves alone the Lists of Differences which have been published neither prove nor disprove this assertion, and only establish a fundamental fact that there existed independent schools which were great enough to be recognised as authoritative in fixing the text of the Bible on Massoretic lines. I believe, now, that whilst BEN ASHER was the protagonist of the Western tradition, BEN NAPHTALI was that of the Eastern tradition. His disappearance coincided with that of the tradition which he represented, and if the Karaites accepted his tradition, as it will be shown they did, then there was an additional reason for his obliteration.

It is not a mere coincidence that such a large number of readings ascribed to the BEN NAPHTALI school should be found in the Codex Petropolitanus. It has already been mentioned that the lists are not very reliable, and yet, in spite of their uncertainty, the proportion of readings in agreement with those lists is sufficiently great to justify the assumption that it is the tradition of BEN NAPHTALI which we find embodied in the MS. and not that of BEN ASHER. It is difficult, no doubt, to establish this relationship on the basis of a single MS. The texts published by KAHLE, though fragmentary, still show a remarkable agreement with the BEN NAPHTALI tradition. This identification with the Eastern tradition and the recognition of the fact that among the MSS. written with the Western punctuation we may find the true representatives of the former, is now fully borne out by the discovery of a MS. of the Hagiographa which came into my possession some twenty years ago, and now forms my Codex 86. It bears out all the conclusions hitherto advanced, and,

so far as I am aware, is the only Codex of its kind which has yet come to light. In its vocalisation, and even in its punctuation, it has all the characteristics of the Eastern tradition and, as will also be shown, agrees in some details with the tradition preserved among the Karaites: the soft pronunciation is marked with a horizontal line over the letter, the dagesh is used principally for marking a double letter and the manifold use of the sheva; not every word has the tonic accent, and the vowel quantity in the accented syllable is there also graphically expressed just as we find it in the texts with superlinear vocalisation. But what is now of decisive importance, and, at the same time places the character of this MS. beyond doubt, is the relationship which I have found to exist between it and the List of Differences between the BEN ASHER and the BEN NAPHTALI on the one side and the Eastern and Western schools on the other. I have examined the Psalter, and I find that most of the readings ascribed to BEN NAPHTALI in the List are to be found in this MS. Sometimes the agreement is complete, and in other instances the reading differs from both BEN ASHER and BEN NAPHTALI, but only on rare occasions does it agree with what is entered in the list as BEN ASHER'S. On these occasions, however, the GINSBURG edition frequently disagrees with the list. Still more complete is its agreement with the list of Eastern readings which, without exception, are all to be found in this MS. Here we find close agreement, not only in the reading but also in the whole system of vocalisation and accentuation, with the superlinear tradition and with the Karaite tradition. It would be impossible to enter upon minuter details, as almost every verse of the text lends itself to separate treatment. I must confine myself, in the first place, to giving as full a description of the text as possible.

It is a quarto volume of 293 folios of thick yellow Oriental paper. The full size of the page is 10 inches by 7 inches, of which the written text occupies $6\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. On an average there are eighteen or nineteen lines to the page. The writing seems to be as fresh as if it were quite recent, and the ink is jet black. It is very well preserved, and only the outside margins of some leaves have been eaten away by mice, but happily nowhere has the text been touched. The first few leaves have been damaged to a greater extent, but of them only a few words of the first four lines have been eaten away. According to a full colophon on page 291*a*, this MS. was completed in Khashan

(a town in Persia), on Tuesday, the 1st of the month Tammuz, of the year 1806 of Shetarot (*i.e.*, Seleucid Era), and was written in the Midrash by the order of the great Rabbi and scholar, leader, etc., SAMUEL HALEVY, by Jacob, son of the pious Obadyah, son of the meritorious Joseph Ben Ezra. The above date of the Seleucid Era corresponds to the year 1495, Christian Era. This volume, happily, is complete, and it contains, as is also mentioned in the colophon, eleven books of the Hagiographa in the following order:—fo. 16 Psalms. At the end of the verses of Psalms, which are called תלין in a Massoretic note, the number of verses is given as 2524, together with the mnemonic letters, the number of Psalms, מזמורות, is 172, differing completely from the customary number of 150; fo. 73a, Proverbs. At the end of Proverbs the number of verses (no name mentioned) is given as 915; fo. 102b, Ruth. At end, on fo. 105b, another writer, to whom reference will be made, has simply noted at the bottom the number 85. On the same page follows the Song, at the end of which another scribe has added the figure 117; fo. 109b, Ecclesiastes. The first verses of chapter 3 are written in three columns, and there is no Massoretic note; fo. 117b, Lamentations. The writing of this book is peculiar. A blank space is left before the beginning of each verse, and at the end the number 154 is written, possibly added by the scribe himself; fo. 122a is blank; fo. 122b, Esther, has also many blank spaces between the verses. Only the number 108 is found at the end; fo. 131b, Daniel. On fo. 150a we find the number of Pesakim of the Book of Daniel given as 358; fo. 150b, Ezra. There is no break between Ezra and Nehemiah, and no Massoretic note is found at the end of Nehemiah, on fo. 179a, on which page the Book of Job begins. The first chapters are written in continuous lines, and from chapter 3 onwards the book is written in two columns. Chapter 42 is, however, written continuously. The number of verses of the Book of Job is marked on fo. 219b as 1070 and eight Sedarim, the only place where Sedarim are mentioned. Then begins on the same page the Book of the Chronicles, which is not divided into first and second Books, but are written continuously: and there is no Massoretic note at the end. None of the books have a heading as a title, except those which are given in the colophon. The order in which they appear here differs entirely from all the known editions of the Bible, and also from the tradition recorded by MAIMONIDES and from the older one found in the Talmud in Baba Bathra. What makes it still more curious

is the fact that on fo. 1a, written unquestionably by the same writer, we find the order of the Books of the Prophets and Hagiographa given in full accordance with MAIMONIDES, and which is quoted, and yet in spite of that the copyist proceeded according to another tradition. The order is as follows: for the Prophets—Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Twelve Minor; and for the Hagiographa—Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther (called Megillah), Ezra and Chronicles. A Persian gloss underneath counts these as eleven.

The scribe, therefore, must have followed an independent tradition which was quite different from that recorded in the Western tradition. It is well known that there is no definite order for the books of the Hebrew Bible, as may be seen from the detailed description by GINSBURG in his Introduction, Chap. I. On the same fly-leaf we find a list of the accents, together with their graphic signs, which differ to a large extent from the well-known Tiberian. It agrees, however, in the main with a smaller list published by PINSKER in his work on the Babylonian Hebrew Punctuation (Vienna, 1863, pp. 42, 43), which he had taken from a very ancient Codex of the Bible which was probably of Karaite origin and unquestionably of Eastern.

The writing is excellent. The character of the letters is not a strictly square one, but already shows a tendency towards a characteristic Oriental cursive writing. It is seen especially in the form of the װ and also of the ן, and in the rounder form of the final letters. The original writer had written the *custodes* at the end of each leaf, and the ancient mode of division into open and closed sections has been most faithfully and carefully preserved. The open sections always break off in the middle of the line leaving the remaining space blank, and where the writing has to be carried on to the end of the line the next one begins with a blank space. The closed sections are invariably marked within the lines, and a blank space of about five lines divides one book from another. A similar though somewhat smaller division separates the five Books of Psalms from each other, and it is only after Psalm lxxii that the words ספר תלת are written, whilst to the other divisions a more recent scribe has added some pen and ink illustrations in the margin so as to mark it off as a subdivision of the Psalter. In one case, to Psalm xliii, the word פרשׁ is written in the margin. The author occasionally marks the middle of the book with a similar peculiar geometrical pattern.

On fo. 167*a* and 168*a* the writer has filled the pages with about ten lines of writing, the letters being very large and with wide spaces between the lines. On fo. 75*b* he had recourse to a peculiar shortening of the lines in order to fill up the space, and the writing is somewhat similar on fo. 169*b* and 170*b*, possibly for some reasons connected with the original which still have to be determined. On fo. 76*a* a blank space which divides verse 8 is filled up with some little marks. After verse 9 we find a peculiar heading "Petihah." If this word stands for the Massoretic term, it is the only example throughout the whole of the MS., and does not agree with the Western tradition as found in GINSBURG (*loc. cit.*).

This MS. must have passed through many hands, for the last pages, which were originally blank, have been filled up with annotations of various kinds and are in at least six different handwritings. Some in Persian, and of an astrological character, are written by three different persons, and others—on fo. 290*b*, 291*b*, 292*a*—are in a fine small hand and contain abstracts from RASHI's commentary to certain Psalms, and on fo. 293 is some agadic matter referring to the kings of Judah. The author of this note seems to be the writer of the interlinear Persian glosses and translations, and it is probable that the glosses may be the work of the copyist. The letters on the whole are similar to those of the Hebrew text but are much smaller, and this of course alters their shape to a considerable extent. There are marginal Persian glosses but these are in a distinctly different and later handwriting. Another hand is that of the Massoretic reviser. He has added the Massora Parva round the Book of Psalms and also some part of Proverbs. He also numbered the Psalms contrary to the note at the end, according to which there are 172. This seems to be in agreement with the ancient agadic tradition which is preserved also in the Yemenite MSS. of the Agada and referred to in the Treatise Soferim, edited by MULLER. In the remaining books there are only references to *keri* and *ketib* which may be due to the original writer of the MS. The words of the text are then marked with a small ringlet.

Once more a different person went through the MS. and supplied words and sometimes complete sentences which the original writer had skipped from his copy. Sundry notes of various character—exegetical translations and corrections—show that this MS. has gone through many hands, and yet the text itself has been treated with great reverence, no liberties being taken with it except on the rare

occasions referring to *keri* and *ketib*. As a rule the *ketib* is in the text and the *keri* in the margin. This very treatment shows that the MS. must have been held in especially high esteem by its successive possessors, and that it must have been found worthy of special comment and annotation. One especial characteristic is the writing of the Tetragrammaton. With the exception of the last pages of the Book of Chronicles, it appears throughout as יהוה. This is the writing which occurs only in Karaite MSS. It has never yet been found in any MS. written by Jews, and this alone would have sufficed to condemn it had it come into the hands of the Jews in olden times, for it carries on its face the sign of its Karaite origin. All these peculiarities can easily be distinguished in the facsimiles which I have selected for reproduction. We learn also from a careful examination that the scribe first copied the letters and then, on going over them once more, added the vowels. They were not put in at the same time as the text was written, the best proof of which can be seen in the fact that on finding that he had copied a passage twice he left the second one without vowels or accents. He could not have done this if he had supplied the vowel points when writing the letters. There is occasionally a strange inconsistency in the use of the vowel signs, but on the whole the principle is everywhere the same. If he were also the author of the Persian interlinear glosses and translations, as I believe him to be, it is evident that he must have been a great scholar. He certainly may have utilised the translations that existed like that of TAWUS, or other more ancient glosses such as the Hebrew Persian glosses published by BACHER from my MSS., and occasionally one finds that he refers to the commentary of RASHI and QIMHI, but still he must have been no mean scholar. Hence the increased reliability and value of this text for the history of the Bible.

It is impossible to enter here into any detailed examination of this MS. from a Massoretic point of view, beyond its bare description. I therefore give full size photographs of three pages of the MS., viz., fo. 1b containing Psalms i and ii; fo. 46 containing Psalms x, 12; xii, 3; and fo. 138b, Daniel iv, 30; v, 3. I selected these because they show so well the character of this MS. and moreover by the publication of these facsimiles convincing proof is adduced of the accuracy and antiquity of the tradition preserved in Codex 86. My Codex 1327 contains very ancient fragments of the Psalms, found in the Genizah, which, from a palæographical point of view, belong

to the ninth or tenth century. Fo. 6a corresponds in part to the fragment of Psalm x published by KAHLE (*loc. cit.*, No. 41, p. 77), and the agreement between these texts and my Codex 86, though separated from each other by at least seven hundred years, is more than surprising. My Codex 146 is an old Karaite MS. prayer book of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. I refer to these out of a large number of similar MSS. in order to show that in that system of transliteration my Codex 86 does not stand alone (without considering the Codex Petropolitanus) but that some of the oldest fragments thus far preserved agree in the peculiar method of using the Tiberian system with the Eastern pronunciation independently of the Western tradition, and that on the other hand the Karaite follows the same tradition in making an identical use of the vowels, a system which to some appears arbitrary, and yet proved now in the light of this investigation to be historically correct and consistent; and that also in this almost contemporary MS. we find the name of God spelt in exactly the same manner as is found in Codex 86. This is the constant and characteristic practice of the Karaites. But a word of caution must be added at the same time. One is not to expect fundamental differences in the text, though on many occasions varied readings can be recorded. A striking example is found here in Psalms ii, 10, where the MS. reads הוֹסְרוּ, not הוֹסְרוּ. The former is the same root as that used in Psalm ii, 2, and its translation is "take counsel together," and the same reading being accepted for verse 10 it would be translated "take counsel ye judges of the earth," a perfect parallel to verse 2, instead of "be instructed ye judges of the earth," which has been an exegetical difficulty. Yet in the main the variations in the words of the text will not be so great as to suggest a different archetype. A difference of punctuation, however, may lead to a possible varied interpretation of the text. Still the importance of another Rescension for the interpretation of the Bible and for the history of the Eastern Rescension,—a different tradition in pronunciation, accentuation and also in many graphical points—cannot be over estimated.

This copy, though compiled in 1495, must have been made from a very old and accurate Codex. I am inclined to believe that the original already had the Tiberian punctuation, and that the transcript was made at an early time, otherwise the copyist would have referred to it in his colophon, but he is absolutely silent on that point. The best proof of the great antiquity of the original copy can be found

למה רגשו גוים ואלמונים והגדירין: ויעצבו מלפני אדני ויוועם
נפשו ויהי עליהם ועל משיוחם נבטחה את מוסרתימו ועל לופיה ^{ממנו}
עבותימו ויטע בשמים ישחת אדני ולעלמו: וידבר אליו
באמו ויברכו ויברלו: ואני נפתי מלפני על ציון הר קדשו: ^{תע}
אפלה אל חן ויו אמר אלי בני אתה את היום וילדתני: שאל ^{גדעם}
ממי ואמר גוים נחלתה ואחזתה אפסי ארץ: ויוועם בשבט ^{בזר}
סדל פכלו ויגר תנפסם: ויעתה מלפני השפלות והסד שופטי ^{פולגד}
אדני: ועתה מלפני הסדו שופטי אדני: עבדו אתיו ^{בזר}
זרחה עילוי ברעיה: נשקו בר קרואה ולאבדו דרך: כי ^{על}
יבצר פמנט אלו אשרו בלחוסו בו: ^{משה}
^{תורה}
^{במטוב}

כ' השלמה
מלך של שופת
של בועה רחוק

קממה וי אל נא ידך אל תשכח עננים: עלמה נא
רשע אחים אמר בלבו לא תדרש: ראיתה כי אזה עמל
ופעם תבטל צדק עליך ועוז חלצה: תוסי אמה היית עוד:
עבר ורוע רשע ורע ודרש רשעו כל תמצא: וי מלך
עולם ועד מצדו גוים מארצו: תאצת עננים שמעך
וי תפין לבם תחשית מועד: לשפט וחוסי ידך בליסוף "

עוד לעד מן הארץ: ע"כ
פסוקים
כדור

יא למנצח לדוד צווי חפיתי מן תאמרני לנפשו
נדיה דכס צמר: כי הנה חדשלים ידרבן חטות בוגדו חצב
על יתד לירות צמואל לשדו לב: פי השפות יהרסן צדיק
מה מעל: וי בהיכל קדשו וי דשמים פסאן גיטו יתו: ע"כ
פסוקים
כדור

יבחנו מצב אדם: וי צדיק יצחן ורשע ויהרב חמס
שנאה נפשו: ומסר על רשעים פחים אטו וקטעו ורוח
ולעמות מנת סוסם: פי צדיק וי צדיקות אהב יטר
רוח גיטו: יא למנצח על הטמינות ע"כ
פסוקים
כדור

מזמור לדוד: הושיעה וי סו נמר חסיד: פי פסוק
מזמור אדם: שמו יצדו אש את רגלו שפת חלקו יצ
בלב ורב ידברו: ע"כ
פסוקים
כדור

יב
כדור

וְיִשְׁעֵיהֶם בְּמִשְׁרֵי דָבָר וּשְׁפָרוֹהֵי בִּנְיָמִין וְלִקְצֵר־
 וּמִמָּה אֵלֶּה בְּצִדְדֵיכֶם עֵצִי לְשִׁמְיָה נְחֹלִית וּמִנְדֵּבֶל
 עֲלֵי יוֹנָתָן וְלֵעִילָאֵה בְּרִכְתּוֹ וְלֵחִי עֲלֵמָה שְׂבָחָת וְהַדָּת
 דִּי שְׁלֹמֹה וְלֵטֶן עֲלֵהּ עֲמֻלָּתֶיהָ עִם דִּר וְדָר וְכָל
 דִּמְרֵי אֲרַעָא כָּל חֲשִׁיבִין וְכַמְצִיבֵי עֲבִיד בְּחֵיל שְׁמִי
 וְדִמְרֵי אֲרַעָא וְכָל חֲשִׁיבִין וְכַמְצִיבֵי עֲבִיד בְּחֵיל שְׁמִי
 מִכֶּה עֲבָדֵי: אֵד זְמַנָּה מְרִיעִי וְיֹנָתָן עֲלֵי וְלִקְצֵר מִלְּכֻשׁ
 חֲדָרֵי קִיָּא וְיֹנָתָן עֲלֵי וְכָל חֲדָרֵי דְרַבְרָבִין יִבְעֻן וְכָל
 מִלְּכֻתֵּי הַתְּקַלָּה דְּבָרָא וְיִתְרָא חֹסְפָא לִי: כֵּן אֵלֶּה
 בְּצִדְדֵיכֶם מִשְׁבָּח וּמְרוֹמָס וּמְהִדָּר לְמַלְכָּא שְׁמִי דִּי
 כָּל מַעֲבָדֵיהִי דְשָׁלוֹם וְאַרְחֻתֵיהֶם דִּין וְדִי מְהִלְכֵי בְּגֵיהִי
 וְכָל לְהַסְתֵּיהִי: בְּלִשְׁכָּה מִלְּכָא
 עֲבָד לֵהֶם דָּב לְרַבְרָבָנֵיהִי אֵלֶּה וְלִקְצִיל אֵלֶּה חֲמִידָא
 טַעֲמָה: בְּלִשְׁכָּה אֲמִר בְּטַעֲמֵי חֲמִידָא לְהִיתֵיהִי לְמַחְנֵי
 דְהִבָּא וּכְסָמָא דִּי בְּמִקְדָּשְׁכֶּם עֲבָדֵיכֶם מִצְוֵיהֶם מִן הִיכְלָא דִּי
 מִירוּשָׁלַם וְשִׁבְעִין בְּהֵן מִלְּכָא וְרַבְרָבָנֵיהִי שְׁלָחֵיהֶם לְחִתֵּיהֶם:
 בְּצִדְדֵיכֶם קִיָּא לְמַחְנֵי דְהִבָּא דִּי הִנְקִס מִן הִיכְלָא דִּי
 בֵּית מִלְּכָא דִּי בִירְשָׁלַם וְאַשְׁמִיבֵי בְּהֵן מִלְּכָא וְרַבְרָבָנֵיהִי

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Das Schiur Komah.

Von

Dr. M. Gaster in London.

Das Kapitel über jüdische Mystik, wie sie sich in den Hechaloth und andern ähnlichen Schriftwerken darstellt, wird wohl umgeschrieben werden müssen. Neuere Untersuchungen, und besonders im Zusammenhange mit der apokalyptischen und pseudo-epigraphischen Literatur angestellte, haben mich allmählich zu der Ueberzeugung gebracht, dass manches eschatologische Schriftwerk, das bisher als ein Erzeugniss jüngern Ursprunges betrachtet wurde, viel weiter in's Alterthum hinaufgeschoben werden müsse. Der Vergleich der jüdischen mit der nicht jüdischen Litteratur der ersten Jahrhunderte gewöhnlicher Zeitrechnung zeigt ferner, dass ein äusserst enger Zusammenhang zwischen ihnen existiert. Die eine Literatur hat unzweifelhaft auf die andere eingewirkt, und es wird zum Gegenstand eingehender Untersuchungen, die bis in's kleinste Detail durchzuführen sein werden, gemacht werden müssen, die Priorität der einen vor der anderen festzustellen. Es ist hier nicht der Ort, darauf genauer einzugehen; ich gedenke aber in anderen Studien, die sich über die oben erwähnte apokryphe Litteratur erstrecken sollen, ausführlicher darauf zurückzukommen.

Eines muss jedenfalls bemerkt werden, dass das argumentum ex silentio, durchaus kein beweiskräftiges ist. Es beweist höchstens, dass uns für den Augenblick nicht genügende zeitgenössische Dokumente vorliegen, um daraus über das Vorhandensein oder Nichtvorhandensein eines gewissen Werkes zu entscheiden. Das Schweigen kann nicht ohne Weiteres als ein vollgültiger negativer Beweis betrachtet werden, auf Grund dessen das Alter eines Buches oder einer Schrift bestimmt werden könnte. Das ist eben der schwache Punkt in Zunzens meisterhaften „Gottesdienstlichen Vorträgen“, besonders im

Kapitel 8 über Geschichtliche Hagada, und im c. 9 üb. Geheimlehre.

Wie ich später zu beweisen hoffe, wird sich gerade für die in diesen Kapiteln behandelten Litteratur ein Alter ergeben, das ungefähr um 1000 Jahre von dem von Zunz und Anderen angenommenen differiert. Ebenso wenig als Midrasch Vajisu (מ' ויטס) ein Produkt jüngerer hagadistischer Thätigkeit ist, und vielmehr dem 1. oder 2. Jahrhundert vor der gewöhnlichen Zeitrechnung angehört, genau so wenig ist Josippon, nach der später hineingetragenen Alexander-Sage, dem 3. Jahrhundert zuzuschreiben¹⁾. Ebenso verhält es sich mit den Pirke de R. Elieser, Sef. Haggaschar und anderen biblisch-legendarischen Sammlungen, deren Inhalt sich sehr früh schon in jüdischer und nichtjüdischer Litteratur nachweisen lässt. Der Legendenstoff im Targum Jeruschalmi zum Pentateuch, gehört demselben frühen Zeitalter an. Das Durchlesen solcher Bücher, wie des Buches Henoch, des Buches der Jubiläen, der Apokalypsen des Moses, Esra, Paul, der Assumptio Mosis, der Ascensio Jesaiae, der Testamente der XII Patriarchen genügt, um den Leser von dem Vorhandensein jenes Stoffes in alter Zeit zu überzeugen.

Genau so verhält es sich mit der „Geheimlehre“ oder Eschatologie, denn diese bildet den Kern zahlreicher litterarischer Erscheinungen. Sie gehören einer uralten Zeit an und sind Ueberreste eines eigenthümlichen, noch lange nicht genügend erforschten und noch viel weniger aufgeklärten Literaturkreises, dem im Alterthume eine äusserst einflussreiche Rolle zuertheilt war.

Mysticismus ist das Gepräge des Seelenlebens der orientalischen Völker, gerade zu jener Zeit, in welcher der grosse Umschwung in dem Glauben eintrat.

Parsismus, besonders wie er in der Periode der Sassaniden sich entwickelt hat, — meistens in den im Pehlevi abgefassten Schriften erhalten —; Gnosticismus, besonders des Basilides und Mani; Mysterien des verfallenden griechischen Götterglaubens und Cultus; Aberglauben, wie er sich in dem Leben des Apollonius v. Tyana oder in der Vertheidigung des Apuleius widerspiegelt; assyrisch-babylonische Beschwörungen und Amulette — alles das ist eben nur der Ausdruck des zu der Zeit herrschenden Geistes, welcher zum Mysticismus hinneigte.

Ein innerer Zusammenhang zwischen diesen mannigfachen Litteraturen ist trotz der Verschiedenheit von Ort und Sprache

¹⁾ Zunz, Gottesd. Vorträge, p. 158.

nicht zu verkennen; und im Zusammenhange mit einander muss dieser gesamte Kreis behandelt werden. Die eine Schrift oder die eine Sage verbreitet hier Licht auch über die anderen. Nicht dass ich für jetzt den letzten Grund dieser Erscheinungen zu erforschen anstrebe. Es wäre das ein äusserst interessantes und wichtiges Problem; es gehört jedoch dem Gebiete der Völkerpsychologie an. Ich beschränke mich hier auf die litterarische Erscheinung, insoweit als diese geistige Richtung im Schriftthume Ausdruck gefunden hat, und insoweit als diese verschiedenen Litteraturen mit einander verwandt sind.

Ich muss nun zuvörderst noch die Frage zu beantworten versuchen, warum ein so langer Zeitraum zwischen dem von mir angenommenen hohen Alter der betreffenden Sagen und Legenden und dem so späten Auftauchen derselben vergangen ist. Der Charakter dieser Litteratur bietet den Schlüssel zur Lösung des Problems. Es wiederholt sich eben in der jüdischen Litteratur dieselbe Erscheinung, die wir bei den Litteraturen anderer Völker wahrnehmen. Mystische, apokalyptische und legendenartige Schriften sind im eigentlichen Sinne die Litteratur des Volkes. Sie entsprechen einem populären Bedürfnisse und sind auch einzig und allein für die Belehrung oder Begeisterung der Masse berechnet.

Dieser steht gegenüber die Litteratur der Schule, der geübten geistigen Thätigkeit, des verfeinerten Geschmackes und der abstracten Form. Mit dem Augenblicke, wo diese die Oberhand gewinnt und das gesammte Interesse der Edelsten auf sich concentrirt, ist kein Raum mehr vorhanden für die Volkslitteratur, die für jene gar nicht existiert, oder kaum einer flüchtigen Beachtung für würdig gehalten wird. Ein Kapitel aus der griechischen Litteratur wird uns dieselbe Erscheinung auch dort zeigen. Die Alexandersage, von der bekanntlich wesentliche Theile sich im Talmud erhalten haben, gehört, in ihrer ursprünglichen Form dem 1. oder 2. Jahrhundert an. Sie verschwindet jedoch für Jahrhunderte und taucht erst spät in der byzantinischen Epoche wieder auf. Ebenso verhält es sich mit den, bis auf wenige Ausnahmen, verschollenen Milesischen Sagen oder Märchen, von denen eines durch Apuleius erhalten ist.

Ebenso unbemerkt schleicht sich die gesamte mystische Litteratur der Griechen durch das Dunkel der Jahrhunderte, bis sie spät eine Auferstehung feiert. Hermes Trismegistes ist ein Gegenbild und Seitenstück zu Ismael dem Hohenpriester u. s. w.

Erst nachdem die geistige Thätigkeit auf dem Gebiete der Schul-Litteratur sich erschöpft hat, wendet sich der Geist der bis dahin wenig beachteten oder gar verachteten Volkslitteratur zu. Nach Abschluss der talmudisch-halachischen Thätigkeit taucht die alte Litteratur daher wieder auf. Sie wird nun in den Kreis der Schule hineingetragen und von da in die Synagoge verpflanzt, dadurch ist ihre weitere Duldung und Erhaltung gesichert. Sobald die Hechaloth mit der Kedescha officiell verknüpft werden, erhalten sie einen locus standi; sobald die einzelnen Sagen, zu „Legenden“ werden, d. h. zu Gegenständen, die in der Synagoge gelesen oder erzählt werden, erhalten sie eine liturgische Weihe, die sie vor der Zerstörung der Zeit schützt.

Dieses erschöpft natürlicherweise nicht alle Ursachen der Erneuerung der alten Volkslitteratur. Die Richtung des Geistes und Geschmackes, die poetanische Thätigkeit, und mannichfaltige äussere Einflüsse wirken auch darauf hin.

Ich bin nun bei dem eigentlichen Gegenstande dieser Abhandlung angelangt: nämlich bei dem „Schiur Komah“ oder der genauen Beschreibung der Grösse des göttlichen Körpers und die Messung der Gliedmassen mit dem göttlichen Masse. Der Erste, den diese Schrift genauer untersucht hat, ist Graetz, welcher den Ursprung derselben auf arabische Einflüsse zurückführt, speciell auf den der Mug'assima. In seiner Untersuchung über „die mystische Literatur in der geonäischen Epoche“¹⁾ betrachtet er²⁾ das „Schiur Komah“ als den eigentlichen Kern der jüdischen Mystik im genannten Zeitraum — was, wie sich weiter zeigen wird, durchaus nicht der Fall ist.

Jellinek³⁾ dagegen giebt dem Schiur Komah einen jüdischen Ursprung und sucht den Ausgangspunkt desselben im Hohenliede „in welchem Gott nach der im Judenthum verbreiteten allegorischen Auffassung, als Freund und Bräutigam Sulamit's in menschlichen Gliedern geschildert wird.“

Thatsächlich aber wird im Schiur Komah nie Bezug genommen auf das Hohe-Lied mit Ausnahme des Schlussparagraphen, welcher im Namen der R. Nathan, des Schülers des R. Ismael, tradiert wird.⁴⁾ Es fehlt also für diese Hypothese der bündige Beweis. Denn Anlehnung an biblische Texte ist nicht immer zu gleicher Zeit auch Abhängigkeit von demselben.

¹⁾ Monatschrift VIII, 1859, S. 67 ff.

²⁾ a. a. O. S. 113.

³⁾ Beth-hamidrasch, VI, XXXXII—III.

⁴⁾ Sefer Rasiel, ed. Amsterd. f. 38a.

Manche Sage und manche Haggada ist nur auf künstliche Weise mit einem Bibelworte verbunden worden, das ursprünglich nichts damit zu thun hatte.

Das Schiur Komah, um richtig verstanden zu werden, muss im Zusammenhange mit einem anderen mystischen Kreise betrachtet werden, zu welchem es nothwendigerweise gehört; und zwar mit den apokalyptischen Visionen des Himmels und der himmlischen Heerschaaren, deren Centrum die Gottheit ist.

Solche apokalyptischen Himmelfahrten kennt die jüdische und altchristliche ebenso wie manche andere Litteraturen von alter Zeit her. Ich behalte es mir vor, diesen ganzen Litteraturkreis im Zusammenhange zu behandeln. Er ist viel ausgehnter, als er auf den ersten Blick erscheint, und Wanderungen durch Himmel, Hölle und Paradies setzen sich bis auf die neuere Zeit fort. In der hebräisch erhaltenen Litteratur haben wir nur die Ascensio von Moses in mehrfachen Varianten, und die noch besser bekannten des Ismael, in ebenso zahlreichen Varianten. Es sind kaum zwei HSS. die einander vollkommen ähnlich sind, noch weniger scheint ein einziger Text in seiner ursprünglichen Form sich erhalten zu haben. Jede HS. und jede Recension wimmelt von unzähligen Interpolationen, Lücken, Fehlern, Zusätzen und Umstellungen der absonderlichsten Art.

Der volksthümliche Charakter dieser Schriften zeigt sich eben in der Willkürlichkeit, mit der sie von den Abschreibern und Compilatoren behandelt werden. Schriften, die sich einer gewissen canonischen oder legalen Autorität erfreuen, werden ganz anders behandelt. Kaum dass hierund da ein Satz eingeschoben oder ausgelassen wird. Die Haggadah im weitesten Sinne ist anders behandelt worden als z. B. **ספרא** oder **מכילתא** oder gar die Mischna. Dieser Zustand des Textes der mystischen und legendaren Litteratur hat auch meist dazu beigetragen, dass deren Alter bisher so schwer festgestellt werden konnte. Das freie Schalten mit dem Texte, welches sich auch auf die Sprache desselben erstreckte, indem der Abschreiber neuere Formen und Redewendungen an Stelle der alten anwendet, hat es fast unmöglich gemacht, in der Sprache und Form ein Criterium für das wahre Alter der betreffenden Schriften zu finden.

Der Vergleich zwischen den verschiedenen Varianten desselben Textes bestätigt das eben Bemerkte. Ascensionen von Moses haben wir a) **מעין ההכמה** in mehreren Ausgaben, die

Jellinek¹⁾ aufgezählt, und sonderbarweise als einen Theil der „Hechaloth“ bezeichnet. Thatsächlich ist es eine parallele Schrift und ist wahrscheinlich erst später damit verbunden worden. Aehnlich ist der Text im Codex 1466, No. 14 (Neubauer) der Bodleiana. Die Ueberschrift dieser ausführlicheren Recension lautet jedoch: **מצאתי עוד זה מאגדות של דברות**, d. h.: diese Ascensio war dort dem Midrasch der Zehngebote einverleibt worden. Unter dem Titel **נתינת התורה** kehrt dieselbe Schrift wieder in Cod. Add. 27,089 f. 97a, 98a, 99b des Brit. Museums und ebenfalls weiter ausgebildet. Zu den wenigen Citaten Jellinek's (l. c.) füge ich ausserdem noch einige hinzu, die die Verbreitung des **מעין החכמה** zeigen; und zwar **חמדת ימים**, ed. Konstpl. **תכלה** (1735), fol. 67b—68a²⁾ und im

¹⁾ Beth-hamidrasch I, S. XVIII.

²⁾ In Bezug auf dieses Buch herrscht eine arge Confusion unter den Bibliographen (cf. Fürst, Bibliotheca III, 185 und Benjacob, Ozar I, S. 193 No. 678 mit einer langen Note von Steinschneider). Das Datum der ed. Smyrna scheint allen unbekannt zu sein. Auf der Rückseite des Titelblattes der Constantinopeler Ausgaben werden jedoch die **הסכמות** der Smyrner Rabbiner Abulafia und Isaac hacohen mit d. Datum **התצב** abgedruckt; und in einer Ausgabe wird das Datum des Druckes ausdrücklich **הצא** angegeben und das der Approbationen ist auch **הצא**. Dieser scheinbare Widerspruch löst sich jedoch bei genauerer Einsichtnahme. Das letztere Datum bezieht sich auf einen Band, der auch in Konst. früher als die anderen und ganz verschieden von ihnen gedruckt wurde. Datum dieses Druckes ist **תכלה**. Er wird nicht als **חלק א'** bezeichnet, ist in fortlaufenden Reiben, die das ganze Blatt bedecken und nicht in 2 Columnen, aber mit denselben Typen und von demselben Buchdrucker Jona b. Jacob gedruckt wie die folgende Ausgabe, (f. 55a—b ist der Pijjut zum 7. Tag Pesach mit dem Acrostichon: **אני אברדם נתן בנימין בן אלישע חיים חזק**). Die Setzer jedoch sind verschieden. Die andere Ausgabe erschien in Konstpl.

ואחנם in 2 Columnen, Bd. I. als **חלק א' לשבת קורש** und Bd. II. als **חל' י'** bezeichnet. Die Ed. Pr. ist von Moses **צונצן** bestritten und von Jacob b. Jom-Tob Algazi besorgt worden. Der Inhalt der Ed. Konstpl. **תכלה** ist verschieden von der anderen Ed. **ואחנם**. Jene Ausgabe beginnt mit Nissan und schliesst mit **שמחת תורה**, worauf folgt: **דברי הרב המחבר** **בחתומת כפרו!**

Es scheint nun, dass in späteren Ausgaben ed. **תכלה** als Bd. I. und die anderen beiden Bände als II und III gedruckt wurden. Das Verhältniss zwischen diesen und den späteren Ausgaben verdiente genauer untersucht zu werden. Ich begnüge mich damit, das Datum der Edd. PPs. festgestellt und auf diese eigenthümlichen Constantinopler Ausgaben hingewiesen zu haben. Ich habe das Exemplar im Britischen Museum mit dem meinigen verglichen und finde, dass beide identisch sind. Um so unerklärlicher bleibt die Angabe Zedner's in seinem Cataloge (S. 610), auf welche Steinschneider im Ozar hasepharim hinweist.

סדר הלמוד ליל חג השבועות ed. Salonichi 1754 im f. 11c ff., cf. f. 1 und f. 24d; und was — von besonderer Wichtigkeit ist — in der פסיקתא רבתי ed. Friedmann¹⁾ § 20 פ' מתן תורה.

Eine zweite Recension, schon viel ausführlicher und mit anderen Elementen erweitert, ist die Apocalypse des Moses, der ich nur in zwei Druckwerken bisher begegnet bin, die beide den Bibliographen unbekannt geblieben sind, und zwar in כתובת התורה, Salonichi, עתק (1810), 16^o, f. 10a—11b, und in einer, unter dem Titel גדולת משה, Lemberg, 1862, 8^o mit jüdisch-deutscher Uebersetzung weitläufiger ausgesponnenen Gestalt.

Die zweite Ascensio ist die unter dem Namen des Ismael circulierende, die durch das Gewicht, welches darin auf die Beschreibung der himmlischen Hallen gelegt wird, den Namen Hechaloth trägt. Sie ist die Grundwurzel, aus welcher ein weit verzweigter und mannigfaltig verästeter Baum seine Säfte gezogen hat. Es giebt kaum eine einzige kabbalistische Schrift, in welcher die Hechaloth nicht erwähnt oder benützt wären. Kaum zwei gedruckte Angaben stimmen wörtlich mit einander überein, geschweige denn zwei Handschriften. Zwei Recensionen und zahlreiche Fragmente aus dieser Schrift sind von Jellinek — leider in nicht stets zuverlässiger Weise — abgedruckt worden²⁾ ausser anderen mystischen Schriften, in welchen diese

¹⁾ f. 96b ff.

²⁾ Beth.-hamidrasch II, 40 ff., III, 83 ff., V, 106 f., cf. *ibid.* p. 170—190 VI, p. 109 ff. und קיומם המבד p. 31 ff.

Hechaloth einen grossen Raum einnehmen. Diese hier zu verfolgen, ist durchaus nicht meine Absicht und ist besser Gegenstand einer selbständigen Monographie.

Ausser diesen beiden Apokalypsen kennt die alte Literatur noch zahlreiche andere, die in innigstem Zusammenhange mit den oben erwähnten stehen. Die Apokalypse des Henoch und die Ascensio des Jesaia gehören hierher, ebenso die des Levi im Testamente der XII Patriarchen¹⁾ u. s. w. Die Himmelfahrt des Moses und des Ismael stehen also nicht allein da, sondern gehören in eine Litteratur-Gattung, die in den Jahrhunderten unmittelbar vor und nach der gew. Zeitr. in Palaestina geblüht hat.

Somit ist ein fester Boden gefunden, von welchem aus weiter geschritten werden kann. Auch ohne dass genauer auf die mannigfaltigen geistigen Strömungen jener Zeiten eingegangen wird, ist es genugsam bekannt, dass um jene Zeit die Phantasie die grösste Rolle in der Religionsgeschichte gespielt hat. Die phantastischsten Erzeugnisse und Ausgeburten eines überreizten Gehirns wurden damals als Religionssysteme aufgestellt. Die Gnostik in ihrer ganzen Blüthe entfaltete sich um die Wende des ersten und die Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts. Das Unendliche und Unaussprechliche wurde mit menschlichen Zahlen und Symbolen auszudrücken versucht. Und sparsam war man gewiss am allerwenigsten mit Zahlen, wenn es sich darum handelte, himmlische Elemente zu beschreiben. In der Offenbarung des Johannes, die, wie sich jetzt herausstellt, eine wenig veränderte jüdische Apokalypse ist, haben wir ein sprechendes Beispiel dieser Zahlenmalerei. Etwa genau so muss die Beschreibung der himmlischen Heerscharen in der Apokalypse des Ismael gelautet haben. Verhältnissmässig am einfachsten hat sich die des Moses erhalten, aus dem einfachen Grunde, weil sie durch die vorhergehende, mehr phantastische des Ismael, verdrängt wurde. Sie diente auch nicht wie jene den praktischen Zwecken der niederen Magie und ist daher von zahlreichen Umarbeitungen und Interpolationen verschont geblieben. In allen jedoch findet sich dieselbe überschwengliche Sprache und der Versuch, die himmlische Herrlichkeit und die Majestät Gottes durch Uebertreibung und Vergrösserung in's Unendliche auszudrücken. In den Texten, wie sie sich uns erhalten haben, werden die sieben Himmel, und deren Bewohner be-

¹⁾ Testamenta XII Patriarcharum ed. R. Sinker Cambridge 1869, p. 138 ff., vgl. J. Schnapp. Die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen, Halle 1884, p. 23 ff.

schrrieben, auch der Thron und die heiligen Chajjioth; nur Eines fehlt darin: der Versuch, Gott selber mit den gleichen Einzelheiten wie die anderen himmlischen Bewohner zu beschreiben. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass eine solche Beschreibung ursprünglich nicht wohl fehlen konnte, (v. p. 33). Und in der That hat sie auch nicht darin gefehlt. Sie ist nur später aus den Hechaloth verschwunden, entweder um als selbständige Schrift eine eigene Existenz zu führen, wie es häufig mit den Gliedern dieser complexen Literatur der Fall ist, oder weil sie aus leicht ersichtlichen Gründen einfach unterdrückt worden ist.

Als selbständige Schrift wird diese Beschreibung der Gliedmassen Gottes schon in alter Zeit im 7—8. Jahrhundert direct unter dem Namen שיעור קומה angeführt.¹⁾ In zwei Recensionen, von welchen die eine die einfachere und ursprünglichere, die andere weiter ausgeführt und mit Buchstabensymbolik verbunden ist, ist diese Schrift dem ס' ריאל einverleibt worden. Beide Recensionen befinden sich in der gedruckten Ausgabe²⁾ und sind auch in dem handschriftlichen S. Raziel enthalten, welches Eisenmenger benützt hat³⁾ und von dem er im Register s. R. selber angiebt „Raziel, ist ein geschriebenes und noch nicht gedrucktes Buch, welches mir obgedachter zu Wetzlar jetzunder wohnender Jud Rabbi Veiss Gelhäusser geliehen, als er noch in Frankfurt gewohnet hat.“ Bisher wurde nur die zweite Recension⁴⁾ als das eigentliche שיעור קומה betrachtet. Dem ist aber nicht so. Sie ist vielmehr nur eine etwas ausführlichere Fassung; während die kürzere noch den Charakter behalten hat, den sie in den Hechaloth hatte. Das Stück, das nämlich darauf folgt⁵⁾, beginnend mit מלך אמת, ist wörtlich den Hechaloth entnommen.⁶⁾ Es findet sich in corrumpiert Form in Jellinek's Ausgabe⁷⁾, dagegen fast wörtlich übereinstimmend in einer anderen Ausgabe⁸⁾, wo sich auch das Fragment vom שיעור קומה selbst erhalten hat⁹⁾, und somit beweist, dass dieses ursprünglich einen Bestandtheil der Hechaloth ausgemacht

1) v. Grätz und Jellinek l. c.

2) ed. Amsterdam f. 37a—b.

3) Entdecktes Judenthum I, p. 2—4.

4) f. 37b.

5) f. 37a.

6) cf. cap. 23 § 3.

7) Beth-hamidr. III. p. 100.

8) ed. Jerusalem 1884, 4^o. Cap. 24, § 4.

9) ib., Cap. 12 § 1.

hat. In verblasster Form erhielt sich ein wenig davon auch in der kürzeren Recension der Hechaloth¹⁾ und ebenso in der anderen ausführlicheren²⁾, die offenbar eine Corruption der Fassung ist, welche in besserer Form in der Jerusalemener Ausgabe vorliegt. Die Recension des Sch. Komah in der ed. Jerusalem und das Fragment in den beiden Texten der ed. Jellinek stehen im innigsten Zusammenhange mit der Recension des S. Raziel und scheinen den ältesten Kern des שיעור קומה zu repräsentieren. Ich drucke sie daher alle drei neben einander ab.

III. בית המדרש

p. 91.

פ' י.
מכסא כבודו
ולמעלה שמונים
ומאה אלפים
רבבות פרסאות
גוברו מורוע
ימינו ועד זרוע
שמאלו שבעים
רבבות פרסאות
רוחבו.

בית המדרש

II. p. 41.

פ' ב'.
וחשבונות הללו
בפרסאות של
הקב"ה ית' שמו
וישתבח זכרו
וכל פרסה
ופרסה שלו
אלפים כאמה
והאמה שלו
ד' ורתות וורת
שלו מסוף
העולם ועד סופו.

ס' ריזאל

אמר ר' ישמעאל אמר לי
מטטרון שרא רבא¹⁾ מעיד
אני עדות זו ביהו"ה אלחי
ישראל אלהא חי²⁾ וקיימא
מרנא ורבנא³⁾ המיא⁴⁾
מבי⁵⁾ מותב יקרא⁶⁾
ולעילא קי"ח רבבות⁷⁾
ומבית מותב יקריה ולמטה
קי"ח רבבות רומיה רל"ו
רבבות אלפים פרסאות.
מורוע של ימין ועד הזרוע
שלו של השמאל ע"ן
רבבות. מן גלגל עין של
עין ימין עד גלגל עין של
שמאל לרבבות. גלגלתי
דבראשיה שלש ושליש⁸⁾
רבבות. עטרות שבראשו
ששים רבבות כנגד ששים
רבבות של אלפי ישראל
לפיכך נקרא האל הגדול
הגבור והנורא.

Eisenmenger'sche Varianten.

- 1) דשהדווא.
- 2) חי"א.
- 3) ורבוננא.
- 4) om.
- 5) מבית.
- 6) יקריה.
- 7) פרסאות.
- 8) om.

פ' היכלות

ed. Jerusalem, c. XI,

1 f. 5a.

מכסא כבודו ומעלה
ק"פ אלפים ומאת
אלפים רבבות
פרסאות. גברו מורוע
ימין ועד שמאלו
שבעים ושבעה רבבות
פרסאות. וזרועותיו
כפולים על שכמו,
זרוע ימין קניסטיק"ה
שמו, שמאל מתקד"ה
אסטי"ה שמו. כפות
ידיו ארבעת אלפים
רבבות פרסאות
כל אחד ואחד. כף
ימין הורז"ה שמו
ושל שמאל היאח"ש
שי"ה שמו. למה נקרא
שמו האל הגדול
הגבור והנורא. אמר
מטטרון עד כאן ראיתי
רום וידידה דמאריה
עלמא שלום מה
דורך מדוד וג' דודי
צח וג' כל הפרשה
כולה עד כנורת
ירושלים.

¹⁾ Cap. 2 ed. Jellinek, Beth-hamid. II, p. 41.

²⁾ Cap. 1 § 1, III, p. 91.

Diese Beschreibung Gottes ist verhältnissmässig nüchtern, im Vergleich zu der zweiten Recension des S. Rasiël (f. 37b), in welcher nicht blos die Arme, die Augen und der Kopf gemessen werden, sondern auch das Mass eines jeden Gliedes angegeben wird und zugleich mysteriöse Buchstaben-Combinationen hinzugefügt werden. Es ist eigentlich nur die consequente Durchführung desselben Principes, indem es auf das Mass des ganzen Körpers ausgedehnt wurde. Biblische Verse konnten in Hülle und Fülle in diese anthropomorphistische Beschreibung hineingezwängt werden. Dass solche Beschreibungen oder Andeutungen, wie Ezechiel und Daniel sie bieten, den Hintergrund des grotesken **שֵׁעוֹר קוֹמָה** bilden, kann nicht bezweifelt werden. Sie bilden gleichsam die Entschuldigung für ein solches Unternehmen, das aber nur im Zusammenhange mit anderen Erscheinungen richtig erfasst und beurtheilt werden kann.

Wir müssen den Ursprung desselben in einer Zeit suchen, wo der bewusste Gegensatz gegen die Vermenschlichung Gottes durch anthropomorphistische Auffassung und Beschreibung sich noch nicht entwickelt hatte. Die Gefahr, die darin lag, wurde erst nach der Verbreitung des Christenthums erkannt; und daher stammt denn auch der Widerspruch der Tannaiten gegen die vorhandenen Uebersetzungen der Bibel, der seinen Höhepunkt erreichte zur Zeit des Aquila.

In diesem Zusammenhange wird erst die Scheu vor dem Unterrichte in der **מַעֲשֵׂה מִרְכָּבָה**, ja sogar das Verbot, sich damit abzugeben, erklärlich.¹⁾ Es führte nicht, wie bisher angenommen wurde, zu einer abstracten Philosophie, sondern umgekehrt zu einer grobsinnlichen Auffassung der Gottheit, und konnte Folgen haben, die für das ethische Judenthum und für die Erhaltung der spiritualistischen Auffassung der Gottheit, wie sie das Judenthum lehrt, verderblich werden mussten.

Ebenso verhält es sich mit den phantastischen Kosmogonien jener Zeit, mit den eigenthümlichen, mythologisch gefärbten Darstellungen der Schöpfung, die schnurstracks der Erzählung Genesis, c. I., zuwiderlaufen. Das Verbot erstreckte sich darum auch auf das **מַעֲשֵׂה בְּרֵאשִׁית**. Eine Theorie, wie sie R. Samuel b. Nachman.²⁾ flüsternd mittheilt, und wie er sie auch im Flüstertone empfangen haben will, ist, wenn sie consequent durchgeführt wird, nicht mit der mosaischen Schöpfungsgeschichte vereinbar.

¹⁾ Chagiga f. 11b; vgl. Bacher, *Aggada der Tannaiten* I., 1884, p. 341.

²⁾ Genesis rabba, sect. III, Anfang; vgl. **יֵד יוֹסֵף** ad loc.

Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass wir es hier mit Theorien zu thun haben, die in den gnostischen Systemen vollkommener ausgebildet waren. Die speculative Seite der gnostischen Systeme hat auf die Masse nie einen wirklichen Einfluss ausgeübt. Der dichtende Trieb jedoch, welcher sich in phantastischem Allegorisieren kund gab und Principien zu anschaulichen Gestalten umbildete, übte einen besonderen Reiz aus auf jedes leicht empfängliche Gemüth. Dazu gesellte sich auch der Glaube an Theurgie und Thaumaturgie, die eine vermeintliche Macht verliehen über die erkannten oder erschauten treibenden Mächte und über die personificierten Attribute Gottes, sowie der Glaube an apokalyptische Träumereien, die alle den Boden des religiösen Glaubens untergraben mussten. Gegen diese trat dann die Reaction ein, die auf der einen Seite alles Anstössige, Anthropomorphistische aus der Bibel ausschied, andererseits die apokalyptische Literatur einfach negierte.

Der Ursprung derselben muss demgemäss vor die Zeit des Widerstandes, vor die Zeit des Aquila und seiner Zeitgenossen fallen und kann unmöglich so späten Ursprunges sein, wie bisher angenommen wurde.

Diesem apriorischen Resultate gesellt sich nun der positive Beweis der frühen Existenz des Schiur Komah hinzu. Es ist für unsere Frage immateriell, die Quellen der Haeresiologie aufzusuchen. Ob Epiphanius, Pseudotertullian und Hippolytus auf eine gemeinsame, jetzt verloren gegangene Urquelle zurückgehen, ob Irenaeus zunächst als Quelle gedacht werden kann, oder ob Irenaeus selber einen Theil der jetzt verlorenen, die Ketzler bekämpfenden Schrift des Justinus, in seine eigene aufgenommen hat? Das ist die Frage. Die Quellenkritik der Geschichte des Gnosticismus ist zwar von Harnack, Lipsius und Volkmar geübt worden. Noch aber ist das letzte Wort darüber nicht gesprochen worden, und manches in der Geschichte der gnostischen Systeme ist nach wie vor noch dunkel geblieben. So besonders die Frage, was hat der Gnosticismus aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen, und in welcher Form hat er es aufgenommen? Und umgekehrt: welche Spuren hat der Gnosticismus im Judenthume zurückgelassen? Graetz und Joël haben den Gegenstand behandelt, ebenso Frank und Krochmal. Bei der Ungewissheit aber, die in der Geschichte des Gnosticismus herrscht, ist für absehbare Zeit eine befriedigende positive Antwort kaum zu erwarten. Wie bemerkt, ist es gewiss nicht die speculative Seite, die abstracte

Theorie, die irgend welche Spuren zurückgelassen haben kann. Ich suche dieselben vielmehr in dem groben irdischen Niederschlag, in der Volkslitteratur im weitesten Sinne. Gerade in der Volkslitteratur, in den zahlreichen christlichen apokryphen Sagen und Legenden, in den Pseudo-Evangelien, Apostel-Geschichten und Apokalypsen hat Lipsius mit besonderem Geschicke die Spuren einstiger gnostischer Thätigkeit aufgedeckt. So lässt sich auch der Einfluss des Manichäismus in der mittelalterlichen Volkslitteratur nachweisen.¹⁾

In derselben Weise nun finde ich, auf diese Analogieen gestützt, gnostische Elemente in der mystischen Litteratur, die uns hier jetzt beschäftigt. Es ist schwer zu entscheiden, wie viel davon auf jüdischem Boden entstanden und nachher nur gnostisch umgedeutet wurde, und wie viel umgekehrt auf fremdem Boden entstanden und nachher eine Heimat im jüdischen Schriftthum gefunden hat.

Eine Thatsache bleibt es jedenfalls, dass ein bedeutender Theil der Lehren der ältesten und wichtigsten Gnostiker von neueren Historikern, besonders von Neander, als judaisierende, d. h. als stark zum Judenthume sich hinneigende, charakterisiert worden sind. Die Abhängigkeit von jüdischer Weltanschauung und die Aufnahme jüdischer Ideen und Metaphern ist daher nicht unwahrscheinlich.

Irenaeus gibt uns nun im ersten Buche seiner Schrift „adversus haereses“ eine ziemlich umfangreiche, häufig nicht recht klare Darstellung der bedeutendsten gnostischen und haeretischen Systeme. Sollte ein Theil dieser Darstellung sich als dem verlorenen Syntagma des Justin angehörig, herausstellen, so hätten wir darin das Werk eines Zeitgenossen der bedeutendsten Häupter der Gnosis. Auf jeden Fall aber gehört Irenaeus Schrift spätestens dem Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts an. Folglich bestand und blühten etwa 180 n. Chr. die Systeme, die er darin bekämpfte.

Von diesen werden wir dasjenige System heraussuchen müssen, welches zeitlich, räumlich und inhaltlich unserer mystischen Litteratur am nächsten steht: nämlich ein judaisierendes System aus dem Anfange des 2. Jahrhunderts, und wenn möglich ein solches, das auf Palästina's Boden gross geworden ist.

Am vollkommensten entspricht nun Valentin's Gnosis allen diesen Voraussetzungen. Der Stifter desselben wird sogar

¹⁾ vgl. M. Gaster, Graeco-slav. Literature, London 1887, 18 p.

als Judenchrist bezeichnet. „Nach seiner hellenistischen Ausdrucksweise und den aramäischen Namen, welche in seinem Systeme vorkommen, zu schliessen, stammte er von jüdischer Abkunft her“, sagt Neander von ihm.¹⁾ Noch näher läge vielleicht das System des Jüngers des Valentin, Markus, des Hauptes der Markusier. Dieser lebte um die Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts in Palästina, und sein System reflectiert am klarsten die Ideen, in welchen er aufgewachsen ist. Es steht mehr als das irgend eines andern Gnostikers im innigsten Zusammenhange mit der jüdisch-mystischen Literatur; und kann ohne Zuhilfenahme der letzteren auch kaum richtig verstanden werden. „Markus kam wahrscheinlich in der zweiten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrhunderts aus Palästina, welches Letztere durch die aramäischen liturgischen Formeln, deren er sich bediente, wahrscheinlich wird. Wenn bei einem Herakleon und Ptolemäus mehr die alexandrinische wissenschaftliche Richtung in ihrer Theosophie vorherrscht, so war es hingegen bei Markus mehr das Poetische, und Symbolische Nach kabbalistisch-jüdischer Art suchte er besondere Mysterien in der Zahl und Stellung der Buchstaben; die Idee von einem λόγος τοῦ ὄντος, von einem Worte als Offenbarung des verborgenen göttlichen Wesens in der Schöpfung wurde von ihm am feinsten ausgesponnen; die ganze Schöpfung ein fortgehendes Ausgesprochenwerden des Unaussprechlichen. Wie die in den Aeonen verschlossen liegenden göttlichen Lebenskeime sich immer weiter entfalten und individualisieren, so wird dies von ihm so dargestellt: dass diese Namen des Unnennbaren sich in ihre einzelnen Laute zerlegen. Ein Nachhall des Pleroma fällt in die ὕλη hinab und wird das bildende Princip einer neuen niedern Schöpfung.“²⁾ Schon in dieser knappen Schilderung erkennen wir alte Bekannte: die mystische Bedeutung der Zahl und Ordnung der Buchstaben, die Schöpfung als das Resultat des Aussprechens der göttlichen Namen und der Zerlegung dieser Namen in ihre Laute! Ganz dieselbe Speculation also, die uns in dem Sefer Jezira und in den Othioth di R. Akiba entgegentreten. Noch viel klarer tritt uns das Verhältniss zu dieser Litteratur in der ausführlicheren Darstellung des Irenaeus³⁾ entgegen, die ich hier im Auszuge, mittheilen will. Ich hebe nur jene

1) Gesch. d. christl. Religion und Kirche, II⁴, 1864, S. 105.

2) Neander, a. a. O. S. 137—138.

3) adv. haeres. I, XVI, 1 ff.

Kapitel heraus, welche nach meiner Ueberzeugung geeignet sind, einiges Licht über den Ursprung derselben zu verbreiten und besonders zu beweisen, dass darin unser Schiur Komah wieder zu finden ist. Es wird sich daraus zugleich ergeben, dass wir damit auch der Lösung des Problems des Sefer Jezira näher kommen werden. Ich beschränke mich zunächst auf das Schiur Komah. Dem Sefer Jezira wird der zweite Theil dieser Untersuchung speciell gewidmet werden. Bei Irenaeus XVI, 1. lesen wir: „Dieser Markus gibt sich allein für den Empfängnissort der colobarsischen Sige aus, weil er ihr Eingeborener sei und hat den Samen des Abfalls, der in ihn gelegt worden ist, ungefähr auf diese Art geboren. Die erhabenste Vierheit sei aus jenen unsichtbaren und namenlosen Räumen in weiblicher Gestalt zu ihm herabgekommen, denn ihre männliche Gestalt konnte von der Welt nicht ertragen werden, und habe ihm ihre Wesenheit und den Ursprung aller Dinge offenbart und mit folgenden Worten bekannt gemacht:

„Als zuerst der vaterlose Vater, welcher weder mit dem Gedanken erfasst wird, noch eine Substanz hat, und der weder Mann noch Weib ist, wollte, dass das Unaussprechliche in ihm aussprechbar gemacht und das Unsichtbare ihm ähnlich gemacht werde, öffnete er seinen Mund und brachte ein Wort hervor, das ihm ähnlich war; dieses stellte sich zu ihm und zeigte, was es war, indem es als die Gestalt des Unsichtbaren erschien.“

Ich übergehe nun die Aussprechnng selbst und die sich daran knüpfenden Speculationen und komme ausführlicher auf dieselben zurück, im Zusammenhange mit dem Sefer Jezira, da sie dort ihre gegenseitige Beleuchtung und Erklärung erhalten.

Irenaeus fährt nun, c. XIV, § 3, folgendermassen fort, indem er die Worte des Markus wörtlich wiedergiebt: „Dieses habe ihm die „Vierheit“ erklärt und gesagt. Ich will Dir nun die Wahrheit selbst vor Augen stellen, denn ich habe sie aus den oberen Wohnungen herabgeholt, damit Du sie nackt sehest, ihre Schönheit erblickest, ja sogar sie reden hörst und ihre Weisheit bewunderst. Schaue also auf ihr Haupt das α und ω , den Hals β und ψ , auf die Schultern und Hände γ und χ , die Brust δ und ϕ , das Zwerchfell ϵ und ν , den Rücken ζ und τ , den Bauch η und σ , die Schenkel θ und ρ , die Kniee ι und π , die Schienbeine κ und \omicron , die Knöchel λ und ξ , die Füße μ und ν . Dieses ist nach der Ansicht des Magiers der Körper der Wahrheit,

dieses die Gestalt des Elementes, dieses der Charakter des Buchstabens. Und dieses Element nennt er Mensch und giebt es für die Quelle jeglichen Wortes, für den Anfang aller Stimme, für die Aussprechung alles Unaussprechlichen, und für den Mund der stillen Sige aus. Dieses, sage ich, ist der Körper der Wahrheit. Du aber erhebe die Einsicht deines Geistes und höre aus dem Munde der Wahrheit das sich selbstzeugende und vatergebende Wort.“

So weit dieser Auszug aus Irenaeus, in welchem ich eine vollkommene Parallele zum Schiur Komah erkenne. Das höchste Princip, die Wahrheit, oder Achamoth, wie sie in Valentin's System mit dem semitischen Namen genannt wird (חכמתא), wird hier personificirt und nach den einzelnen Gliedmassen genau beschrieben. Zu dieser Beschreibung hat Markus die Buchstaben des griechischen Alphabetes nach einem Principe benutzt, der im jüdischen Schriftthume von ältester Zeit her, und besonders in talmudischer Zeit, als bekannt vorausgesetzt wird. Es ist das des א' ת ב' ש, wonach je zwei Endbuchstaben des Alphabetes, in stets vermindelter Zahl für einander eintreten. Im Sefer Jezira wird dieser Process folgendermassen ausgedrückt:

נעץ סופן בתחלתן ותחלתן בסופן (כשלהבת קשורה בנחלת) דע וחשוב וצור שארון יחיד (והיצר אחד) ואין לו שני ולפני אחד מה אתה סופר. Soll so viel heissen, dass durch diese Manipulation der Buchstaben doch nur die Einheit des Herrn ausgedrückt wird.

Dass die Buchstaben bei Markus Zahlensymbole sind und auch als solche aufgefasst werden, ergiebt sich aus der bei Irenaeus weiter folgenden Darstellung des Systems, auf welches ich später zurückkommen werde. Aus einer Angabe des Origenes (de princip. I, 1) erhellt ferner, dass die judaisierenden Gnostiker in der That Gott einen Körper nach Menschenweise zuschrieben. In apokalyptischen Träumereien fand eben Alles den sinnlichsten Ausdruck. Diese Karrikatur des gerechten Gottes belegten sie nun Zug für Zug mit wörtlich verstandenen, aus dem Zusammenhange gerissenen Stellen der heiligen Schrift.¹⁾ Der Schlusssatz des Capitels, welches ich oben mitgetheilt, liest sich ausserdem fast wie eine Uebersetzung der folgenden Stelle aus dem Sefer Jezira: (I, 4).

הבן בחכמה וחכם²⁾ בכינה בתוך בהם וחקור מהם (דע וחשוב וצור) והעמד דבר על בוריו והושב יצר על מכוני.

¹⁾ cf. Diltthey, s. v. Marcion, Herzog Real Enc.², p. 26.

²⁾ וחקור.

Eigenthümlicher Weise finden wir nun seltsame Buchstaben-combinationen, im Schiur Komah nach der zweiten Recension des Sef. Rasiël.¹⁾ Jedes göttliche Glied hat nämlich auch einen besonderen mystischen Namen, der durch Buchstaben-gruppen ausgedrückt wird. So heisst z. B., um sogleich die ersten dort angegebenen anzuführen, der rechte Schenkel Gottes: **מששם** und der linke **אסתמן**. Ich habe den Schlüssel zu dieser Combination noch nicht gefunden, und es ist fraglich, ob bei der corrumpten Gestalt, in welcher unser Text sich erhalten hat, es je gelingen wird, ihn zu entdecken. Die Analogie mit dem Texte des Irenaeus ist aber jedenfalls auffallend, und es ist wohl nicht zu viel gewagt, wenn man zwischen beiden einen innigen Zusammenhang annimmt. Wenn möglich noch genauer stimmt folgende Stelle im Zijuni²⁾ mit Irenaeus überein. Sie wird als **דבר מקיבל** „eine von Alters her tradierte Thatsache“ citiert. Die Worte sind nicht als: „von allen angenommen“ zu übersetzen, da Zijuni das Wort **מקיבל** und **המקיבלים** nur in ersterer Bedeutung gebraucht: „גם הדבר מקיבל שהאלפא ביתא כתובה היתה בורשו של הקב"ה כקמיע ביד נבור על סדר תשר"ק וחקיקתם ונתינתם היה על סדר אבג"ד דונמת פתוחי חותם נמצאו שאלו ואלו דברי אלהים חיים נכונים למבין ואליו ינעם.“

Durch diese Analogie wird die Stelle bei Irenaeus auch erklärt, und den dort angegebenen Buchstaben-Paaren vielleicht die Bedeutung vindiciert, die sie im Systeme des Markus hatten: Die Gottheit oder Weisheit geht vollkommen in dem Alphabet auf, welches dessen Glieder ausdrückt und in Folge dessen identisch mit Gott ist. Das mag der philosophisierende Theil in der Vermenschlichung der Weisheit sein; zu gleicher Zeit aber dienen Buchstaben auch für Zahlen, und durch Umsetzung der einen in die andere ergiebt sich auf diese Weise das genaue Maass des Körpers der Weisheit. Man hat bloss die Buchstaben als Zahlen zu fassen. Dass diese Buchstaben-combinationen ursprünglich wohl dazu verwendet wurden, um aus den sich aus ihnen ergebenden Zahlen das Maass der göttlichen Gliedmassen festzustellen, ersieht man am besten aus folgender Variante des Schiur Komah, die bisher unbekannt war, und die ich hier zum ersten Mal veröffentlichte. Codex Montefiore (früher Halberstam) No. 219, f. 28b—29a heisst es:

¹⁾ f. 37b.

²⁾ ed. Cremona, 1560, f. 6c, (irrthümlicherweise steht darauf 'ד).

סוד שיעור קומה. יובן מדכתיב ונעשה לנו שם שכיוונו בשיעור קומה. וחכמי ישראל רמזו בו סוד כ"ג מדות. סוד ראשו כתם פז. ג' מאות אלפים רבבות ול"ג פרסאות ושליש. ש' גמאות. א' אלפים. ר' רבבות. ו' בוגמ' ששה. ש' ראשונה ל'. ש' שנייה ג'. וה' שליש. והוא חשבון חצי השם בסוד השם הראשון יהוה. י'. ג'. ה'. מ'. ו'. א'. ה'. ר' ול"ג ושליש.

רוחב המצח י"ג אלפים רבבות וח' מאות פרסאות רמז דודי צח ואדום וכ'. צוארו י"ג אלפים רבבות פרסאות רמז הש' השני יהוה. י'. ש'. ה'. מ'. ו'. א'. ה'. ד'. י'. ש'. הרי שמונה ה' מ' מאות. שחור שבעין ימינו רבוא ואלף וה' מאות פרסאות. וכן של שמאל בסוד עינו כיונים. ממדה שלישית אל' א"ד. ל'. ח'. ומתחלפת גם. במ' הרי מאות (!) ת"ק.

לובן שבעין יוצא ממדת רח"ם. והוא שתיים רבבות וכ" אלפים פרסאות. ר'. ש'. ח'. ר'. ו'. ש'. ק'. א'. וכשתשנינו בלובן זה כת' כי מצאת חן בעיני ומתרגמין ארי אשכחת רחמין בעיני, אזנו י"ג אלפים פרסאות וח' מאות. רמז למה שכתוב השמיעני את קולך. ומדת חנ"ן באוזן ככתוב ושמעתי כי חנון אני. החונים (החושם. l.) ג' אלפים רבבות פרסאות ויוצא ממדת אר"ך אפ"ם.

לשוננו מסוף העולם ועד סופו. והוא עולה ק"פ ריבוא אלף רבבות למספר י' פרסאות ליום בת"ק שנה. שפתותיו שושנים ע"ז רבבות ויוצא ממדה ר"ב חס"ד. כי על כל מוצא פי ה' יחיה האדם. זרוע קדשו ו' אלפים. כף הקדש ד' אלפים רבבות. רוחב ג' אלפים רבבות רוחב אצבע אחת וכן האורך והוא מדת ואמת וכת' ידי גלילי והב. זו צדקה וכתבי פותח את ידך וכתבי תפתח ידך ישבעון טוב ואמת כלם מן הידים. פעמים נוטה לצד ימין ופעמים נוטה לצד שמאל. חשבון הנכבד מירכותיו עד צוארו כ"ד אלפים רבבות. והאחד מירכותיו ועד ארכובות י"ב אלפים רבבות ה' אלפים ומאתים. והאחד מקרסוליו ועד כף רגלו אלף רבבות וה' מאות בסוד מעיו עשת שן. שוקיו עמודי שש. וכו'. נוצר חסד. ממתניו ולמעלה. כד' א' והיה צדק אזור מתניו. עד צוארו לקיים מה שנא' חבו ממתקים וכלו מחמדים. והשם הנכבד נושא עון. מירכותיו ועד שוקיו כענין שנאמר מעיו עשת שן. והשם הנכבד נושא פש"ע. מארכובותיו ועד קרסוליו לקיים מה שנא' שוקיו עמודי שש מיוסדים וכו' והשם הנכבד נושא חמאה. מקרסוליו ועד כף רגליו שהם אדני פז. והשם הנכבד ונקה. לגובה פרסות רגליו ג' אלפים רבבות שהוא מלא כל העולם שני השמים כסאי והארץ הרום רגליו. וכת' לדכא תחת רגליו כו'. וכל אלו הדברים שאמרנו סוד העולם הן. והמבין יבין. חשבון אחר מהנכבד הנק' זקנו רבוא אלף ות"ק שהם ט"ז אותיות חשבון הנכבד. משכס ימין עד שכס שמאל י"ג אלפים רבבות. והוא אחד ושמו אחד וצריך ליחדו בכל שמותיו וצריך קבלה מפה לאוזן בזה הסוד. והש"י יעמידנו על דרך האמת ולא נטה ימין ושמאל. והסוד הנעלם בזה גדול אדונינו ורב כח המולל כל החשבון רל"ז אלפים רבבות פרסאות. אבל

לתבונתו אין מספר כל' מבינה ולמעלה אין מספר. ואם תבין סוד וע"ד
א"פ"ן וכשמך אלהים כן תהלתך תבין זה. והסוד הגנוז אחר וקדם
צרתני ותשת עלי כפכה. וסודו בספרא דצניעותא ליחידים נתן ולא
יבין כל אדם בזה.

Aus Bibelversen und Worten werden die Elemente geschöpft, um danach das Maass der göttlichen Glieder zu bestimmen. In diesem Fragmente hat sich die ursprüngliche Fassung kaum erhalten; es ist aber genug darin, um diese erkennen zu lassen.

In einer etwas verschiedenen Weise wird Gott-Mensch mit den Attributen identificiert, die in ihrer Gesamtheit den Körper Gottes darstellen. In derselben HS. befindet sich auch **משובב נתיבות** des Samuel b. Saadja ibn Motot, verfasst im Jahre 1370. Dieses Buch repräsentiert, wie Steinschneider bemerkt¹⁾, die Verquickung von Philosophie (Emanationstheorie), Astrologie und Kabbala, die seit dem Ende des XIII. Jahrhunderts, sich ausbreitete. Cap. III, s. 4, findet sich nun selbst folgende Stelle:

וקוראים חכמי הקבלה לתפארת ומלכות חתן וכלה. ותפארת מדרמים
שעליה הבינה שעליה החכמה והכתר ומצד ימין חסד ומצד שמאל גבורה
ותחת חסד למטה נצח ותחת גבורה הוד ויסוד באמצע ומלכות בכל
אשר תחתיה תחת היסוד. וכאילו החכמה דמות הראש והכתר
עליו. הבינה הצואר. וחסד וגבורה הזרועות. ונצח והוד
כדמיון הירכיים. ויסוד כדמיון אבר המעור. ומלכות בכל
אשר תחתיה היא הכלה.²⁾

Diese Stelle lautet nun fast wörtlich wie die des Markus, nur steht hier an Stelle von **א"ת ב"ש** je ein Attribut; und nicht eine Zahl oder eine Buchstabengruppe. Der Character und die Tendenz sind jedoch dieselben in beiden Systemen.

Sowohl in der christlichen als auch in der jüdischen Litteratur hat sich nun diese anthropomorphistische Darstellung Gottes merkwürdigerweise auch weiter erhalten. Ob sie von letzterer in die erstere übergegangen ist, ist eine Frage, die sich jetzt noch nicht entschieden beantworten lässt. Vieles, besonders Sagenhafte und Legendenartige ist frühzeitig in die christliche Litteratur aufgenommen worden; besonders alle diejenigen Elemente, welche durch ihren poetischen Inhalt einen

¹⁾ Hamaskir XV, 16, vgl. auch Steinschneider, Catalog der Berliner Bibliothek, S. 108.

²⁾ Fol. 16a: חלק שלישי פרק רביעי.

Reiz auf das Volk ausübten. Wie schon oben bemerkt worden ist, hat sich auch dieser Theil der ketzerischen Litteratur, trotz Kirche und Bann, erhalten. In älterer Zeit ist der verpönte Ursprung dieser Litteratur noch bekannt gewesen, und geistliche Würdenträger, Bischöfe und Schriftsteller, Concilien und Päpste wetteiferten in Verdammung und Verurtheilung derselben. Die ältesten Indices der verbotenen Bücher bestehen fast nur aus Listen von solchen Legenden und Sagen, die sich freilich trotz alledem erhalten haben.

Wenn Bischof Agobard im 9. Jahrhundert (829) wirklich auf das Schiur Komah anspielen sollte,¹⁾ so könnte er die Kenntniss desselben entweder dieser Schrift selbst entnommen, oder, was mir wahrscheinlicher ist, einer der ketzerischen, verbotenen Schriften, in welcher sich ein Reflex des Schiur Komah befand, und deren Abfassung er den Juden zuschrieb.

Thatsächlich findet sich nun das Schiur Komah in einer angelsächsischen Schrift, deren Abfassung in das VIII. Jahrhundert verlegt wird. Die HS. selbst ist jedenfalls nicht jünger als das XI. Jahrhundert.

Diese HS. gehört der Classe der Lucidarien an. In Frage und Antwort wird Unterricht ertheilt über alles Wissenswerthe. Der Dialog wird dazu verwerthet, um in dieser populären Form alle möglichen Anschauungen und Ideen unter das Volk zu verbreiten. Dogmatische, biblische, geschichtliche und naturwissenschaftliche Fragen bilden den Inhalt dieser im Mittelalter äusserst beliebten Schriften.²⁾ In der griechischen, slavischen und angelsächsischen Litteratur hat sich der ursprüngliche Inhalt, in den meisten Fällen, am besten erhalten. Sie repräsentieren noch die älteste Form und sind daher für die Culturgeschichte die wichtigsten. Biblische Sagen und Legenden, die direct auf haeretische, und in letzter Instanz auf jüdische, Quellen zurückgehen, sowie die sonderbarsten Anschauungen über Gott und Welt sind darin anzutreffen. So findet sich denn auch in der angelsächsischen HS³⁾ ein solches Zwiegespräch, dessen wesentlicher Bestandtheil, vollkommen unserem Schiur Komah entspricht. Der Wichtigkeit wegen, welche dieser Text für unsere Frage hat, gebe ich die Stelle hier ausführlich in wortgetreuer Uebersetzung.

¹⁾ s. Graetz, a. a. O., S. 111.

²⁾ vgl. das Zwiegespräch im Codex Nazaräus der Mandäer, I, cap. XIII und das Fiölvismal in der Edda.

³⁾ The dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus, ed. J. M. Kemble, London 1848, p. 145—153.

Zuerst wird der Kampf zwischen Gott und dem Satan ausführlich geschildert. Darauf folgt:

„Saturnus sagt: Aber wie ist der Kopf unseres Vaters? Salomon antwortet: Unser Vater hat einen Kopf von Gold und Haare von Silber; und wenn alle Gewässer der Erde sich mit den himmlischen Gewässern vereinigen würden und auf die Erde und die darauf lebenden Geschöpfe sich stürzen würden, so würden sie alle unter einer Locke Gottes trocken bleiben. Seine Augen sind zwölftausendmal leuchtender als die Erde, auch wenn diese durchgehends mit blühenden Lilien bedeckt, und wenn auf jedem Blatte derselben zwölf Sonnen wären, und wenn auf jeder Blume zwölf Monde und jeder Mond zwölftausendmal leuchtender wäre, als er es war, bevor Abel erschlagen wurde.“

„Saturn fragt: Aber wie sieht das gute Herz unseres Vaters aus?“

„Salomon antwortet: Sein Herz leuchtet zwölftausendmal heller als die sieben Himmel, die über uns sind, auch wenn sie im Feuer des jüngsten Gerichtes brennen würden, und die ganze Erde unter ihnen eine Flamme wäre und eine feurige Zunge, einen goldenen Schlund und einen hellerleuchteten Mund hätte. Und wenn die Welt von Adam an wieder erneuert (zum Leben gerufen) würde, und wenn jeder Mensch die zwölf Weisheiten des Abraham, Isaak und Jakob besässe und dreihundert Jahre leben würde, so würde er doch nicht im Stande sein, die Weisheit der Zunge Gottes zu erfassen, noch die Ausdehnung ihrer Macht. Und seine Arme sind zwölftausendmal länger als alle Bäume der Erde, die von geschickten Zimmermeistern einer an den andern gefügt wären und mit Gold und Silber und Edelsteinen vom Paradiese bedeckt wären. Und seine Hände sind grösser als zwölf Welten in Eins vereinigt. Und der hl. Gesang, i. e.: Gott, hat goldene Finger;¹⁾ jeder Finger ist dreissigtausendmal länger als diese ganze Welt. In der rechten Hand hält er ein goldenes Schwert, welches jedoch verschieden ist von allen anderen ähnlichen Waffen. Dessen Glanz ist viel leuchtender und schöner als das aller himmlischer Gestirne und alles Gold und Silbergeschmeide zusammen, das auf der Erde sich befindet. Die rechte Schneide ist viel weicher und sanfter, als alle Wohlgerüche der Welt, und die linke Schneide dieser selben Waffe ist schärfer und viel

¹⁾ cf. die Stelle bei Agobard, wo es heisst, dass Gott steife Finger habe. Graetz, a. a. O. p. 111.

furchterregender als die ganze Welt, sogar wenn sie an allen vier Ecken voll wäre von wilden Thieren, und jedes Thier zwölf Hörner und jedes Horn zwölf eiserne Aeste und jeder Ast zwölf Spitzen hätte und jede dieser Spitzen zwölftausendmal schärfer als ein Pfeil wäre, der von hundert und zwanzig Schmieden geschliffen worden wäre.“

„Und wenn sieben Welten gleich dieser an einander gereiht und voll von allem wären, das je im Himmel, auf der Erde und in der Hölle erschaffen ward, so würden sie doch nicht die Fülle des Lebens in der Mitte umfassen können. Gott kann in seiner rechten Hand allein alle Geschöpfe wie ein Stück Wachs drehen und zusammenpressen.“

„Und sein Gedanke ist rascher und schneller als das von zwölftausend Heiligen, auch wenn jeder von ihnen zwölf Federkleider an hätte, und jede Feder zwölf Winde, und jeder Wind zwölf Schnelligkeiten hätte.

„Und seine Stimme ist mächtiger als die des gesamten Menschengeschlechtes und das Geschlecht der Thiere, auch wenn sie alle auf einem Berge vereinigt wären, dessen Länge gleich käme dem dreiunddreissigfachen Umkreise der Erde; und wenn dort alles vereinigt wäre, was im Himmel, auf der Erde und in der Hölle ist, und wenn jedes Geschöpf, sowohl diejenigen die sprechen, als diejenigen die nicht sprechen, eine goldene Trompete im Munde hätte und aus jeder Trompete zwölf Töne erschallen würden, und jeder Ton höher als der Himmel und tiefer als die Hölle wäre, so würde der goldene Ton des heiligen Gesanges (Gottes) alle übertönen, so dass sie gar nicht gehört würden.“¹⁾

So weit diese angelsächsische Beschreibung Gottes, in welcher an Stelle der Buchstaben, Zahlen, überschwängliche Zahlen aus der Natur, getreten sind, um die Unermesslichkeit und Grösse des göttlichen Körpers anschaulich darzustellen.

Die Untersuchung der Lucidarien ergibt die Thatsache, dass alle Elemente darin, besonders der älteren Texte und Recensionen, orientalischen, speciell apokryphen und pseud-epigraphischen Schriften entnommen sind. Derselben Quelle ist auch unzweifelhaft diese Parallele zum Schiur Komah zuzuschreiben, um so mehr, als kein triftiger Grund vorliegt, das Alter (IX—X. Jahrhundert) dieses Textes zu beanstanden.

Durch diese, auf christlichen Boden erhaltene Parallele wird der von Graetz angenommene muhammedanische Ursprung des Schiur Komah auf das klarste widerlegt. Aus dieser

¹⁾ cf. „Die lange Trompete“ des Agobard. Grätz l. c. p. 111.

Litteratur ist viele Jahrhunderte hindurch nichts in die christliche Litteratur eingedrungen.

Die Sache verhält sich vielmehr so, dass die muhammedanische Parallele ebenfalls auf das jüdische Schiur Komah zurückgeht. Die älteste religiöse Litteratur des Islam steht in vollständiger Abhängigkeit von der jüdischen. Die Arbeiten von Geiger, Gastfreund und Hirschfeld haben es bis zur Evidenz bewiesen, dass der Koran von jüdischen Ideen und Sagen durchtränkt ist. Muhammed's Himmelfahrt ist nun nichts anderes, als eine Umarbeitung oder Adaptierung der jüdischen Apokalyptik, der Himmelfahrten des R. Ismaël und namentlich Mose's, mit welcher sie sich besonders genau berührt.

Aus denselben Kreisen ist auch das Schiur Komah zu den Anhängern des Islam gedrungen und nicht umgekehrt, wie Graetz angenommen hat.

Das hohe Alter, das ich für diese Schrift nachzuweisen mich bestrebt habe, das Vorhandensein einer solchen anthropomorphistischen Darstellung von Gott bereits in den Schriften der ältesten Gnostiker, machen es unmöglich, den Ursprung des Schiur Komah erst in das VII—VIII. Jahrhundert zu verlegen.

Es müsste erst nachgewiesen werden, auf welche Weise sich eine absolut ähnliche Vorstellung bei den Mugassima, unabhängig von jüdisch-gnostischen Einflüssen auf muhammedanischem Boden entwickeln konnte, um die Annahme zu rechtfertigen, dass es diesen Kreisen entnommen worden sei. Ja, was noch wichtiger ist, es müsste erst gezeigt werden, dass die Juden in jenem Zeitraume überhaupt etwas von den Arabern oder vom Islam angenommen haben.

Das Stillschweigen des Saadja und Maimonides darüber, die gewiss nicht verfehlt hätten, darauf hinzuweisen, ja das ausdrückliche Zeugniß des Maimonides, der es den Byzantinischen Juden (Darschanim¹) zuschreibt, sind ebenso viele Beweise dafür, dass wir den Ursprung des Schiur Komah nicht im arabischen Schriftthum suchen dürfen.

Hiezu kommt nun noch die angelsächsische Parallele, die ebensowenig aus arabischen Quellen stammt, sondern unzweifelhaft auf unmittelbare lateinische und mittelbare byzantinische zurückweist. Von letzteren sind verhältnissmässig wenige Lucidarien bisher veröffentlicht worden. In einem rumänischen aber, der ebenfalls auf byzantinische Quellen zurückgeht, glaube ich einen Ueberrest eines solchen Schiur Komah

¹) Graetz, a. a. O. p. 114: אחד דרשנין אלרום

gefunden zu haben. „Frage: Wie viele göttliche Handbreiten ist die Entfernung der Erde vom Himmel?“ Antwort: 1296 göttliche Handbreiten; jede derselben ist gleich tausend menschlichen. Frage: Wie tief ist das Meer? Antwort: 1260 himmlische Handbreiten.“

Dieses Fragment kann nur einer ausführlicheren Beschreibung Gottes und der Welt entnommen sein, in welchen die Glieder Gottes ein bestimmtes Maass hatten.

Es ist daher als Thatsache anzunehmen, dass auch in der byzantinischen Litteratur sich das Schiur Komah, wenn auch in etwas modificirter Gestalt, vorgefunden haben müsse. Nur durch das Griechische ist es einerseits der rumänischen, andererseits der angelsächsischen Litteratur vom Orient her vermittelt worden.

Sein Ursprung jedoch geht auf die Weltanschauung zurück, die einerseits in dem System des Valentin-Markus, andererseits in den mystischen Apokalypsen und Pseudepigraphen der letzten Jahrhunderte vor, und der ersten Jahrhunderte nach der gew. Zeitrechnung ihren Ausdruck gefunden hat. Einer späteren Zeit kann eine Schrift, wie das Schiur Komah, unmöglich angehören.

Der Midrasch Agur des Menachem di Lonzano.

Soviel ich weiss scheint die Existenz dieses Buches, das Lonzano gedruckt hat, in Zweifel gezogen worden zu sein. Weder Steinschneider noch Ben-Jacob haben etwas darüber. Der letztere verweist nur auf das Buch von Josef Schwarz, der es ziemlich vage zitiert. Ich habe auch sonst vergebens nach genauer Angabe darüber gesucht und nun ist mir durch einen Zufall das Titelblatt, welches zugleich das erste Blatt des Buches zu sein scheint, in die Hände geraten.

In meiner Hs. No. 96, welche den Tachkemoni des Alcharizi enthält und schon im Jahre 1360 der Synagoge des Ezra in Babylon geschenkt worden ist, fand ich auf der innern Seite des Deckels ein Blatt aufgeklebt welches sich bei genauer Einsicht als das erste Blatt des angezweifelte[n] Werkes herausstellte. Die Einleitung war sichtbar. Mit vieler Mühe ist es mir gelungen, das Blatt abzulösen und, glücklicherweise, stellte es sich heraus, dass die angeklebte Seite das Titelblatt war. Auf diese Weise wurden nicht blos die Fragen, die sich auf den Inhalt des Buches beziehen, einigermassen gelöst, sondern es ist auch ein wertvoller Beitrag zur Geschichte der Druckereien im heiligen Lande.

Diese Sammlung enthielt die Baraitha des Rabbi Eliezer, die wohl einen Teil des Midrasch Agur ausmachte, wie aus der Einleitung, soweit sie erhalten ist, zu ersehen ist. Ferner die Baraitha der Stiftshütte und andere ähnliche kleine Midrashim, die Lonzano herausgegeben hat.

Noch viel interessanter sind Druckort und Drucker. Das Buch ist in סאפֿט Safet und nicht פּרַג פּוּד געדרוקט worden, und zwar im Jahre 1587, wohl einer der ersten hebräischen Drucke in Palästina, in der Druckerei des Abraham, Sohn des Ishak Aschkenazi. Der Setzer und Drucker war Eliezer, der Bruder des Druckereibesitzers, und das Titelblatt hat sogar eine Drucker-Marke, ein vorzüglich ausgeführter gekrönter Löwe, der den besten Drucken in Venedig in der Ausführung Ehre machen würde. Auch steht der Druck an Schönheit der Typen und sonstiger technischer Ausführung den Konstantinopeler und Salonik-Drucken nicht nach. Unzweifelhaft haben die Aschkenazis, die vorher Drucker in Konstantinopel waren, die Typen von dort nach Palästina gebracht.

In der Einleitung finden sich auch einige biographische Notizen über Lonzano und seine Beziehungen zu dem Arzte Joseph Abudarham in Konstantinopel. Wir erfahren, dass er sich schon seit lange mit dem Gedanken der Herausgabe dieser Schriften herumgetragen hatte, dass er die Hss. nicht

verkaufen wollte sogar seinem Freunde (Verwandten?), dem Arzte, und dass er allmählich über Jerusalem nach Safet gelangt ist und dort Gelegenheit gefunden, seinen langgehegten Wunsch auszuführen. Ich gebe nun die Abschrift des Titelblattes und der Einleitung, so weit sie sich hier erhalten hat.

London, 16. Mai 1906 66.

M. Gaster.

בריתא דרבי אליעזר

בנו של רבי יוסי הגלילי ומדרש אגור

ובריתא דמלאכת המשכן ובריתות אחרות אמרות י"י

אמרות טהורות אור יקות אשר ימים רבים

לישראל לא שופתם עין רואי ולא נודע

מקומו אים ועתה ראו אור

ותעלומה הוציא אור

החכם הנעלה

כמה"ר מנחם

די לונזאנו

י"י"א

נדפס' פה בצפת תוב"ב בגליל העליון היום יום א' י' אייר שמי"ז לפ"ק.

סמס ממסלם אדוננו המלך שולטן מלש יקום הודו ומסלם מלכותו לכ"י

בבית הנעלה בהר"ר אברהם בכ"ר יצחק אשכנזי זל"ה

נדפס על ידי אליעזר בכ"ר יצחק אשכנזי זל"ה השם ית' יתן לי זכות

להדפיס ספרים אין קץ בארץ ישראל אכ"ר

Vorrede

עתה יצאתי מציון ובגליל העליון אגור

וארא רוב יראת השם בזה מדרש אגור אגור

ולזכות רבים הדפסתי בריתא ומדרש אגור

אמר

מנחם בן יהודה בן מנחם די לונזאנו זל"ה מיום עמדי על עמדו והחלה הפרומה להכנס בידי רדפתי אחרי הספרים כאשר ידוף הקורא בתרים וחסרתי במאכלי ובשתיתי כדי לקנות ספרי תורת כי כאשר יעידו המכירים אותי גם עתה חנה בשמים עדי ואלהי אבי היה עמדי כי כבר מצאה ידי מן הספרים המתודשים ולא חדש ממש אלא ישישים וחורשים הם לרואיהם כי חיים הם למוציאיהם גם ממדרשי רד"ל הנוראים אשר אמרו לא תראו לרואים באו לידי בתוך הבאים בראש הקרואים וכמה פעמים היתה נפשי העניה בקרבי הומיה תאניה ואניה מריה דאברהם יציבא בארעא וגוירא בשמי שמיא כמה ספרים יתרים נדפסו ויהיו נקראים ורבים ממדרשי רד"ל החבאו בבתי כלאים ורוב ספרי הרבנים הקדמונים אינם נמצאים אין זכרון לראשונים וספרי הימים האלה נזכרים ונעשים וגם לאחרונים ויהי כאשר התעו אותי ומירושלם תוב"ב עקרתי דירתי ובצפת תוב"ב קבעתי לחנותי עם היות כי גליתי למקום תורה ונתמלא כל הבית כלו אורה

היה לבי כלב אשה מצרה על צאתי מציון המעטירה ואמרת לנחם לבי בזאת אשר הגיע דבר המלך ודתו להעשות כי פה אדפיס ממדרשי רז"ל הרים הגבוהים מה שלא הייתי יכול לעשות בעיר האלהים: והנה זה יצא ראשונה לשתי סבות האחת להיותו כלו דברי יראת י"י מרבה לספר בשבח המצות והמדוי המוכרי ומגלה נבלות העבירות והמדות הרעות ומספר בגנותן ולכן לו משפט הבכורה שני ראשית חכמה יראת י"י והשנית לתת מאויי גיסי החכם המעולה הרופא המובחק כהר"ר יוסף אבדורחם יצ"ו כי זה שנתיים ימים בהיותי בביתו בקוסטנטינא רבתי הראיתי לו הספר הזה ומעם מדבשו וערב לחכו ותדבק נפשו בו ורצה לקנותו בכל אשר יאמרו לו ומי אפו שלא הייתי נותן לו כזה וכזה אף בלא כסף ובלא מחיר והלא לו אני וכל אשר לי כי גבר עלי חסדו והשפיע עלי מטובו מיום עלותי לארץ הקדושה אלא שנתכונתי למנועו ממנו לפי שעה למען עשה כיום הזה להחיות עם רב: ומתחלה נסתפקתי אם זה כלו ספר אחד וחבור אחד אלא ששמו בראשו אלו ל"ב מדות כמו ששמו בראש תורת כהנים י"ג מדות דר' ישמעאל או אם בריתא דר' אליעזר היינו עד תשלום ביאור הל"ב מדות בלבד ומשם ואילך חבור אחר ונסתפקתי בזה לפי שבנוסח אחר מצאתי הל"ב מדות ולא יותר ואחר העיון נתברר לי כי הכל ספר א' וכמו שלא ראיתי אינה ראיה כך מה שלא מצאתי בנוסח האחר רק הל"ב מדות אינה ראיה שאני אומר מבלתי יכולת האיש ההוא לכתוב על הספר רצה שלפחות ימצאו בידו כללי המדות והואיל ובנוסחא הזאת נמצא הכל נמשך בלי הפסק כלל יש לנו לגזור אומר שהכל ספר אחד: ועוד מאמת זה מה שאנו רואים הספר הזה מוצי' במספר צבא

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